

THE JOURNAL AND LETTERS  
OF  
WILLIAM CATON

ORIGINALLY ENTITLED:

A JOURNAL OF THE LIFE OF THAT FAITHFUL SERVANT AND MINISTER  
OF THE GOSPEL OF JESUS CHRIST

WILLIAM CATON

TO WHICH ARE NOW ADDED, FROM ORIGINAL AND OTHER SOURCES,  
SOME OF HIS LETTERS

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*JASON R. HENDERSON*

## GEORGE FOX'S TESTIMONY CONCERNING WILLIAM CATON.

In the year 1663, William Caton went to Holland, and not long after he had finished his testimony there, he died; and soon after that, his wife died; and he left this journal of passages behind him, which being sent to me, I thought fit to put it in print and to recommend it to all that knew him. For after he was converted, he preached the gospel of Christ, and strengthened his brethren; and you may see he was one like to the converted scribes in the kingdom of God, which bring forth things new and old. He was like unto Timothy, who was an example both in innocency, simplicity and purity, in his life and conduct, after he was converted; for they did preach, as well as his doctrine, in the churches of Christ. And whereas many have made a boast and a talk of Truth in the beginning, who never knew what it was; in his narrative, you may see both an example and a testimony of Truth in the beginning, and how for many years he travelled many weary steps on foot, both in England, Scotland, and elsewhere, in the Lord's service.

His innocent life preached both righteousness and truth where he came and was a good savor to God, and in the hearts of the people. He was one who had a care of God's glory and honor, and the spreading of the Truth and the prosperity of it; and in it he spent himself and finished his testimony; who, in his life time, wrote many precious epistles to Friends, besides several books. In his travels he had many trials and exercises by false brethren, backsliders, and apostates, besides his perils by the sea, and among the priests and professors; but the Lord with his eternal arm and power gave him dominion over all. And as for his opposers, they withered and vanished away; and after he had finished his testimony, he died in the Lord, and is blessed, and rests from his labors, and his works follow him.

—George Fox

*Gooses, [near Brentwood, Essex, his son-in-law William Mead's house, 14th of Sixth month, 1688.*

# LIFE OF WILLIAM CATON.

## CHAPTER I.

*The infinite mercy of the Lord God to him from his very infancy—How it was with him in the days of his youth—His introduction into Judge Fell's family at Swarthmore.*

The God of my salvation has been pleased of his infinite love, to show mercy unto me from my very infancy unto this present day, and has through a secret hand preserved me from many of the evils in the world, which befall the children of men, and with which many of them are overcome. Yes, from my very childhood has he dealt exceedingly gently, bountifully, and mercifully with me, and especially since he was pleased to make known his heavenly truth in me, and his eternal salvation to me. How should I therefore forbear to show forth his praise, and to declare his wonderful works? To the end, that others may learn to fear and know him, to serve and obey him, that their souls may receive mercy from him as I have done, and that they may praise and magnify him in the land of the living,—who is God over all, the Creator of all things; to whom be glory, honor, and dominion forever and ever.

When I was a child I was nurtured and tutored with such fatherly care and motherly affection, as my parents at that day were endued with. While I was yet very young, my heart was inclining to wisdom and understanding; and being inspired with a divine principle—the Holy Spirit—I did in those days sometimes feel the power of it overcoming my heart, and begetting tenderness in it towards my Creator, when I have stood musing upon his handiwork. And by attending to this divine gift, I was much restrained from some vices to which children are prone. But, alas, I knew not that that which restrained me was within me, though I had a dread and fear upon me when I was liable to sin against my Creator; which now I know right well, came through the aforesaid measure of His Spirit or light. I had also a fear upon me of reproof and chastisement from my parents, who according to their knowledge endeavored to educate me in virtue and godliness; and therefore instructed me to pray morning and evening, to read often, and to go frequently to hear that which they called the word of God. Great was their care to bring me up in the fear of the Lord, according to their ability and understanding, as also in “good fashion,” as they called it, in the world; and therefore they educated me in such schools as the country there afforded, and that for many years.

When I was about fourteen years of age, my father took me to Judge Fell's, to learn with a kinsman, a priest, who was preceptor to the aforesaid judge's son; and thereby I came to have an opportunity to be conversant with them that were great in the world. And through the mercy of the Lord, I behaved myself so well among them as to the outward, that I found favor among the whole family, even from the greatest to the least of them; and was in due time promoted to be a companion night and day to the judge's son, and did eat as he did eat, and lodged as he lodged, and went after the same pleasure which he went to, as fishing, hunting, shooting, etc. In that day my heart was affected with my condition; forasmuch as Providence had cast me into such a noble family, where there were such sweet children,

with whose company I was more than a little affected; and in as much pleasure, ease and fulness, I lived with them, as my heart could well desire. There remained an integrity in my heart towards God, and often did I call upon his name. To that end, I would linger in the chamber, until the judge's son, with whom I lodged, had gone down, that afterwards I might go to prayer alone; for my soul desired to have the blessing and favor of the Lord, in which there was satisfaction to be found, but not in the pleasures which I followed, nor yet in the ease and fulness in which I lived.

After we had learned some time together in the judge's family, we were removed to a school in the country, at a place called Hawkshead; where I met with many temptations, and seldom good company, but such as were given to folly and wantonness. But the Lord was wonderfully gracious to me; and many limes when I have deserved nothing but stripes from him, has he broken and overcome my heart with his divine love; so that I often stood admiring his wonderful mercy, his long-suffering, forbearance, and infinite goodness. For truly had his compassion failed, I might have been destroyed in the sins of my youth; but blessed be his name forever, he had mercy on me. As Providence ordered it, we did not stay long at that school, but returned to Judge Fell's, where it was with me as before mentioned, so that I began to see into the depth of what the world could afford.

Being then about fifteen years of age, my heart was much inclined after wisdom, as also to seek knowledge; for in that family there was a great profession, and such as could speak of the Scripture, and could make repetitions of sermons, and paraphrase thereupon, were held in esteem. Therefore I endeavored much to retain the heads thereof, but when my memory would not serve me to do as some did in that particular, I used myself to write much after the priests. But that which I reaped thereby, could not give satisfaction to my soul, which at times hungered much after the Lord,

## CHAPTER II.

*1652—George Fox's first visit to Swarthmore; the tendency of his doctrine—William Caton leaves school, and becomes an inmate in the Fell family, as teacher and writer—The divine love and refreshment prevalent amongst them—Is moved to go into steeple-houses, markets, etc.—Quits Swarthmore.*

In the year 1652, about the middle of the fourth month, was that faithful messenger and servant of the Most High, George Fox, cast among us, who declared unto us the way of life and peace. Of those in that family who believed his report, I was one, who came finally to be affected with his doctrine; though at the first I did as much admire at his nonconformity to our fashions, customs, and salutations, as strangers at this day admire at our non-conformity to them; yet something in me loved him, and acknowledged his testimony. I began to find in myself the truth of what he spoke; for his doctrine tended very much to bring us to “the light, which Christ Jesus had enlightened us withal, which shined in our hearts, and convinced us of sin and evil;” and into love with that, and obedience to that, he sought to bring us, that thereby through the Son we might be brought into unity and covenant with the Lord.

In due time the witness of God was awakened in me, whereby my sins came to be set in order before me; and it brought judgment and condemnation upon me by reason of them. But I, being like the wild heifer which is unaccustomed to the yoke, sought to get from under it, as I often did, until I came to know something of the power of God, which brought that wild nature in me, which was unaccustomed to the yoke, into subjection. And so good was the Lord unto me, that I had not long heard the Truth, when I came to be a witness of the power of it in myself; whereby the strong man in me was made to bow, and the keepers of the house to tremble.

At that time I had not left the school, but went with Judge Fell's son thereto; and he being somewhat convinced of the same truth, and touched with the same power, it was the easier and the better for me. Howbeit, we were often wild, vain and wanton, and sported ourselves in folly, to the extinguishing of the good oftentimes in ourselves. But such was the love of God to me in those days, that I was as surely pursued with judgment, as I was overtaken with folly. Sometimes I would separate myself from the rest of my schoolfellows, and get retired into some place, where I might wait upon the Lord and ponder upon his marvellous works. When I was thus retired, and in singleness of heart waited upon the Lord, I received refreshment from him; but when I was drawn aside through the provocation of my companion, or the temptations of the wicked one in myself, then was I troubled and disquieted in my heart.

In process of time my study became my burden; for when I was so much in trouble through the condemnation that was upon me, I was so much the more incapable of making themes, Latin verses, etc., neither could I well give to the master the trivial compliment of the hat, for I was then convinced in my conscience of the vanity of it. My special friend Margaret Fell, the judge's wife, taking notice of my condition, was not willing to permit me to go longer to the school than I was free, but caused me to stay at home to teach her children, and to go with her when she went abroad, and to write for her, etc., which was a happy time for me. After I left the school, I was much exercised in writing precious and wholesome things pertaining to the Truth; whereby I came to have good opportunities to be conversant with Friends, in whom the life of righteousness began to bud and spring forth, and who grew in love and unity, with which my soul was exceedingly affected; and I desired very much to be one with them in it, that I might share with them therein, for my soul was delighted with it and in it, far beyond the pleasures and delights of this transitory world.

When I was about seventeen years of age, the power of the Lord God did work mightily and effectually in me, purging, cleansing, and sanctifying me; and then I began to see something of the gloriousness of the ministration of condemnation, and of the goodness of the Word of life, which was become "as a fire in my bones," and "as a sword and hammer in my heart." I began to be broken, melted and overcome with the love of God, which sprang up in my heart, and with the divine and precious promises that were confirmed to my soul. Oh! the preciousness and excellency of that day! Oh! the glory and the blessedness of that day! how, or with what shall I demonstrate it? or by what means shall I explain it, that generations to come, and they that are yet unborn, might understand it, and give glory unto the Lord Jehovah?

Oh! the love which in that day abounded among us, especially in that family! and the freshness of the

power of the Lord God, which then was amongst us; and the zeal for Him and his truth, the comfort and refreshment which we had from his presence,—the nearness and dearness that were amongst us one towards another,—the openings and revelations which we then had! I confess I find myself insufficient to declare these things to the utmost; neither do I now intend to go about to describe them particularly; for then I might make a larger volume by much, than now I am intending; but, my heart is affected with the remembrance of them at this day.

In those days meetings were exceedingly precious to us, insomuch that some few of us did commonly spend some time every night in waiting upon the Lord; yes, often after the rest of the family were gone to bed: and, oh! the comfort and refreshment which we had together, and the benefit which we reaped thereby, how shall I declare it? For if we had suffered loss in the day-time, when we had been abroad about our business or the like, then we came in a great measure thus to be restored again, through the love, power, and mercy of our God, which abounded very much unto us. Howbeit, sometimes I was deprived of that sweet society, when my heart was with them, through my going to my bed so early with the judge's son, with whom I then lodged. For a season he was tender and hopeful; but afterwards meeting with many temptations, his heart was drawn aside from the truth, and his mind ran after the delights and pleasures of this present world.

When he was removed to another school, we came to be separated, which was at that time no disadvantage to me in one respect, though looked upon by some to be a disadvantage as to my outward preferment. But in that day I could have chosen much rather to do any kind of labor pertaining to the house, with the servants that were in the truth, than to enjoy the delights of this world with this son, or anyone else, for a season. For my delight was not then, so much as it had been, in the vain, perishing, and transitory things of the world, but in the Lord, in his mercy and loving kindness, and to be with his people; for the sake of whose company I could have exposed myself to some pretty hard employment. Neither was it then too contemptible for me to become as Amos, a keeper of cattle, or as Elisha, to follow the plough; for indeed in those days I did enjoy and possess that which made all things easy and light to me. And oh! the abundance of living refreshment, which I received from the Lord! it is hard for me to utter or declare the same to the utmost. I was often overcome with the love of my Father, which did exceedingly break and ravish my heart, and I know it was so with others of that family; and of the overflowings thereof, we communicated one to another, to the comforting and refreshing one of another. We were willing to sympathize and bear one with another, to be helpful one unto another, and in true and tender love to watch one over another. And, oh! the love, mercy, and power of God, which abounded to us, through us, and among us, who shall declare it? Hence came that worthy family to be so renowned in the nation, the fame of which spread much among Friends: and the power and presence of the Lord being so much there with us, it was as a means to induce many, even from afar, to come there; so that at one time there would be Friends out five or six counties: all which tended to augment my refreshment.

By reason of my much writing, it came to pass that I especially was much conversant with them, and thereby I had a privilege beyond others of my fellow servants. I was frequently with dear George Fox,

who, as a tenderhearted father, after he had begotten me through the gospel, sought to nurture me up in all wisdom, faithfulness, and righteousness, to the glory and praise of my heavenly Father. And on the other hand I was cherished, and encouraged in the way of life, by my entirely beloved friend Margaret Fell, who as a tender-hearted nursing mother cared for me, and was as tender of me as if I had been one of her own children: the kindness, the respect and friendship, which she showed me, ought never to be forgotten by me.

When I had thus plentifully reaped of the mercy of the Most High, and his power had wrought so effectually in me, to the redeeming of my soul from death, then did his Word of life begin to grow powerful in me. And seeing the darkness and ignorance so great, in which people were involved, my spirit was stirred within me, and came to be tilled with love to their souls, and with zeal for God and his truth. About that time I began to know the motion of his power and the command of his Spirit; by which I came to be moved to go to the places of public worship, to declare against the deceit of the priests, and the sins of the people, and to warn all to repent: for I testified to them that the day of the Lord was coming. But oh! the weakness, the fear and trembling in which I went upon this message,—who shall declare it? and how did I plead with the Lord concerning this matter; for I looked upon my own weakness and insufficiency, and how unfit I was in my own apprehension, to encounter with gainsayers, who I knew would also despise my youth. Howbeit, whatever I alleged by way of reasoning against the Lord concerning this weighty matter, I could not be excused; but I must go, and declare what he should give me to speak; and his promise was, he would be with me.

When I saw it must be so, I put on courage in the name of the Lord; and having faith in him, which stood in his power, I next gave up to his will, and went in obedience to his motion. When I came to the place, behold, the consultations which before I had had, were gone, and the fear of man was departed from me; and strength, and courage, and boldness, and utterance were given me, so that I became, through him that strengthened me, rather as a potent man than as a stripling, and that even in the face of the congregations.

Howbeit, my testimony was by many little regarded, neither did they lay to heart what I declared among them. Some fell upon me, and did much abuse me; others pitied me and were much troubled for me; and sometimes they were much divided among themselves, for some were for me, and others against me. But in the midst of them the Lord was with me, and his mighty power did preserve me; and when I had cleared my conscience among them, I returned in much peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, for my reward was with me.

After the Lord had fitted me for his work as aforesaid, I was much exercised in going to steeple-houses, insomuch that there seldom passed a first-day of the week, but I was at one or another; and I was also often in markets, where I was moved to declare God's eternal truth, of which through his infinite mercy I was become a witness. And though when I went to such places as aforesaid, I seldom knew what I should say till I came there; yet behold when I was to speak I never lacked words or utterance, to declare that which the Lord gave me to publish; but oftentimes on the contrary I had fulness to my great admiration. And the beating, buffeting, stocking, stoning, with the many reproaches, which I went

through in those days, were little to me; no, not to be compared to the refreshment which I had through the enjoyment of the life, power, and love, which the Father had revealed in me, and by which I was carried through them and over them all. By how much the more the Lord tried me in those days, by so much the more I came to experience his loving kindness to me.

After the Lord came to honor me with bearing his name, and accounted me worthy to bear my testimony, both in public and in private, to his eternal truth, I had much favor and respect from and among his people, whose love abounded much to me; and I being sensible thereof, was very much supported and strengthened thereby, in that service which God appointed for me, and called me unto. When such service was over I returned again to the place of my residence, where I was diligent in my employment, until the Lord ordered me to other service again, either to meetings abroad on the first-days of the week, or else to steeple-houses: and the Lord was with me, and his word of life did often pass powerfully through me, and never did I go about any service for the Lord, in which I was faithful, but I had always my reward with me.

When I returned again unto that honorable family, the place of my abode, (I mean Judge Fell's at Swarthmore, in Lancashire,) then was our refreshment very great together in the Lord, and with rejoicing did we speak together of his wonderful works, which were very marvellous in our eyes. And after I had had many glorious days there, and seen many of the wonderful works of the Lord, in the fulness of time, according to the will of God I was called out from among them, the Lord having other service for me elsewhere. When it was the will of the Lord that I should go, the judge was much against it, being then very unwilling to part with me; but his dear wife, who could not well give me up before, was then made willing freely to resign me to the will of the Lord, especially upon so honorable an account; for I left them not to go to serve other men, but to publish the name of the Lord, and to declare his eternal truth abroad.

### CHAPTER III.

*1654—Leaving Swarthmore he travels southward into Warwickshire and to Norwich, and afterwards to London—He and the brethren have great service in that city, etc.*

It was in the year 1654, in the eleventh month, when I was about eighteen years of age, that I took my leave of that renowned family at Swarthmore. But, oh! the tears that were shed among us at our parting;—the prayers and intercessions that were made to the Lord; and what deep impression our parting had upon our hearts, who can declare the same. So exceedingly were we united and bound up together, that it was very hard for us to part one with another. Howbeit, when we considered upon what account it was, and that notwithstanding our parting, we should enjoy one another in the Lord, then could we give up to the will of the Lord so much the better in the thing. Therefore according to the will of the Lord, in his name and power, I set my face southward; and visited Friends in Lancashire, and in some parts of Yorkshire and Derbyshire, which counties I passed through into Warwickshire, to a place called



Badgley; where I met with many of the brethren, who did dearly acknowledge the power, and the motion of it, by which I was drawn forth into that glorious work.

Being very sweetly refreshed together, and confirmed in the faith and power of God, and encouraged to go on in that glorious and honorable service, I took my leave of them, and went on in the name and power of the Lord towards Norwich in Norfolk, being accompanied by another Friend; and coming to Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, we found several there newly convinced of the Lord's truth, with whom we were much refreshed. And being there the first-day of the week, it was upon me to go to their steeple-house, where I had some liberty (and but little) to declare the everlasting truth of God.

After that I returned to the meeting of Friends, where the power and presence of the Lord God were with us; so that a very sweet, comfortable, and refreshing meeting we had. I and my companion were apprehended, and kept that night in custody; but the next day, as Providence ordered it, while the priest and some with him, as we were informed, were gone to get a warrant to bring us before a justice, we were by a certain officer released.

After that we travelled towards Cambridge, where we had a very good opportunity to visit Friends; which having done, we passed on our journey towards Norwich. It being in the depth of winter, and we travelling altogether on foot, it was something hard to the outward man; but the Lord was with us, and his mighty power upheld us, and carried us through all, and through mercy we got well to Norwich; where there were several of our north country Friends in prison, whom we visited, and with whom we were sweetly refreshed.

In this city we had a very large meeting, to which many people resorted; and the Lord was with me, and gave me a mouth and wisdom freely and powerfully to declare his living truth. At that time we were in much jeopardy of being taken, but the Lord preserved us out of the hands of unreasonable men. At that city my companion left me, and returned towards the north; and after I had visited Friends and the brethren there, I went into the country, and had very good service for the Lord; and in a short time after I went to London, where I was very kindly received by Friends, and we were refreshed together in the Lord.

Not long after, came several of the brethren to the city out of the north and other parts; and the mighty power of the Lord God was with us, and very much we were exercised, sometimes in steeple-houses, and sometimes in the meetings of Separatists. Upon one first-day I was at two of their steeple-houses in the forepart of the day, and at one of them I had large liberty to speak. In the afternoon I was at a meeting of Professors, where there were six that spoke one after another and I had liberty to speak freely among them without opposition or contradiction from any of them, and afterwards I departed in peace.

About that time, the word of the Lord grew mightily in that city, and many were added to the faith; and many steeple-houses, and most of the meetings in the city were visited by some of the brethren; for at one time there were ten or twelve of the ministering brethren in the city; most of which came out of the north, even plain, honest, upright men, such as the Lord was pleased to make use of in that day; and

very diligent we were in his work night and day, laboring faithfully so much as in us lay, to exalt his name over all, and to make his truth and salvation known unto all.

Many meetings we had about that time in the city, and I began to experience much of the faithfulness of the Lord to me, who furnished me according to necessity, and was pleased to give that which was suitable to the condition of the people, unto whom I was to communicate it.

About that time, I met with my dear brother John Stubbs, who was also come up to London out of the north; and though at that time we had little outward knowledge one of another, yet Providence did so order it, that we became companions and fellow travellers together. It was upon us to go into the country, partly towards Uxbridge; and at a certain place within a few miles of Uxbridge, Ave had very good service both in the steeple-house, and also at a meeting, which was ordered upon our coming to that place; and the Lord was with us, in whom we were strong, and our word powerful, though in our own eye we were weak, and contemptible in the eyes of many. The priest being moved with envy, stirred up the people against us, so that through his means we were apprehended and carried before a justice; but he being a moderate man, reasoned moderately with us, and perceiving our innocency, discharged us. Afterwards we returned to London again with joy and rejoicing, when we saw how the Lord had been with us, and how eminently he had appeared, through us weak and contemptible vessels; which we made known to the brethren at our return, who, when they understood it, rejoiced with us.

## CHAPTER IV.

*1655—He travels with John Stubbs into Kent; they reach Dover, are haled before the Magistrates — Luke Howard—His boldness in their service— They proceed to Hythe and other places—Are cruelly treated at Maidstone.*

We stayed some time after this in the city, where we had good service for the Lord; and afterwards it was upon us to go into Kent towards Dover, which accordingly we did, upon the 13th day of the first month, 1655, in much weakness and fear, we being but young in the truth, and hearing of such wise professing men in those parts. Howbeit, in the faith we went on, having confidence in God, who had been with us, and who was with us.

In due time we got to Dover, where we were as pilgrims and strangers, not knowing the face of any in the town. After we had walked awhile in the streets, being very much pressed and burdened in our spirits, we took up our lodging at an inn or ale-house; where we had been but one night, when the mayor came to us, having heard something of such men being in town, and he examined us: it being on a first-day in the morning, he would have had us secured for that day, but having nothing against us, he could not well bring his purpose to pass.

After he left us, it was upon me to go to the steeple-house, where I had but little liberty to speak before I

was haled out; but in the yard I had some more liberty to clear my conscience to the people. As for my dear companion John Stubbs, he was at the same time at the meeting of the Anabaptists, so called.

In the after part of the day, he was at the other steeple-house, and I was moved to go up to the castle to the meeting of the Independents, so called, so that by that day's service the report of us went not only through the town, but also into the country, and of the truth of which we bore testimony. Shortly after, we had liberty to have a meeting in the Baptists' meeting place, to which many people resorted; and the Lord was with us, and gave us mouth and wisdom, not only powerfully to declare, but also zealously to contend for the everlasting truth, which was then much opposed and gainsaid both by professors and profane: howbeit, some began to adhere to it, and to be affected with it, and then did the enmity begin to work in the hearts of the people against us. We were haled before the magistrates, who examined us, and did use much means to get the town cleared of us, and ordered that none should entertain us upon a certain penalty; whereupon we were turned out of our lodging. But the Lord raised up one Luke Howard, a shoemaker, who had become so loving to us, and so bold and valiant, that he undertook to entertain us in his house, notwithstanding their order; where we abode several days, and had afterwards a meeting or meetings in his house; and several at that time came to be convinced of the truth, whom we commended to the grace of God and left them.

[Editor's Note: The following account is given by Luke Howard in his Journal, of his first meeting with William Caton, and of his visit to Dover. After describing the bewildered state of his own mind, and that he could find no trodden path, and no man to lead him out of the wilderness, Luke Howard informs us, he went up to London in 1654-5; and on a first-day he went to hear one Cardwell, in Lombard street. When he had done, there stood up a young man newly come out of the north country, his name was William Caton; who sounded an alarm out of Zion, and proclaimed the gospel of peace. At that time it seemed to me like the priest's preaching; my mind then being more abroad after visible things, than within after invisible: which made me say to my companion, 'come, let us begone to dinner,' (not staying till he had done;) 'for I know as much as he can tell me, or more than I or he either can live in;' thus making myself a judge of his life and doctrine, which I knew not: and so I turned my back upon the truth, as too many do.

The after part of the day we spent our time in walking in the fields; and the week following I got home. The next first-day afterwards, one meets me in the street, and tells me there was a Quaker preaching in the churchyard, who was the same aforementioned William Caton. At which I immediately went to see what manner of man that Quaker was: and when I saw him, my heart smote within me, and I was more reached with his bare person in Dover, than with his person and words too in London. And I was made a safeguard to him from the boys and rude spirits that offered him abuse. When he had borne his testimony, he passed away. I then took notice where he went in, and at night, Nicodemus-like, I went to see him: I was reluctant to go in the day, and would much preferred to have got company to go with me, but could not, so I went alone; and then met with him and his dear companion John Stubbs, who had been at the other steeple-house. I believe the Lord stirred me in my mind to go to see them. I found them eating a little

bread with beer, without anything to sweeten or relish it.

So I asked them to go out with me; and we went to a professor's (Baptist,) who conversed with them much, and agreed to have a meeting the next day in the Baptist's meeting-house, which was performed;—After which many followed them to their inn, as wonderers and gazers, and some to oppose. Then the rulers of the town sent to the innkeeper to turn them out of his house, or else they would pluck down his sign.

So the innkeeper spoke to me, because he saw that I most took their parts, and desired me to tell them, which I did: but I also said to John and William, 'go home to my house, for I care not for the rulers or mayor either.' So they went with me, and the fifth-day following we had a great meeting at my house: and their testimony was to me as John the Baptist's was to Herod, who heard him gladly, and as Paul's was to Agrippa, who was almost persuaded to be a Christian. I was convinced in my judgment, and their testimony was to me as a pleasant song: so the meeting ended, and all passed away in quiet.

He then describes his refusing to give up these Friends, when applied to by the constables sent to his house by the mayor, etc. “The next day at my house again, we had a good and blessed meeting I may say; in which these words were delivered:—that notwithstanding men's profession of religion, the body of death is yet standing in them.” He then states that the witness within was answered, and he became sensible of his own dark condition and state of mind; so that it seemed to him to be the Lord's work to show me myself, and that I was but death and darkness, and to empty me thereof; that so he might fill me from his own fulness of grace and truth, even the life of Christ Jesus, in whom alone he is well pleased. Then did my two friends and fathers in the truth pass out of town, and I went two or three miles with them; and they took in writing the names of some towns and men along the sea-coast:—and all whose names I gave received them; at which time Samuel Fisher was one. After I left them, my sorrow was great, and my tears many; so that I had much ado to get and keep my eyes dry, when I came back to Dover.”]

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[The following letter copied from the original, found in a valuable private collection of letters formerly from Swarthmore, may also be interesting to the reader. It is addressed “For his dearly beloved friends Francis Howgill or Edward Burrough, at Justice Hubbert's house, in Moorfields, London.”

*John Stubbs and William Caton to Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough*

Dear hearts, Francis and Edward,

We came into Dover upon the seventh-day in the last week, being the market-day, towards night, and passed to and again through the streets and in the market place, though we had nothing given us to speak there; then at night we took up a chamber, and we were known to no man by

face. The next morning the mayor and some of his attendants came to our lodging, and examined us from where we came, etc.—he was much troubled that we did not bow to him, and said we should be secured as vagrants. Then we were had before a captain, who is one of the separate teachers; he with this mayor was very exact in examining us severally;—they asked us for letters,—we had papers,—they saw them, and gave us them again. We had our liberty with a charge from the mayor that we should be of good behavior. After our departure from them, one of us went in the forenoon to a steeple-house, and the other to a Baptist meeting. William was pulled down in the steeple though with little violence, but had his liberty to speak in the yard. I had as much liberty amongst the Baptists as I could desire. I saw a seed amongst them: a few words were spoken;—great was the power that attended. In the afternoon, William went to the castle where the garrison is, and there the captain was much opposite, but the soldiers were willing to hear. I went to a steeple-house of Independents: here are many high airy spirits as ever I met with, both in the fort and in the town. Oh! who is sufficient to encounter with such a generation!

There was a captain in that Baptist meeting and his wife, who sent for us to their lodging upon the first-day at night, and some others were there. There is a convincement upon them both, but especially upon him; he commands a castle between this place and Maidstone, and is a very moderate, plain-hearted man; he was very attentive at the meeting when I was there. There come frequently from the castle and from the town to our lodging some rich and some poor;—pray that we may be kept in the discerning state. This day the post-master told us they desired to have a private meeting with us; there is something kindled amongst them; the man is of a temperate spirit, and very hopeful. Another, a shoemaker, one Howard, who has been a Baptist, (and his wife,) as he says these ten or eleven years, but has no rest,—he is clearly convinced. A fire is kindled amongst them, which cannot be suddenly quenched.

They are rich and very full, and now they are afraid to come to a loss; we shall endeavor to get a meeting among them, and so clear our consciences to them. Let us hear from you as shortly as you can, and we would have you to send us a dozen of some sorts of books which you think would be serviceable, and we shall endeavor to get money for them.

You may direct them to be left at Luke Howard's, the shoemaker, in Dover, to be conveyed to us. The post-master is loving towards us, but we are at an inn in the town, where many are free to come to see us. So our dear love to all our dear friends with you. We remain your brethren, etc.

John Stubbs, William Caton  
Dover, 19th of First month, 1654

We would have you to show this to George (doubtless George Fox).

Returning to the William Caton's journal:

After that we went from there to a town called Foulstone [Folkestone,] where we were kindly received

by Thomas Nichols, his wife and others,—and some good meetings we had there; the priest of the town and many others being present at some of them: and the witness of God was truly reached in some, and some were convinced of the truth, and received it in the love of it. I was also at their steeple-house, but was uncivilly treated and permitted to speak but little, until I was turned out violently by a rude fellow; but some that were simple and moderate were troubled thereat.

When we were pretty clear of that town, we travelled towards Hythe, and in our way there we went into a castle which stood by the sea-side, [Sandgate Castle,] where we were kindly received both by the captain and his wife. We had a meeting or two among the soldiers and others, and after that we went to the aforesaid Hythe. It was upon us to go to their public place of worship, which we did; but soon after one of us began to speak, we were violently haled out, but preserved, through the hand of the Lord, from being much harmed by the rude multitude.

It was much noted that he who was the most violent against us, had afterwards in a short time, some remarkable judgment which befell him.

In that town the Baptists allowed us the use of their meeting-room, and at the first were pretty moderate and civil to us, but afterwards they became (or some of them) our great opposers; howbeit there were some in that place who believed and received our testimony.

We went from that town further into the country, and were at Romney and Lydd, where there were many high professors, and among the rest Samuel Fisher, a very eminent and able pastor among the Baptists. It was upon me to go to the meeting of the Independents, and upon my dear brother, to go to the meeting of the Baptists, where he had good liberty. The aforesaid Samuel Fisher had been speaking among them, but, as it appeared, was so much affected with John's doctrine, that after John had done, Samuel began with his wisdom to paraphrase upon it with excellency of speech, thereby to set it forth in his apprehension beyond what John had done. At the meeting where I was, they would scarcely allow me any liberty to clear my conscience among them. After that, we had meetings in both places; and being one time at a meeting in the street at Lydd, for the Friend's house would not contain the multitude, the magistrates, or some of them, sent to the aforesaid Samuel Fisher, who was also present at the meeting, to tell him that we might have the church-door, as they called it, opened to go in there, but we refused to accept of it, and chose rather to continue our meeting in the street. The aforesaid Samuel Fisher believed our report, with several more in those two towns, who were convinced of the truth of God, which had not been declared in those parts by any Friend before.

We were also up in the country about Ashford and Tenterden, and had great meetings, and strong contests with professors, who did much oppose us, especially in those two towns; howbeit we found some who were simple and tender-hearted in most places where we got meetings. We were also at Cranbrook and Staplehurst, where we found a very open people, who were very ready to receive, and to embrace the everlasting truth, which we freely and powerfully, according to our measures received, administered unto them, in the demonstration of the eternal Spirit; and several large and precious meetings we had among them, and the power and presence of the Lord God were much with us, in which we

rejoiced together, freely distributing the Word of life unto them, which at that time dwelt richly and plenteously in our hearts; and as we had received it freely, so we did dispense the same freely. For though there were those that would have given us both gold and money, which some would even have forced upon us, yet we had not freedom to receive one penny from them; for we told them it was not theirs but them which we sought. Many were convinced and much affected with the truth, which with joy and gladness they received. Among them, as at other places, we sought to settle and establish meetings, and to bring those that were convinced to wait upon the Lord in silence, in that light of life in themselves, which we turned them unto; to the end that they might enjoy the substance of what they had professed. Accordingly meetings came to be settled in most of the places before mentioned, which they that were convinced kept up after our departure.

[Editor's Note: Dover Friends were among the first that set this noble example of gathering in the name of Him, who promised to be in the midst of them, and who was found to be the faithful and true witness unto them. Of this, Luke Howard wrote as follows: "I may also acquaint you a little how things were with us in our first convincement and meetings, after we came to sit down to wait upon the Lord in silence; which was our practice for some years, except some travelling Friend came amongst us. I can truly say, the Lord was our teacher, and his presence and power were manifested amongst us, when no words have been sounded in our outward ears: for several of us, and at several times, in these meetings, have felt the power of the Lord, that has made our outward bodies tremble as well as our hearts: and great fear and reverence took hold of my heart; and the Lord confirmed his truth in me from day to day, and answered my doubts, and settled my faith by and in his power."— Luke Howard's Collection of Writings, 1704, p. 29.]

Returning to journal:

After that, we were moved to go to a great town called Maidstone; and it being on a first-day of the week, we were in the fore part of the day at a meeting of the people called Baptists in the country; and after we had declared the way of salvation among them, we left them and went to the town aforesaid. When we came there, it was upon my dear brother John Stubbs, to go to their public place of worship, and it was upon me to go to the meeting of the Independents, which accordingly we did; and John was taken at their steeple-house, and I the day following at my inn, and were both sent to the House of Correction, so called, where we were searched, and had our money, and our ink-horns, and Bible, etc., taken from us; and afterwards we were stripped, and had our necks and arms put in the stocks, and in that condition were desperately whipped; and afterwards we had irons and great clogs of wood laid upon us, and in that condition they would have compelled us to work, saying, he that would not work should not eat, etc. Forasmuch as they had dealt so wickedly with us, and that without any just cause, neither could they justly charge us with the breach of any law, we were not free to consent so far to their cruel wills as to do their work; and therefore they kept us without victuals for some days, only a little water once a day we had allowed us: he that committed us, and was the chief agent in cruelty against us, was a noted Presbyterian. And though the malefactors that were there, would have given us of their bread, yes, the women of the house being moved with compassion towards us, would have given us something

privately, but we were not free at that time to accept of either, until they by whose order the provision was kept from us, gave consent that it should be brought in to us; which finally he or they did: many in the town began to be offended at their cruelty, which they manifested towards us. And when they, who sought to bow us to their wills, were made to bow by the power of God, we were free to receive victuals for our money, and did eat and were refreshed.

[Editor's Note: The following particulars, in addition to those given above, are obtained from some early records of Friends of East Kent.

“William Caton being brought before the magistrate, was examined where he dwelt, and how long it was since he came from his outward being, and what way he came; with more of the like questions. William answered, he came from London. The magistrate asked what he did while he continued in London? William said, in making known the everlasting truth, as he was moved of the Lord; turning people from darkness to the light; that with the light they might see themselves, and be brought to repentance, etc. Then the magistrate told him, he had a master for him, and that he should be set on work, and be bound unto him for so much a year, etc. But William refused to be bound to man, or to be in bondage to any; saying, he was in the work and service of the Lord, and could not go out of the Lord's service to be a slave to man.”

This early record then describes their cruel treatment in nearly similar terms as in the journal above, though sometimes more minutely. After being sent out of the town they passed into the hands of many constables, William Caton being separated from his friend. The account then states, that these officers began to grow careless of their order; and at length left them in the highways; their heavenly countenances and sober lives and words preached so much to them, that they finally allowed them to travel alone where they pleased. The record continues to give account of their returning to Maidstone, etc., and adds, “before they got to Dover again, the report of their wicked usage at Maidstone came to the ears of the mayor of Dover; who meeting with Luke Howard, said, 'Luke, I hear your friends have been at Maidstone, and been whipped: we did not deal so badly with them here.' 'No,' said Luke Howard, 'but you dealt with them worse than you should.' So in a little time came William Caton and John Stubbs again to Dover, where they, with Friends, enjoyed their meetings peaceably: many being convinced.”—Manuscript of Friends of East Kent.]

Returning to journal:

The next day following, after their cruelty seemed to be abated, they sent an officer, who made restitution of some of our things again which they had taken from us, but burned several good wholesome papers and letters. Afterwards they parted us, and with officers conveyed us out of the town, one at the one end of it, and the other at the other, which was no small trial to us to be so separated. We were conveyed from one officer to another in the country, and in that manner sent towards our habitations in the north: but when I had been in the hands of about twelve of them, they began to grow careless of their order, and finally, allowed me to travel alone, which accordingly I did towards London.



The day following I got well up to London, where I was more than a little refreshed with the brethren; and there I met my dear companion John Stubbs again to our great refreshment. It came presently upon us to return to the town of Maidstone again, and into that country, which was no small trial to us; however, to the will of the Lord we gave up, and returned within two or three days. When our grand persecutor at Maidstone heard of our return, he sent a party after us, and it being come eight miles into the country, the officer came into a Friend's house where we had lodged; but were then at another place; and it being on a first-day, in the morning we went to their steeple-house, but the officer was not then there; and Providence did so order it, at that time we were preserved out of their hands. Afterwards we passed through the country visiting the brethren that had received the gospel, who were confirmed in the faith, and the more so through our patient suffering. We were also at Canterbury where we had good service, especially among the Baptists and Independents so called; for we were at their meetings, and had pretty good liberty to declare the truth of God amongst them, and some there were that received our testimony in that place also, who were convinced of the truth, so that there came to be a meeting settled there. We were likewise at Sandwich, where I had some service in particular among the Dutch people at their steeple-house, but at that time the truth could get but little entrance in that place.

## CHAPTER V.

*1655—He visits Calais in France—Returns to Dover—Travels to Yarmouth, and afterwards into the North—With John Stubbs sails to Holland—Their labors in that country—Returns to England.*

Upon the 12th of the fourth month, 1655, it was upon me to go over to Calais, in France, which accordingly I did from Dover. When I came there, and saw the place so much given to idolatry, my spirit was very much burdened and pressed within me: and in the power of the Lord I went to their high place of worship, where some were worshipping before their dumb idols: and I walked through by them, but could not well ease myself with words to them, because they could not understand me, neither could I then understand their language; but the Lord afterwards made way for me to ease my spirit, and to clear my conscience among some of them. For after I had been some little time in the place, it came to be known to some of the chief of the city, who desired to see me, and to speak with me, and some of them came down in person to the dock to look for me, and understanding I was aboard, I was called ashore, and was afterwards conveyed through private places, for fear of the rude multitude, as he told me that was appointed to convey me, to a great house, where several of the great ones were gathered together, to see me, hear me, and to speak with me, so that I had a very good opportunity to declare the truth among them. A certain Scotch lord, so called, was the interpreter; and precious dominion the Lord was pleased to give me over their vain, frothy minds and spirits, which were very much addicted to lightness and vanity. When I had had this opportunity to clear my conscience among them, they allowed me to depart in peace. And soon after I was clear, and free to return again for England, which I did, and found my dear companion John Stubbs, at Dover.

About that time it was upon John Stubbs to go to Holland, and I was made very free in the Lord to accompany him. We had some good service afterwards in the country, in our return towards Gravesend; and from there we went to Colchester, and so to Yarmouth in Norfolk. As to the outward we were poor and feeble, yet full of power and strong in the Lord, and were very provident and sparing in our expenses, of which I could say more than here I am free to insert; yet nevertheless the Lord did enable us to travel day after day, and many a mile upon a day, notwithstanding our keeping our bodies so much under. Neither did we in those days lack money, of which we might have had plenty given us; but our hearts being clear and free from coveting that, as the Lord well knows, we kept ourselves clear and free of it; for as we had received freely, so we were as willing to give freely, and the little we had, the Lord did sanctify and bless to us, and our reward we had always with us, in whatsoever place or condition we were.

After we came to Yarmouth, we waited there and in the country thereabouts the most part of three weeks for a passage for Holland; and finally an opportunity of a ship seemed to present, as also of wind; so we got aboard, though not without some difficulty in the roads: but presently after the master came aboard, and perceiving what we were, he would not carry us, but forced us ashore again; which disappointment, after we had waited so long, was no small trial to us.

When we saw there was little likelihood of our getting passage from there for Holland, we determined to go for the north; and after we had waited some time longer there, we got passage for Sunderland, having no small weight upon us, which was the heavier because it was reported in the nation among Friends, that we were gone over sea.

When we came into the north, I had much desire in me to go to see my dear and near relations in the Lord at Swarthmore and thereabouts, and Providence did so order it that I had an opportunity. Oh! the refreshment which we had at our meeting, and during the time I stayed among them, it would be hard for me to declare it to the utmost. Dear Margaret Fell, who had been as a tender-hearted, nursing mother to me, was refreshed to hear how the Lord had been with me, how he had blessed my labors, and prospered his work in my hand; for all which mercies, together with many more, we returned unto the Lord his praise, his due, and with joyful hearts offered unto him the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.

When I had stayed some little time there, in which I was refreshed both in soul and body, it was upon me to return again, to endeavor to accomplish the aforesaid journey to Holland; and when the time of my departure was come, I took my leave of them with much brokenness of heart, in which I also left them; and visiting other Friends, I returned again into the bishoprick, where I had left my dear companion. Afterwards we had some precious meetings in those parts, which together with those we had had before, were of no small service: and being pretty clear of those parts, we sought again an opportunity for Holland.

Coming to Shields, we heard of a ship that was intended for Flanders, which, though it was in the king of Spain's dominions, and pretty wide from Holland, yet we were willing to go along with her, hoping to get passage from there; so going aboard of her, we got finally through mercy to Yarmouth Roads again,

where we found a ship intended for Flushing in Zealand, which being nearer to Holland than Flanders, we embarked in her. Through the mercy of the Lord, we arrived well at Flushing; where we came among a people of a strange language, among whom we had been but a little time, when our spirits were stirred within us by the power of the Lord; through which we were moved to proclaim his mighty day, and to publish his eternal truth, in and through their streets, whether they could understand or no; which we did, and his power and presence were with us. At that time no man laid hands upon us; so after we had unburdened our spirits, by easing them of the weight that was upon them, through obeying the Lord, we returned to our lodging again.

When the first-day of the week came, it was upon us to go to the congregation of the English and Scotch, which we did; and many gazed upon us and wondered at us, because of our non-conformity to them. But after we began to speak, they were much stirred, some with fury and rage, and others with admiration; but withal, they would not allow us to speak much, but hurried us out with great indignation, and some violence was offered to us: howbeit the Lord preserved us, so that we received but little harm from them,—blessed be his name for evermore!

The same day we went to another great city called Middleburgh, and got there before their afternoon's devotion was ended. When we came there, it was upon us to go to the meeting place where the English and Scotch did meet, where we waited until the priest had done; afterwards one of us began to speak, but the priest would not permit us, imagining at first, before he understood us well, that we had come a begging. But when he perceived the contrary, he and others were more against us, and some especially were very violent, and did beat me much; and indeed had not the Lord been with us, and preserved us through his mighty power, they might have done us much mischief; but blessed be the Lord, he was our keeper and preserver.

After that, the priest sent for us to his house, and reasoned awhile with us; but he was of such a lofty and ambitious spirit, as many of that generation are, that the truth could have little entrance in him, or entertainment from him. After we had had other good service in the city, and were become pretty clear of it, we embarked for Rotterdam in Holland; where, after some difficulty and hardship sustained, we arrived through the mercy of the Lord; but did not know the face of any. When we had been some few days in the city, it was known to several, and after some time we got a meeting at an English merchant's house, to which many merchants came, both Dutch and English. We suffered for lack of a good interpreter; for he that interpreted for us not being true and faithful, to interpret our words as we spoke them, but sometimes otherwise, the hearers or some of them, came rather to be incensed against us, than to be won or gained to the truth; howbeit, the witness of God in some, answered to the truth of our testimony. As there had been no Friend before to declare the truth among them in that city, it was looked upon as so much the stranger thing, and we were so much the more wondered at; but in due time, when we had cleared our consciences, and borne a faithful testimony to God's truth in that place, we departed from there and returned again for Zealand, where we took shipping for England.

After we had waited some time for the wind, we had an opportunity of sailing, but met with a very sore storm at sea; howbeit the Lord preserved us, and we got well to Burlington (Bridlington), in Yorkshire,

but were not permitted to go into the town, because we were come from Holland, where it was said the sickness then was; nevertheless we saw our Friends, and were refreshed in seeing one another. Soon after we set sail again, and when we came near Hartlepool, the wind blowing very hard, we lost our foremast, and were in some apparent danger; but the Lord was pleased to preserve us then also, and to assuage the violence of the boisterous waves through his mighty power, in which we put our confidence. And when through mercy we were gotten well ashore, we went up into the country among Friends, with whom we were more than a little refreshed in the Lord. After I had had several meetings in the bishoprick [Durham,] I went again into Lancashire, and coming to Swarthmore, I was received with joy again in the Lord, in whom our refreshment was great, and a very precious time we had afterwards together, whereby my very life was much revived; and therefore did my soul magnify the Lord, with the rest of his lambs and babes in that place.

## CHAPTER VI.

*1655—Visits Scotland, passing through Northumberland—Has good service for the Lord at Edinburgh and Glasgow—Returns to Swarthmore, and proceeds to Cheshire.*

It was not long after this, that I took my leave of that blessed family, for I was to go for Scotland, towards which nation we had felt some drawings, before we were clear of that service beyond the sea. Having taken my leave in abundance of love of my dearly beloved friends at Swarthmore, I went through Westmoreland, and had some good meetings among Friends there, which were of good service. Upon the 12th of the ninth month, 1655, I went towards the bishoprick, in order to go into Scotland. When I came into the bishoprick, I met with my dear companion John Stubbs again; and when we had visited the brethren and Friends in those parts, and had been truly refreshed together in the Lord, we went afterwards into Northumberland; in some parts of which we had very good service, especially in the country about Morpasse [Morpeth?]

About the beginning of the tenth month, 1655, we were at Berwick; and upon the market day, it was upon us to go into their market, where we had some good service. On first-day following, I was moved to go into their great assembly, where none of our Friends had been, but such as had been imprisoned and afterwards put out of the town. Nevertheless, I was not therefore to be discouraged, but went in boldly in the name and power of the Lord; and when the priest had done, I stood up upon a stall, but none seemed to make such haste to get away as the priest; however, my mouth was opened in much power, and the Lord was pleased to give me courage and boldness, and indifferently good liberty I had to declare the truth. When I had done, the mayor met me at the door, and took me by the hand, and delivered me to the sergeants; but afterwards I was brought before the mayor and magistrates, and further examined by them, who finally ordered that I should be turned out of the town, which also came to pass. In the afternoon I was at a steeple-house in the country, where I spoke to the priest; but he was Curious, and called me madman and bid the people have me to the stocks, and bind me hand and foot,

with more such like expressions; but none of the people would obey him, but gathered generally about me, and were pretty willing to hear the truth declared, though they were a sottish, ignorant people. Afterwards I could not well get any lodging among them for my money; and when I was wandering up and down, being destitute of a place to lay my head, or to rest and refresh myself in, there came a man out of Berwick to me, and I went along with him. The guard allowed me to pass very freely into the town again, where I met with my dear companion John Stubbs, who had also been in great service that day; in the forenoon among the Baptists, and in the afternoon he did supply the meeting which we had appointed; so that day we had good service, and stayed afterwards some few days in that town, and had another meeting or two there.

We travelled from there into Scotland, towards Edinburgh; and though our travails were great, and our sufferings many, both in the inward and outward man, yet the Lord by his mighty power supported us, and carried us through them all. And that which made them the easier to us, and made us the more capable to bear with them, was the extraordinary love and unity in which the Lord preserved us; inso-much that I do believe scarcely any of the brethren who travelled abroad upon the same honorable account, ever agreed better than we did, or were more mutual in their service, and in other things incident to travellers, than we; therefore were our travels and sufferings so much the more easy to us, through him that blessed us, and with the right hand of his righteousness supported us;—to whom be glory, honor and dominion forever and ever!

When we came to Edinburgh, we found things somewhat out of order there, through the unfaithfulness of some that were convinced of the truth, but who did not order their conduct aright, neither did they live as became the gospel; which we endeavored to rectify among them, as much as was possible; and the word of the Lord was effectual through us among them, to bring them into better order.

After we had been some time together in that city, it was upon my dear brother to go to some other places, as to Burnt Island, Ayr, etc., and afterwards to return to England again: so we parted in the fulness of endeared love, with much brokenness of heart. I stayed several weeks in that city, [Edinburgh,] being accompanied by another dear brother, John Slee by name: and many good meetings we had in the city, especially upon the Castlehill, where many hundreds heard the truth of God in much power and plainness; and often was the witness of God reached, and many were made to confess unto the truth; so that we had extraordinary good service for the Lord. We did not only keep our meetings upon the aforesaid public place, but also we often had meetings at William Osborne's, who formerly had been a Lieutenant-Colonel, but was then become very zealous for the Lord's truth. Upon one time especially, it was upon me to go to their high place of worship,—the chiefest in the city—which accordingly I did; and after the priest had done, I spoke to the people, but was not permitted to speak much, until I was carried out with the press of the multitude, which was indeed extraordinarily great. When I came out in the street, there was a guard of soldiers set in readiness to secure me from the multitude, and to conduct me to the place where I desired to be, which they did with their drawn swords; and after that I went in peace to the meeting of Friends.

I was also about that time with General Monk, so called, who was seemingly moderate, and did hear me,

and received such papers from me as I had to deliver to him. I was also at Stirling; and at my going into the city, was carried to the main guard, and from there I was sent to the governor, who at first was high with me; but when I had spoken a little to him, and had given him something to read, he became more moderate. I went from his house to the English chaplain's, who was very moderate and kind in his way towards me. After I had had good service among them, I went to Glasgow, another great city; and it was upon me to go to their great cathedral, where three congregations did meet at once; and after they had all done, I had some liberty to speak to the multitude in the yard, for the rude people were kept very much under by the English soldiers, who were pretty moderate towards me, so that I had very good service in that city.

I was at a place called Douglas, where I had good service, both in the steeple-house and elsewhere; but the priest caused me to be turned out of my lodging, and did what he could to hinder me from having any entertainment in the town; but some that lived a little from the town, were willing to receive me into their house.

Thus after I had had such good service both in the city of Edinburgh, and at the places afore-mentioned, I was pretty free to return again to England, which I did.

When I came back to England, I visited Friends both in Northumberland and in the bishoprick, [Durham] and had some good service among them, especially in the bishoprick; and afterwards I visited Friends again in Westmoreland, and in due time got well back to Swarthmore, where I was received as formerly, even in the fulness of dear and precious love. I found the power and the presence of the Lord with them as formerly, and therefore was our refreshment together again as it used to be, and I could truly say, it was good to be there: but the Lord having much service for me abroad, I could not stay long before I was constrained to travel again in the work and service of the Lord, About the middle of the first month, anno 1656, it was upon me, and another dear brother, William Simpson, to go down into Lancashire and Cheshire, etc., to visit Friends, which accordingly we did. Many precious and serviceable meetings we had, and the Lord's heavenly power and presence were much with us, and very good service we had both at Warrington and Manchester; and I was at the great Independent congregation at Stopard, [Stockport?] but Eaton, their pastor, caused them presently to take me away, so that I had very little liberty among them. Afterwards I went to the meeting at Manchester, and my companion was moved to go to the steeple-house, but had little liberty to speak, for he was taken from there, and was turned out of the town, as he had been twice the day before: but that night he came in again, and we had a good meeting in the town, as I had had the night before at Stopard, The next day many people followed us, through William's speaking, at the end of the town, and there I had a favorable opportunity to declare God's truth among them; which they heard with moderation and attention. Upon the third-day following, we had a meeting at a place called Sunderland, and upon the fourth-day another meeting four miles from there, and on first-day, we had a good general meeting within four miles of Northwich; yes, night and day we labored in the work and vineyard of our heavenly Father, and our reward was with us.

We were put in prison at a place called Congleton in Cheshire; and remained there some few days, when Providence did so order it, that we were again released. Time would fail me to relate particularly the

good service which we had at that time in Cheshire, Lancashire, and at Leek in Staffordshire; sometimes in steeple-houses, sometimes in streets and markets, and night and day frequently in meetings. In due time we were made free in the Lord to return again, after we had spent several weeks as aforesaid; and always when I returned to Swarthmore, it was to me a place of refreshment.

## CHAPTER VII

*1656—Attends a general meeting in Leicestershire—Again visits Scotland; has good meetings at Edinburgh, Leith, Stirling, etc.—Returns to Swarthmore, and proceeds to Bristol and into Cornwall—Visits George Fox in Launceston jail.*

About this time, as I remember, I took a journey into Leicestershire to a great general meeting which was appointed, to which many of the brethren resorted, and among the rest there was dear George Fox, whom I much desired to see. A very precious meeting it was; and afterwards I had some precious time with the brethren, and took my leave of them, and returned again into Lancashire. I had not been long there, when it was upon me to go into Cumberland and Scotland again; whereupon I took my leave of Friends in those parts, and went towards Cumberland: and on the 4th day of the third month, 1656, I was at a meeting at Ambleside close by the chapel, and several of the people were with us after the priest had done. In the afternoon I was moved to go into the chapel among them, but they were exceedingly violent against me, and seemed to thirst much after my blood, for they fell upon me, as if they would have torn me to pieces; but their power was limited, and I was preserved in the arms of the Lord, and endued with much courage and boldness to declare the everlasting truth among them.

Afterwards I went into Cumberland, where I had several good and precious meetings among Friends, to the confirming of them in the truth, and to my great refreshment in the Lord. When I had visited Friends in that county, I took my leave of them, and went from there to Scotland again, being accompanied by a dear brother called John Grave. We travelled towards Douglas, where we visited the few Friends that were convinced, and had a meeting in the steeple-house yard, where many heard the truth declared in the power and demonstration of the Spirit, especially in the priest's absence; but when he was at his devotion many of them left us. In the steeple-house, when the priest was catechizing his hearers, and sometimes when they could not answer him, I was ready to reply, and I gave him some queries to answer: and sometimes he said he would answer them, and sometimes he said he would not; but finally he broke out into a very great rage and passion, and caused the people to turn me out of my lodging; and it is possible he would have done much more, if he had had power.

We travelled from there to Edinburgh, where we had several good meetings, as also at Leith, and that openly in the street; many resorted to them, both of the English that were in that country, and also of the natives: so that many precious opportunities we had of declaring the everlasting truth of God freely and powerfully among them. About that time I was not well in body, having oppressed it with sore travel; howbeit the Lord was pleased to restore me again in a pretty short time, even for the service sake.

When we were pretty clear of Edinburgh and Leith, we travelled towards Stirling city; but when we came there, the people were so incensed against us, that we had very much to do, to get lodging for our money, which finally some soldiers procured for us. When the first-day of the week came, it was upon us to go to their great steeple-house, which accordingly we did; and being there at the very time when the priest was going about to swear some of them upon some occasion, I was moved to speak, and tell them that Christ, the head of the church, said, “swear not at all;” but little more would they allow us to speak in that place. Afterwards we were carried before the governor, who was pretty high against us, and would even have forced us out of the city; howbeit he was then prevented, for the Lord had a very considerable service for us in the afterpart of the day.

We had appointed a meeting upon a green, near the steeple-house, to which a great concourse of people resorted; and a very precious and serviceable meeting we had,—for the Lord was pleased to give us his word plentifully to communicate to the people freely and powerfully, and his presence was with us, and his living witness was reached in many, which testified to the truth of what we declared; and little further opposition did we meet with at that time. Yet some of the people were so envious, and others fearful, that many of them dared not entertain us; neither could we well get lodging in the city that night; so we went out into the country, and not without difficulty could we get lodging there; for the Scots were prejudiced against the English, they looking upon us as if we had been some straggling soldiers, were therefore the more afraid of us; yet Providence did so order it, that we got well through the country to Glasgow. When we came there, we found the governor, one Colonel Ashfield, a very moderate man; and he sent for me to his house, and reasoned very moderately with me, as also his wife, who is since convinced of the truth, and he is very loving to Friends; his chaplain was also friendly to us.

When the first-day of the week came, it was upon us to go to one of their steeple-houses, which accordingly we did. When the priest had done, I began to speak to the people, but the drums beat, whereby the soldiers were called away; and as for the Scots they could not endure sound doctrine, but turned away their ears from hearing the truth. At this city I was carried to the main-guard, where I had good service among the soldiers, who were very civil towards me, and in due time they allowed me to depart in peace to my lodging.

When we had had very good service in that city, and were pretty clear and free of it, it was upon me to go to another noted place called Ayr, in the west of Scotland, and it was upon my dear companion John Grave, to go to another place, so that we parted for a season, which was no small trial to us in that dark and barbarous country. In due time I got to Ayr; and it was upon me to go to the steeple-house there, where I had pretty good liberty, there being many soldiers, and I was civilly treated among them.

After I was clear of that place and others, according to the will of God, I set my face again towards England, and travelled many a mile alone in that barren and rude country; howbeit the Lord was with me, and through his mighty power I was not only preserved out of the hands of unreasonable men, but also through his mercy, from the sin and evil which abounded among those people; for which my soul has cause to bless and magnify the name of the Lord, while I have my being.



In due time afterwards I met with my dear companion to our mutual refreshment; and then with cheerfulness, after we were clear of that country, we returned to England again. When we got into Cumberland we had very large and precious meetings, even as we had had before our going into Scotland; and Friends were strengthened and confirmed in the precious truth, which in those days did flourish and prosper very much; and the Lord's power and presence were with us, through which we were carried on in his work and service, in which our souls delighted to be exercised.

After I had had good service, in Cumberland, I visited Friends in Westmoreland, and in due time got well back to Swarthmore again, where I was dearly received as in months past; after my great travels, I always found it a place of refreshment to me, both for soul and body. But I was not permitted to stay much, there being such an effectual door open abroad in the country; and therefore I was constrained, through the love of God which dwelt richly in my heart, to labor so much the more diligently,—for I knew it was good working while it was day. When I was at Swarthmore, we had not only many precious meetings there, but also several in the country thereabouts, near to the steeple-houses and chapels: so that many heard the truth of God plentifully declared, both of them that believe and of them that perish; and, indeed, a glorious and precious time we had, to make known unto people the way of salvation, and what the Lord had done for our souls; many believed and were converted, and brought to serve and worship the Lord in spirit and in truth.

I had not been long in those parts when it was upon me to go towards Bristol, and further westward so far as Cornwall; whereupon I took my leave of Friends at Swarthmore in abundance of love and tenderness, in which we were accustomed to meet and to part, and travelled with a dear companion, whose name was Walter Clements. Many brethren and Friends we visited in our journey to their and our comfort; and in due time, through mercy, we got well to Bristol, where I was more than a little refreshed with Friends, to see how the truth prospered among them, and what large and living meetings there were, both in the city and also in the country thereabouts. I was moved to communicate freely to them of the overflowing of the life and power dwelling in me, which tended to the comfort of many.

After we were refreshed together in the Lord I left them, and went on my journey westward, for I was determined to visit some of the brethren that were in prison in Launceston jail in Cornwall. I visited several Friends as I went, travelling mostly alone and on foot also: but the Lord was with me, and through his goodness I got well to my journey's end; where I was not a little comforted with the brethren. I went out also into the country, where I had some very good service; and afterwards returned to the prison again, where my refreshment was so much, that my cup was even made to overflow,—there being at that time dear George Fox and several other Friends prisoners there: of whom in due time I took my leave, even in the fulness of endeared love, and returned again out of those parts.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*He returns to Bristol, and travels eastward into Kent—Remarks on the exercise of his gift—Reaches London.*

About the latter end of the fifth month, or the beginning of the sixth, 1656, I was at Plymouth, where I visited Friends; and after I had had a meeting among them, I travelled into the country, and being refreshed with Friends, I came to a place called Totness in Devonshire; where upon my coming into the town I was apprehended, and carried before the mayor, who threatened to have the whip laid upon my back, though without cause. But Providence ordered it otherwise, for others of the magistrates were more moderate; and when they examined me the priest was present, and a very great opportunity I had, to bear a large and faithful testimony unto the truth, which accordingly I did; for indeed the Lord was much with me, and it was given me in that very hour what I was to speak. That night they kept me prisoner, and the next day they sent me away with a pass from tithing-man to tithing-man, or from constable to constable; and thereby I had a fine opportunity to declare the truth to the people in the country as I travelled. For when I came into a town, and was in the officer's hand, many people that heard of it came out of their houses to see the Quaker, as I was called; and some were pretty tender and loving, and others were otherwise. I freely declared the truth among them as I was moved; and in due time I was freed from that entanglement by a countryman that would trouble himself no further with me, but gave me the pass, and let me depart in peace.

I got well to Taunton in Somersetshire, where I visited Friends, as elsewhere in the aforesaid shire; and in due time I got to Bristol, where I found several of the brethren, as Francis Howgill, John Audland, etc., with whom I was more than a little comforted; for the Lord's presence was with us, and his heavenly power was amongst us, so that we were not only a refreshment one unto another in the Lord, but many were refreshed through us, and we all in the Lord, whom our souls did magnify and praise.

When we had been sweetly refreshed together among Friends at Bristol, we went into Wiltshire, and were together at a great general meeting: after which we parted in abundance of love and unity; for I was to go into Kent, and they elsewhere.

I came to a place called Basingstoke, where I happily met with my dear brother and former companion, John Stubbs; and another dear brother called William Ames was with him, who had been together in Holland; but they travelling westward, and I eastward, we had but little time together: howbeit, in that little time we were truly comforted one in another; and afterwards, in the ancient brotherly love, we parted again. I travelled along in my journey, being much alone, but the Lord's heavenly presence was with me; and I had several good and precious meetings, to mine and Friends' great refreshment in the Lord: and finally through mercy I came well into Kent, where I went from place to place, and visited such, especially, as before had received our testimony.

Many precious and large meetings I had in the county, and the Lord was very much with me, who furnished me plenteously with his word and power; insomuch that I stood admiring at sundry times,

from where I had that fulness. This was not only the case with me, but with many more, who looking with the eye of reason upon my earthly tabernacle or outward man, could not expect any great thing from myself, being then but about twenty years of age;—neither had I ever been in much profession, until I was convinced of the truth of God; yet plenty of heavenly things the Lord was pleased to open in me and through me, to the end that I might communicate the same to the multitude, which sometimes being great, I was ready to say within myself, where will I get bread enough to satisfy all these? And when I looked at my own weakness and insufficiency as of myself, I was ready to faint; but when I looked only at the Lord, and put my confidence entirely in him, I was strong and courageous. For the Lord showed me by his eternal light, at a time when I was even bemoaning my own weakness, and groaning under the sense of the weight of the service and work of the Lord; saying or thinking within myself, Oh! such and such (meaning the ablest and wisest of the brethren) are so fitted and furnished, that they need not care what service they are called unto,—but as for me, I am so simple,—I am so weak,—and I never have anything beforehand,—neither do scarcely ever know, when I go into a meeting of several hundreds, what I shall say, or whether anything or nothing. But even when I was full of those and such like reasonings, the Lord showed me how they that had much had nothing over, and they that had little, had no lack; even as it was with the Israelites of old. For the brethren that were wise and eminent, who had received much from the Lord, behold there was so much the more required of them: so that of all they had, they had nothing over, but what they were to employ in the work and service of God. As for my own part, I, who was so little in my own eyes, and so mean and contemptible in the eyes of others, had no cause to complain; for though I was often in the state that I knew not what I should say when I went into a meeting, yet even in such a meeting, has the Lord been pleased to give me his word so plentifully, that through him I was enabled to speak two or three, yes, sometimes four hours in a meeting with little or no intermission. And often it has been with me, that as I knew not before the meeting what I should speak in the meeting, so neither could I well remember after the meeting what I had spoken in it; and yet had plenty and fulness, though I was often daily at meetings; and not only so, but in the evenings also; and the Lord gave a fresh supply always out of that good treasury, which affords things both new and old.

These things I rehearse, not for my own praise, but do say, “not unto me, not unto me, (who have nothing but what I have received,) be the praise; but unto the Lord alone;” who is the giver of every good and perfect gift. And I can truly say, that which I received from him, I delivered unto his people: and no small favor, love, and esteem I had from them and among them; so that the Lord, whom I faithfully served, was pleased to give me even what my heart and soul desired; and an exceedingly glorious day I had of it, and did much rejoice in the Lord, notwithstanding my great travails and sufferings; all which, through him, were made easy to me; neither were they much to me, with all the perils and dangers I went through both by sea and land, in comparison of the power and presence of the Almighty, which did so sweetly and eminently accompany me in those days.

After I had had good service in Kent and elsewhere in the country where I travelled, I went up to London.

## CHAPTER IX.

*1656—Sails for Holland—Visits Amsterdam and Rotterdam—His service at both places—Is imprisoned at Middleburgh, and conveyed on board of a ship of war for England—Travels into the South of England, returns to London (1656-7)—Proceeds again to Holland.*

About the beginning of the seventh month 1656, being at London, with several of the brethren, we had at that time much disturbance in our meetings in the city by some troublesome and unruly spirits, who were gone from the truth into extremes; and though we suffered by them, yet we were refreshed together in the Lord, and one in another.

About that time it was upon me to go over for Holland, unto which I was given up in the will of the Lord. I was then but weak in body, having been exposed to excessive heats and colds in my travels, as it was judged. Nevertheless I was in readiness, though in that weak condition, to take the first opportunity; and very much I desired to have a companion along with me, if Providence had so ordered it: howbeit, I went finally alone; and met with some wicked and uncivil men in the same vessel in which I went over; some of whom in their jollity abused me: but before we got over to Holland, we had a pretty sore storm, and to outward appearance were in much danger. At that time great was the fear and anguish that came upon those that were so wicked: and even then the Lord raised me up, in whom my faith and confidence was. It was upon me to speak to them in their distress, and then the witness of God was near and ready to answer to the truth of what I spoke: and the goodness and mercy of the Lord to me in that storm were very great; through whose hand we were preserved, and finally, through his mercy, brought well to our desired haven; blessed and magnified be his name forever and ever.

When I landed at Dort, I do not know that I could speak three words of their language, and so was much pressed in spirit, and sorely laden with the weight of iniquity, which fell upon me; and seeing I needed an interpreter, therefore was my burden the greater. From Dort I sailed to Rotterdam, where I found some few that had heard the truth, and who in some measure received it; howbeit, I stayed not long there, for my drawings were to Amsterdam. Through the good hand of the Lord I got well there, where John Stubbs and William Ames, my dear brethren, had been before with another Friend; and very good service they had had among the professors there. Some had received their testimony and the truth in the love of it; and such with gladness and joy of heart received me. And the Lord made my service effectual among them for establishing and confirming them in that living truth, which they had heard and believed. There were some among them that could understand me, and interpret that which I spoke to the rest; so that I had very good service among them, for that little time I stayed, which was not long, till it was upon me to return to Rotterdam. In the mean time, a young man came over from England, who went with me, and could understand both English and Dutch. When I was at Rotterdam he left me for a while; and in the meantime, I was much concerned for lack of an interpreter; but there being one that could speak some Latin, I spoke some time in that language to him, and he interpreted it to the rest. But my sufferings were exceedingly great in that country, in several respects; and they were augmented through some forward and unruly spirits that were convinced, but who run out into extremes both in

words and writing; whereby both the truth, and they that lived in it, came to suffer much: for my part, I had fainted through weakness and sufferings, had not the Lord by his mighty power upheld and preserved me.

At that time few or none of the priest's proselytes came to our meetings, but several high conceited professors, both at Amsterdam and Rotterdam attended, and several of them were more apt to take upon them to teach others, than to receive instruction themselves.

I was also at the Jews' Synagogue at Amsterdam upon one of their Sabbath days; and staying most of the time of their worship, I beheld the manner of it, which was very strange in several respects; neither would they admit of any dispute in their Synagogue; but after their worship was ended, another Friend and I had some pretty good service with some of them in one of their houses: they are a very hard, obstinate, and conceited people in their way. When I had stayed some time at Rotterdam, it was upon me to go to Zealand, which accordingly I did, about the latter end of the eighth month 1656, and the aforesaid young man went along with me. And when we had been some days at Middleburgh, he went to some of their meeting places in that city, and was apprehended; which I understanding, went to visit him, and they, perceiving that I was his companion, secured me also. Afterwards we were examined very late in the night, and after our examination we had three or four soldiers to guard us, and a place appointed for us where we might lie. But quickly after we were laid down, we were called up again in great haste, and were carried from there to the prison, about the eleventh or twelfth hour at night, and put in two distinct places, which caused my sufferings to be the greater, and the more, because I could speak little or none of their language. There I remained some days, being weak in body, but in process of time, we were brought before the council, and were severally examined, but returned to prison again.

It seems they ordered (by what followed,) that we should be sent for England; for soon after, a coach-wagon was brought to the door, to carry us to the water-side, and several soldiers were also provided to guard us. For the city seemed to be in an uproar, and the rude multitude raged exceedingly, as if they would have torn us to pieces; but the Lord was with us, who was our chief keeper, though there were some in the wagon with us, and some that went on foot along by the wagon.

According to their order, they brought us on board of a ship of war, where we were kept prisoners, near upon two weeks, being confined to an open, cold room; and the men were so hard-hearted towards us, that they would not allow us so much as a bit of sailcloth to lie under us, or above us: thus for the most part of that time we lay upon the bare boards in very cold, stormy weather, so that our sufferings were great both in the inward and outward man.

But, how is the goodness and mercy of the Lord to be admired, for even then, while I was in prison, and so hardly used, my strength grew much, and I recovered my health, in a great measure again, even to my own and others' admiration; and thereby I came to have further experience of the goodness and mercy of our God, for which my soul has cause to bless and magnify his name forever.

About the middle of the ninth month 1656, through mercy, we got well to England, and about the same

time came up to London. We had extraordinary pain in our feet after we came to lie in warm beds, having lain so long in cold weather in our stockings and shoes: but meeting with many of the brethren there, my refreshment was great among them, and in that good service which I had in the city.

When I had been about two weeks in the city, it was upon me to go down into the country; and when I was travelling alone in Surrey, near Ryegate, a wicked, murderous fellow came out of a house, and fell upon me as if he would forthwith have murdered me; but the Lord delivered me out of his hands, and afterwards I went to the meeting of Friends that day. I had good service in Sussex, especially among a people that were called Seekers, who were mostly convinced, not far from Lewes. I was also at Steyning, Arundel, Chichester, Portsmouth and Southampton, at all which places I had good service for the Lord; as also at other places, both in Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent. I had a meeting at the east side of Sussex, where there had never been any Friends before; and the rude multitude came with their drum, marching up to the house, like men ready for battle, in a desperate manner, as if they would have pulled the house down over our heads. I was moved to go out to them, and asked them what they wanted; they said Quakers; I told them I was one. And it was upon me to speak in much plainness to them, which I did, and in much power; and presently their countenance fell, and fear surprised them, and with shame and confusion they withdrew, not having power to harm any of us, blessed be the Lord; who in those days did eminently appear for us, as he has often done since, therefore have we cause to put our confidence in him to the end. About that time I had much good service for the Lord in those parts, and when I was free of the same I returned again to London.

I had not stayed long there, when it was upon me to return again for Holland; although I had some very good service in London, and in some part of Surrey, before I was perfectly clear and ready to take shipping; for about that time there was an effectual door open in and about the city, and many of the brethren were there, and a very precious opportunity we had together, to our refreshment in the Lord.

In due time way was made for my going over, and in the fulness of dear and precious love, I took my leave of Friends and the brethren at London, and through mercy arrived well at Rotterdam; and understanding there that William Ames, a dear brother, was at Utrecht, I hastened there, where I found him in good service for the Lord, both to his and my refreshment. Entering into discourse with him, I understood that he had been in prison at Amsterdam with another Friend, and that they were turned out of the city, etc.

Nevertheless, according as it was upon me, I went to Amsterdam, though bound in spirit; and came there about the middle of the second month, 1657. I arrived there in a very seasonable and needful time; for Friends being but young, and having had a pretty sore storm, were somewhat scattered and scattering, being discouraged and frightened through the indignation and wrath of the magistrates and priests, which were kindled against them. I made it my work to gather them together again, and to establish them so much as was possible in the eternal truth.

Besides what they had met with from the magistrates, etc., there had been a bad instrument among them, who had bred much discord and dissension among them; but through the mercy and goodness of the

Lord, they came in due time to be restored again into faith and confidence, peace and tranquillity, in which they kept their meetings. But as for the professors, they were high and conceited, and would scarcely believe that a greater light was sprung up in any part of the world, than what was arisen among them; neither could they well endure to receive instruction from such as would not or need not be instructed by them. There were also at that time many stumbling blocks laid in the way of the simple, and many obstructions the truth met withal in that place; and therefore were my burdens the more, and my sufferings the greater; but the Lord was with me, and the right hand of his righteousness upheld me, —glory be to his holy name forever and ever!

[The following valuable epistle from the Swarthmore Collection, is dated “Amsterdam, in Holland, 15th of third month, 1657:” it bears an endorsement in the handwriting (as the editor believes,) of George Fox, thus:

*William Caton to Friends, 1657.*

To all my dearly beloved Friends that be elected of God, sanctified through the Word of his grace to be vessels of honor, to the praise and glory of his name everlasting: Mercy, grace and peace be multiplied amongst you, from God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the fountain of love and life, from whom all goodness does come; who has distributed of the riches of his grace unto you, and manifested his living power amongst you; by which he has quickened some of you who were dead in trespasses and sins, and given you a sight of the entrance into the eternal inheritance, which never fades away. Yes, light is sprung up unto you who walked in darkness, and upon you who dwelt in the land of the shadow of death, has the light shined; and your understandings has the Lord opened, and given you to see that in yourselves, which separated you from him; and some of you are come to distinguish between the precious and the vile, between that which enters into God's kingdom, and that which is shut out. So that which once you esteemed highly, which did appear beautiful and glorious in your eyes, comes now to be accounted dross and dung in comparison of that pearl, which some have found, and many are digging for; which is not purchased by all that seek it, because they are not willing to part with their whole substance for it. But I know that many of you have forsaken much; and yet something remains which must be also offered, even that which would save its life, and would not come to judgment, must be brought to light and tendered, if it be as dear unto you as your right eye or right hand. Those who keep nothing back, but are willing to part with all for the truth's sake, shall receive a hundred fold, and in the life to come life everlasting. For I do assure you, that none are ever made losers for parting with anything for the Lord, neither need they repent thereof; and that which you lose and have lost for the truth, the time is at hand when you shall account it gain. And though the world may account you fools, because of the loss of your reputation; when your honor and dignity come to be laid in the dust, it matters not for it is better to be reproached by the world, and to suffer persecution of the world for righteousness' sake, than it is to revile them whom the Lord has chosen out of the world.

Therefore eye his mercy to you, that are reproached and not reproachers, persecuted and not

persecutors; yes, I say, rejoice that you are accounted worthy, not only to believe, but also to suffer for his name's sake. Be you comforted, in the midst of your deepest sufferings and tribulations, with the consideration and hope of the joy and glory that shall be revealed unto you, which your present sufferings, which are but for a moment, are not worthy to be compared unto. For the night is far spent in which the sorrows are; and the day is at hand when sorrow and sighing shall fly away: then shall you that mourn be comforted, and receive beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; that you may be called the trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord; although for the present you be in pain and sorrow, groaning to be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. Be patient therefore and hope to the end, for he that shall come will come, and will not tarry; whose arm is already stretched out, in which he carries his babes and lambs, who are born again of the incorruptible seed, nourished and fed with the sincere milk of the living Word, by which they grow from strength to strength. The Lord will not lay any more upon any of them than they are able to bear; but he strengthens the weak, comforts the feeble, binds up the brokenhearted, fills the hungry, clothes the naked, satisfies the weary and the thirsty soul; whose everlasting treasury is always full, and his banqueting house ever well stored with durable riches; where the distressed are relieved, and every one's necessity supplied, that hungers after righteousness. For he is a Father to the fatherless, and he increases the strength of such as have no might: so unto him you may come, as unto a living fountain, from whom none are sent empty away, who thirst and pant after the Lord. Oh! blessed are all they that come to drink here of this Fountain of living waters; their souls shall never thirst more: and you, whose souls are thirsting and longing to participate of it, you shall be satisfied. For I know that no visible created thing can satisfy that which longs to be refreshed with the living streams which issue out from this fountain, which waters and refreshes the whole city of God,—the streams whereof make glad the hearts of the righteous, whose souls come therewith to be everlastingly satisfied.

So come here, all you that thirst, “come you to the waters, and he that has no money, come you, buy and eat, yes, come and buy wine and milk without money and without price;” yes, eat, O friends, eat abundantly and be satisfied; for a living fountain has the Lord set open, for Judah and Jerusalem; and all that are bathed and washed in it come to enter into the holy city, which has no need of the sun nor of the moon to shine in it;—for the glory of the Lord God does enlighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof;—the gates of which are not shut at all by day, for there is no night there;—neither can anything enter into it that defiles, neither whatsoever works abomination, or makes a lie; but they whose names are written in the Lamb's book of life. And towards this your faces are turned, and your feet are guided into the way that leads to it.

But woe to them that take up their rest by the way, and so come short; they shall inherit sorrow and vexation, and trouble shall be their portion; and with terror and great fear shall they inherit their possessions; and poverty and distress shall be their garments, by reason of the drought, scarcity and famine, that shall be in their inheritance. But with the righteous and them that fear the Lord it shall not be so;—for the Lord is their shepherd, and they shall not lack any good



thing;—they shall eat in plenty;—feed in pastures which are green and large, and their souls shall delight themselves in fatness. There shall no devourer or venomous beast come within their liberty to make them afraid; neither shall there be scarcity nor desolation in their land; for the dew from heaven shall fall upon it, which shall cause it to bring forth more abundantly, by which its increase shall be watered and refreshed; for the Lord has blessed their inheritance, and the curse shall no more come upon it, neither shall the unclean enter into it,—but showers of mercy shall descend upon it;—because the Lord has blessed it,—yes, and will bless it, and all their posterity, that inherit it forever and ever.

So, my dear friends, know the seed of God in yourselves, and dwell in the living power of God, which will overturn and dispossess that which by violence has kept the seed of God in bondage; that that which has led captive may go into captivity, and that which has suffered violence under the violent oppressor, may come to be set free. Then will you see your Deliverer come forth of Zion, who purchased your redemption, and will make you free from that which has held you in captivity and bondage: then shall you return unto Zion with the ransomed of the Lord, with everlasting joy upon your heads,—being made inheritors amongst them that are sanctified and crowned with victory.

So, the everlasting powerful God, who is strong and mighty, bless, preserve, and keep you;—that you may multiply, increase, and prosper, and bring forth some a hundred, some sixty, some thirty fold, to the praise and glory of our God—to whose custody and protection I commend you: his grace and peace be with you forever and ever, amen.

Your dear brother in the living truth,

William Caton.

When I had stayed there for the most part of seven weeks, I left Friends for a season, having had very good service, not only at meetings, or the like, but about getting books printed and published, which were of good service in that country.

Afterwards I went with my dear brother William Ames through some of the principal cities in Gilderland; howbeit our movings were especially to a place called Zutphen, a city out of which William Ames had been banished before: and when we came there we went to the meeting place of the Mennonists, otherwise Baptists; but when we would have gone in, they bolted the door, and would not allow us to enter in among them. William being pretty well known in the city, the rude multitude gathered about us; but to avoid the occasion of a tumult, we withdrew out of the streets to the walls of the city, and very many people followed us. As we were moved and allowed of God, so we spoke in his power, making known his eternal truth; and a very good opportunity we had upon the walls of the city, from which we withdrew, when we were free; howbeit, the baser sort of people were very rude in throwing stones and clods at us; but the Lord did so preserve us, that we received little harm thereby. In the afternoon there came very many people to us out of the city to our lodging, where we had also a very good opportunity

to declare the everlasting truth freely among them, and to disperse many books in their own language, which we had brought along with us; and several received pretty good satisfaction. My dear companion had proposed to stay there some time, but the magistrates being moved with envy, would not allow the people to entertain him; besides they took it as a great presumption in him, that he should dare to return again there, after he was banished from there. Moreover, they threatened that if the Baptists came at us they should be served in like manner; which threatenings, together with what they had done before, kept the people much in fear and slavery, so that they dared not appear to vindicate that of which they were convinced.

After we had good service in those parts, I returned again to Amsterdam, where my service consisted much in keeping things in as good order as was possible; and likewise in getting books printed and published, and in several other respects.

## CHAPTER X.

*1657—His service in several cities in Holland—The love of God to him and Friends there—He returns again to England—Attends a general meeting in Bedfordshire—Proceeds northward, and reaches Swarthmore.*

In this year (1657) I was at the Hague, the place at which the head court is kept for the Seven Provinces: there was but little entrance for the truth, though I had some good service with some in that city. I was also at the city of Dort when the plague was there, where I found some two or three that were somewhat loving; howbeit, there was little entertainment for the truth in the place, and therefore was my suffering the greater.

I went also to the city of Utrecht to visit them that were convinced, where I had now and then good service, and pretty fine meetings; but in those days I spoke mostly by an interpreter. When the magistrates and priests came to understand that the truth seemed to get some entrance in that place, their enmity began to increase against it; and they gave forth an order, that those who entertained us, and had meetings at their houses, should no longer either entertain us, nor have any more meetings in their houses, on pain of being turned out of the city, or of being arbitrarily punished; which threatenings terrified some, and caused some to draw back, but not all.

I was also at the city of Leyden, where their great university is; there a Baptist woman received me into her house, whose husband was a Roman Catholic, at whose house I was allowed to have a meeting, to which many sorts of people resorted. The truth being a new thing and very strange, I met with no small opposition, especially from the Roman Catholics and Baptists, both which sorts were stirred and offended; and more so, because the man and woman of the house came to be convinced. A meeting was in due time established in that city, where oftentimes, as also in other places, I had good service for the Lord and his truth. Most commonly, when my service was over in the country, I returned to the city of

Amsterdam which was a place of great concernment, and where there was a more constant service than in other parts in that country; in due time there was an addition to Friends, and the number of them increased; their meetings were kept in very good order, and for the most part were pretty peaceable; and the goodness and mercy of the Lord abounded much to the remnant that were gathered.

Sometimes the rude multitude was tumultuous and troublesome at our meetings: once especially there were many rude people gathered together, who doubtless had much wickedness in their hearts, and some of the worst of them came into our meeting, and sought to lay violent hands on me, and to have done much mischief to me and others; but the Lord's power prevented them, and preserved me and Friends, even to our admiration. I was through Providence cast into a house in the presence of the rude multitude, who if they had not been, as it were, smitten with blindness, and restrained through the power of God, might have executed their fury upon me and the rest; but he that was in us, and by his power preserved us, was greater than he that was in them, who in their madness would have devoured us at once: but blessed be the Lord our God, who very often showed mercy unto us, and at sundry times, with his heavenly presence and infinite loving kindness, plenteously refreshed and comforted our souls;—infinite praises be to his name forever and ever!

When I had spent above a year in the service of the Lord in the Low Countries, especially in Holland, in which time I had also written two or three books, I was free in the Lord to return for England, which accordingly I did, through Zealand; where I wrote the book called, “The Moderate Inquirer,” etc. In due time I got well to London, through the mercy and goodness of the Lord, where I found many of the brethren; and several precious meetings we had in and about the city, to our great refreshment; for about that time the truth did multiply, spread, and many were added to the church, and came to receive the gospel. For in those days the Lord endued his servants and handmaids with very much power and wisdom from above, and they went on in his name, preaching the Word of life, both in season and out of season, not only in the meetings which they were moved to appoint, and which Friends duly kept, but also in steeple-houses and markets, in streets and highways, or elsewhere, wheresoever and whensoever any was moved of the Lord to publish and declare his living truth.

When I had been some little time in London, I went into Surrey to some general meetings there near Reigate and Kingston; where I was more than a little refreshed with Friends, and they with me, in the power and presence of the Lord God, which was often eminently manifested amongst us, to the comforting of our souls.

At the time called Whitsuntide, in the year 1658, there was a general meeting appointed in Bedfordshire, at John Crook's, to which I went with Friends from Kingston, and unto which many hundreds of Friends resorted; and some of the brethren came from most parts of the nation, and great was our refreshment together in the Lord.<sup>1</sup> When it had continued about two days, there came some troopers, who apprehended few or none, though some were in jeopardy: and afterwards we parted, and went every one as he was moved, some eastward, and others westward, some northward, and others southward: but I and a dear brother and former fellow-servant, whose name was Thomas Salthouse, went to the north, and

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<sup>1</sup> See George Fox's Journal for an account of this meeting, under date 1657-8.

visited Friends in our journey, and came finally, through mercy, well to Swarthmore in Lancashire, the place of our former residence; where we were received with joy and gladness, and indeed great was our refreshment in the Lord, as it usually was in that place. Many precious and living meetings we had there and thereabouts, which tended not only to our own refreshment, but to the refreshment of many more, whose hearts were made truly glad, through the power and presence of the Lord God, which did accompany us.

After I was abundantly refreshed at Swarthmore, and with Friends thereabouts, I went into Westmoreland, according as it was upon me, about the latter end of the fourth month, in the aforesaid year, 1658, where I had some very good service among Friends at and about Kendal; and afterwards I went out of those parts into the bishoprick, where I had several large and precious meetings. One was a very large, general meeting, upon a certain moor, in a convenient place for Friends to come to from several parts of the country; and the Lord's power and heavenly presence was very much with me that day, even to the confirming of them that had believed in the everlasting truth, and to the convincing of those there present who were giving their hearts to the truth.

After this meeting I went to Durham, where the same night I had a very good meeting; for in those days it was common with us, while such an effectual door was open, to get meetings in the evening, besides that which we had had in the day-time; for we were freely given up to spend and be spent in the work of the Lord, which in that day prospered exceedingly, to our joy and refreshment in the Lord.

When I had had very good service for the Lord in the bishoprick, I went into some part of Northumberland, and visited Friends there, and afterwards from there to Carlisle, where I had very good service; as also elsewhere in the county of Cumberland, where I had many precious meetings; for in that county, there would come many hundreds to a meeting: and our meetings were commonly very peaceable, and the Lord was extraordinarily good to me, and gave me his word plentifully to publish and declare in the power and demonstration of his eternal Spirit, to the confirming of many that had believed in the everlasting truth of God.

After I had visited Friends and their meetings in that county, and was clear thereof, I returned again into Lancashire to Swarthmore, where I always found Friends in the same love, life and power in which I left them; and it was very common with us, through the mercy of the Lord, to be plentifully refreshed together in and through the same; therefore had we many joyful and blessed days together, the remembrance of which does even unto this very day sweetly refresh me, especially when I feel the same love and life fresh in myself, which then was, and yet is, the author of our living refreshment.

When I was at Swarthmore, it was my manner, together with others of the brethren, to go from there to meetings in the country thereabouts, sometimes among Friends, and sometimes to fresh places, where, it may be, there had scarcely ever been a meeting of Friends: for I made it my sole work to be found doing the work of God, unto which he had called me, and for which he had in measure fitted and qualified me, blessed be his name for evermore, who never permitted me to go without my reward.

## CHAPTER XI.

*1653—Travels to London—His labors in Kent, Sussex, etc.—Proceeds to Bristol, and returns to London—Attends a General Meeting of ministering Friends at the Bull and Mouth (1659)—Sails again to Holland and returns—Dangers on his voyage back.*

About the latter end of the Sixth month, 1658, I took my leave of that honorable family [at Swarthmore] and of Friends thereabouts, and set my face southwards again, visiting Friends in some part of Lancashire, and especially in Cheshire, where I stayed about a week or more, and had several good and precious meetings to our great refreshment in the Lord.

Afterwards I went pretty readily to London, where I found several of the brethren, and an effectual door open, and Friends generally well, fresh, lively, and very open and tender: and I had good service in the city, and the Lord was pleased to give much dominion, and even fulness to me out of the everlasting treasury, which, through him that strengthened me, I freely communicated to them whose souls were breathing after the Lord.

Extract from a letter dated London, 13th of Seventh month, 1658,

*To Margaret Fell.*

I came into the city, and my soul has been much refreshed among the brethren. Here is a mighty door open at present in this city; and Friends are generally fresh, lively, and tender: and for the generality of the people, they are much under, and many are moderate and loving, whose hearts are open to receive the truth. I have had as good a service in the work of the Lord, since I came to this city, as I believe I ever had in my life. Upon the first-day, I was at the meeting at the Bull and Mouth, where the Lord was pleased to open the hearts of many, who with joy and gladness received that which the Lord allowed me to speak; so that in much love and tenderness I left them. After that meeting I passed a mile out of the city, when I had a very precious meeting, which consisted of a great concourse of people, several captains and masters of ships and seamen, with other persons of note and quality, who were generally very moderate and open to receive the truth.

After that meeting was ended, I returned again into the city to another meeting, where the power and presence of the Lord was made manifest to the great refreshment of the most part of the Friends then assembled.

Returning to Journal:

When I had been about two weeks, or above, in and about the city, I went down into Kent, where I also found an open door, and fresh desires in people after the Lord; and many precious meetings I had also in that county, which were of great service for the establishing of Friends in the truth who were convinced, and for gathering in of others, who were hungering and desiring after the truth.

I went out of that county into Sussex, where I also visited Friends, and had several precious meetings among them; and travelled along pretty near to the sea-coast, so far as Southampton, where I had also good service among Friends; and after we had been plenteously refreshed together, I took my leave of them as in other places, and visited Friends at Winchester, who were in prison.

Afterwards I travelled westward into Somersetshire, where I visited Friends and some of their meetings; and being sweetly refreshed among them, I went to Bristol, where I had good service, as also in some parts of the country thereabouts among Friends; and it was no small matter of joy and rejoicing to me to see the truth of God prosper and flourish, as I saw it did in that journey. In due time I returned to London again by Reading, where I also visited Friends, and reaped refreshment; for in all those travels the Lord had been with me, which even made them, together with the service which I had in them, very pleasant and delightful to me. Many precious and peaceable meetings I had; and the Lord gave me utterance in power and much authority, to declare and publish his name and truth; all which redounded to his praise, which was his due, and which my soul did freely render to him, who is the fulness, itself, from which all my fresh springs flow.

After I had some very good service in London, I passed down into Kent again, about the 20th of the ninth month; where I had very precious service for the most part of a month, and afterwards I returned to London again, where I determined to stay but a few days, when I went there; but the work of the Lord was so great in it, and meetings so full and so many, that it was hard to get out of it again in a short time; for in those days the truth did mightily prevail and prosper, not only in that city, but in the country about, as also in many parts of the nation.

I spent some months in those southern parts, where especially there was an effectual door open: and oftentimes in great service for the Lord I was exercised both day and night, in which the Lord made my cup to overflow.

At the time called Easter, [1659,] there was a general meeting appointed, especially for the ministering brethren, who resorted to it from several parts of the nation, which was held at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate in London, upon the 5th of the second month, 1659: it was very large and exceedingly precious, to the refreshing of many hundreds. In the afterpart of the day we had a very great concourse of people at our meeting place at Horsleydown in Southwark, where, within and without doors, it was thought some hundreds might hear the truth declared that afternoon, with which many were much affected; and great was our rejoicing and comfort, which we had in the work and service of the Lord, in which we were abundantly refreshed together; In that great assembly our souls even with one accord, praised and magnified the God of our salvation; and in a few days after. Friends departed out of the city again, the end being fully answered for which they came together.

About that time it was upon me to go [again] for Holland, and I took my leave of Friends and brethren in London, and in much brokenness of heart, love and unity, we parted. I took my journey towards Colchester, there to take shipping, which accordingly I did, after I had had several large and precious meetings: but the wind being contrary, I stayed there, and thereabouts near upon three weeks, in which

time I had very good service; for the Lord's heavenly power and presence was much with me, as in other places, not only to my refreshment, but to the refreshment of many more in the Lord. When the Lord made way for it, I went aboard, and we set sail; but the wind proving contrary, we put in at Harwich, whereby I had an opportunity to see Friends there also.

On the first-day of the week, I had a large meeting there, to which many came, not only many Friends out of the country, but also many people that were not Friends, who seemed to be pretty much affected with the truth when it was declared to them. When I had spoken about an hour or two, the master of the vessel came and called me away, for he was determined to set sail: I committed them to the grace of God, and went aboard, and probably thirty or forty Friends might follow me to the ship-side in boats, such was their love, to the admiration of the spectators.

Through the good hand of God I got well over to Rotterdam, where I visited Friends, as also elsewhere in the country. I found things pretty well in reference to the truth, and meetings pretty peaceable; and about that time strangers came more frequently to our meetings than formerly: and if things had not been carried in much wisdom, we might have been often in tumults, for there were those who watched for iniquity, and were ready to do mischief, thinking that if the magistrates would not meddle with us, as we then were, yet if they could but procure an uproar or tumult at or about our meeting places, we should be punished as uproar-makers. Notwithstanding the evil conspiracies of the wicked, the Lord was exceedingly good to Friends, and very gently and compassionately dealt with them; and they grew bold and valiant, and the truth got dominion among them. My suffering before had been great in that country, especially before I could speak their language, yet the Lord refreshed me much among that small remnant which were called by his name, and who walked in his eternal truth: and having gotten their language, and being able to minister in it, I could much better free myself of the weights and burdens than before. When I had stayed about two months, and seeing things in a pretty good posture as to the truth. Friends well settled, and their meetings kept in good order, it was upon me again to return for England, where there was such an effectual door open. I took my leave of Friends in Holland, whom I committed to the custody and protection of the Almighty, and so left them.

In the latter end of the fifth month, 1659, I took shipping for England, partly intending for London. When we had been about twenty-four hours at sea, we saw a ship which proved to be a pirate or robber, which chased us; when the master perceived it, he caused all to be made in readiness to fight, and the passengers that were aboard were furnished with arms as well as the rest, but for my part I could not touch any of their weapons, as to shed blood with them, but stood simply given up to the will of the Lord. But as Providence ordered it, when they were almost within shot of us, their hearts failed them, and they were not permitted to come up to us, so that there was no blood shed, nor harm done to each other; wherein the Lord answered my desire, for which mercy my soul did bless, praise, and magnify his holy name.

After we were delivered through the good hand of God from the hands of the aforesaid pirate, we were in imminent danger through a very violent storm, which took us when we were near the coast of England; and coming to cast anchor we left both anchor and cable, and had our boat split in pieces. One

great ship that rode by us was swallowed up of the raging sea—a sad sight to behold—there not being one man saved alive in her; yet nevertheless, the same God that delivered us from the hands of the aforesaid pirate, did also deliver us out of that violent storm; through whose mercy we got finally into harbor at Yarmouth, though it was near a hundred miles from the place for which we intended.

## CHAPTER XII.

*1659—He proceeds by sea to Sunderland, and passes westward to Swarthmore—His services in Cumberland—Travels to Edinburgh, Leith, and other parts, and returns to Swarthmore.*

Being landed so far to the northward as Yarmouth, I determined to go from there by shipping; which accordingly I did, with a Friend to Sunderland, where I found two of the ancient ministering brethren, namely, Francis Howgill, and John Audland; with whom I was much refreshed, as also with the rest of Friends. And when first-day came, we went together to a general meeting in the country, where there were abundance of Friends and others; and the power and presence of the Lord was with us, through which we were much refreshed together.

After that meeting I visited many Friends in the bishoprick, and in a short time after passed westwards towards Lancashire through Westmoreland, visiting Friends in my journey, as my manner was. I got well to Swarthmore, where I was received in the same ancient and entire love, with which we were usually favored together, through the infinite mercy of the Most High, which abounded much to us and among us in those days.

When I had stayed some weeks there, and thereabouts, I went into Cumberland, to visit the flock of God there again, among whom I had many precious meetings; for the power and presence of the Lord did accompany me, and his Word of life ran freely and powerfully through me, to the strengthening of the weak, the comforting of the feeble, and to the satisfying of the thirsty soul. When I had been through a great part of the county, and had visited most of the Friends in it, I returned again into Lancashire; where I could not stay long at that time, because it was upon me to go into Scotland to visit Friends there. I took my leave, even in an extraordinary manner, of my dear and near relations in the eternal truth at Swarthmore, where we spent several hours in waiting upon the Lord, and in pouring forth our supplications before him, and in being refreshed abundantly together, after we seemed perfectly clear and ready to part one from another; which finally we did, in much love and unity.

Being accompanied by two dear brethren, Leonard Fell and Robert Salthouse, I went back again into Cumberland, and visited Friends in my journey there, where I heard much of the troubles that were in that nation, and of the likelihood of their increasing; yet nevertheless I could not be freed of the journey, but must go on in the name and power of the Lord. Presently after our coming into that nation, the aforesaid brethren took their leave of me and I of them, in the fulness of our Father's love, in much brokenness of heart; committing one another to the protection and custody of the Almighty; and after-



wards I and another Friend travelled towards Edinburgh, where through the mercy of God we arrived, after some hard travel.

The next day after our arrival, we went to a general meeting at Lythgoe, [Linlithgow] about twelve miles from Edinburgh; where we found Friends at their meeting by the highway side, to which many people resorted, and good service we had at it. Howbeit the people of the town were so incensed against us, that we could scarcely get any entertainment among them for our money; but the wife of the governor of the castle being at the meeting, her heart was opened and filled with love towards us and the truth, and she constrained us to turn in and take up our lodging in the castle; which we were free in the Lord to do. Afterwards we had some more good service in the town, which, when it was over, I returned back again towards Edinburgh and Leith, where I had good service.

About that time it was pretty much upon me to speak with General Monk, it being about the time of his advancing for England; but I was not permitted, and was constrained to deliver my message or to make known my business to his secretary, which he promised to communicate to his master, whereupon I came to be pretty well discharged.

[The following letter is from the Swarthmore Collection: Thomas Willan, it appears, was a Friend of Kendal.

To Thomas Willan,

My dear friend,—Such is my love to you and to Friends, that I cannot very well omit such an opportunity as this, when it is put into my hands, but that I must let you know something of my welfare and of the affairs of the gospel in these parts where I am; knowing that it has often tended to the refreshment of some, even as I hope these lines in some respect will. I for the present being somewhat far remote from you, even as in a forest, or wilderness, where I should be in great jeopardy, did not the arm of the Lord's power compass me about, which is my buckler and sure shield of defence; by which I was brought well through the country, to the city of Edinburgh, the place towards which I was most pressed to hasten. Staying one night in the city, I passed on twelve miles the day following; when I met with several Friends to our refreshment in the Lord. And having had two meetings together in that town of Lythgoe, [Linlithgow] where the governor's wife of the castle is a Friend, we, or some of us returned to this place; where sometimes the meetings are held, and sometimes at the city of Edinburgh. But for the present our meetings are but small, few strangers coming to them; for many are surprised with fear who have some inclination in them towards the truth, but dare not appear nobly to confess the same before men, having little of the life of the same in themselves. Since my coming into these parts I have had good service, sometimes among the soldiers, sometimes among the Scots, often among Friends, who are I hope benefited already by my being here, this being not only a time of trial to them, but to many men who are exceedingly jealous one of another. This is a day wherein many are offended, and because of the treacherousness and falsehood that one man beholds in another, there is great hatred and emulation amongst men; insomuch that father is

against son, and son against father, one brother against another, one family against another, and one nation rising against another. What shall we say to these things? Is it not the Lord's doing, thus to dash one potsherd against another, that he alone may reign, whose right it is? who is now arising in his mighty power, to break his enemies to pieces, like a potter's vessel.

I have sometimes since my coming here endeavored to speak with General Monk, but could not have access to him; so the substance of that which was upon me, as to him and the army, I wrote and gave to his secretary, who promised to deliver it to him. I also gave his secretary a copy of the same to communicate to the officers, which he said he would do. He with several others who were present with me, were pretty moderate and civil towards me. Friends here with others were very desirous that it should be printed, but it could not be got done here; and therefore, it is sent to Newcastle in order to be printed; and if it be, it is like that you with Friends may see it. I purpose shortly, God willing, to pass westward, and after I have visited Friends there, I know not to the contrary but I may return for England. For the present, the door which has been opened seems to be shut in this nation; where the spirits of men are much set on fire, and some are promoted, others abased, and strange overturnings here are among the children of this world: but the faithful and upright are little troubled at these things, being confident that they will work together for good to those that fear the Lord. For a further account I refer you to the bearer hereof, George Collison.

Salute me very dearly to Friends that inquire of me, and let them know that I am well at the writing hereof, praised be the Lord! Many things I might write of, but not knowing in whose hands this may come,<sup>2</sup> shall therefore be sparing; and remain my dear friend and brother in the pure truth,

William Caton  
Leith, near Edinburgh, 14th of Ninth month, 1659.]

Afterwards it was upon me to visit Friends in the west of that nation, which I did, to the confirming and establishing of them in the eternal truth; and after I had had good service among them, I became pretty clear of that country, and set my face again towards England. I travelled mostly alone, after my fellow-traveller had left me, and got well, through the goodness of God, back to England again.

Upon my return from Scotland I visited Friends again in Cumberland, and with some difficulty, it being in the winter season and very tempestuous weather, I got back again into Lancashire, and so to Swarthmore, which was always a place of refreshment to me.

[Editor's Note: About this time William Caton wrote a letter to George Fox, dated from Swarthmore,

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2 This surmise seems to have been realized; for by a few lines written by the said George Collison, at Carlisle, on the back of the original letter, he states, that when he came near that city, he was stopped by two troopers, who asked him if he had any letters; on his informing them he had one, they took him before the governor. It seems that great eagerness for information on the state of Scotland then prevailed, that nation being reported by the writer to be at this period "in a mighty uproar."

20th of Tenth month, 1659, from which the following is extracted. After describing his service at Edinburgh, etc., he adds, “but at that time the hearts and minds of people were so taken up with the bustlings and stirs that were among the children of this world, that there was scarcely any room at all for the truth in them. When I returned for England, I left Stephen Crisp in the west among Friends, who is a pretty wise man that came from Colchester; and he was determined to stay some time in that nation.”—Swarthmore Collection.]

### CHAPTER XIII.

*1659-60—His service in the South of Lancashire—Attends a general meeting at Balby in Yorkshire—Travels to London, also into Sussex, Kent, and so into Norfolk—Returns to London and proceeds to Dover.*

When I had continued at Swarthmore some time, it was upon me to go into the south of Lancashire, to visit Friends and their meetings; which I did, and had several good and serviceable meetings in several of the great towns in Lancashire, as at Garstang, Preston, Wigan, Liverpool, and Warrington, etc.

Being at a meeting in Warrington, the 7th of the twelfth month, 1659, there came several rude soldiers of the baser sort, who did much abuse Friends; and after they had done much violence to us, they broke up our meeting, and forced us out of the town: but we gathered together again, near to the town upon the road-side, and had a sweet and precious meeting. It was not long before the soldiers came there also, and as I was speaking they took me violently from among the rest, and beat me, some with their muskets, and others with their spears, in the sight of Friends, to the breaking of the hearts of many. When they had satisfied their wills with abusing me, they allowed me to return into the meeting again, which afterwards we kept a certain time to our great refreshment in the Lord, whose power and presence did exceedingly appear amongst us; for as our suffering at that time was greater than ordinary, even so was our refreshment in the Lord. I visited Friends in some parts of Cheshire and elsewhere; and when I had had good service in those parts, I returned again to Swarthmore, where I always found refreshment in the fulness of the Father's love, which abounded much among us in that blessed family.

I had not been long there, and with my own dear mother, who about that time laid down the body, when I was with her, but it was upon me to go southwards, first towards a general meeting of the brethren from several parts of the nation, which was at Balby in Yorkshire, and afterwards towards London; and it was so ordered that Thomas Salthouse, my dear companion and fellow-servant, together with Bridget and Isabel Fell, did accompany me. When the time of our departure from Swarthmore was come, our hearts were sad and broken within us, as they used to be at such seasons; and when with prayers and supplications unto the Lord we had earnestly interceded one for another, and had committed one another to his custody and protection, as our manner was at such times, we took leave one of another in the fulness and virtue of love and unity; and then set forward on our journey, in the name and power of the Lord.

When we came into Yorkshire, we had some meetings; and when we got to Balby we found many of the ancient brethren there, and Friends that were come from several parts of the nation; so that the meeting consisted of many hundreds. When it was about the height, there came a part of a troop of horse to break it up, and dismiss Friends, but they were moderate, and Friends continued their meeting until they had freedom in the Lord to break it up. The next day we had a very large and precious meeting, not far from that place; and when we were abundantly refreshed together in the Lord, through the abounding of his mercy and goodness to us, we took leave one of another in much love and unity, and every one went in peace towards his respective place where the Lord had a service for him.<sup>3</sup> The aforesaid Thomas Salthouse, my dear brother, and I, travelled southwards towards London, and visited Friends in our journey. As we were travelling in Nottinghamshire, some troops met us upon the road and apprehended us, and carried us before some of their commanders, who sent us to the commissioners at Nottingham, where we were further examined by some of them, and being found innocent were discharged, and allowed to pass on our journey in peace.

Coming into Northamptonshire we visited Friends at Wellingborough and thereabouts, and being sweetly refreshed among them, we took our leave of them, and travelled along until, through the mercy of the Lord, we came well to London; where we had several precious meetings, and were more than a little comforted with the flock of God there, as oftentimes my soul had been before in that city. I stayed about two weeks, and afterwards parted with my dear brother Thomas Salthouse.

[The following letter, descriptive of the state of things in London at this period may be here inserted; it is taken from the Swarthmore Collection.

London, 7th of Third month, 1660.

To Thomas Willan.

Dear friend, Our dear and unfeigned love reaches to you, and to the brethren with you, whom we dearly salute in the living Truth. We rejoice in the Lord, who lifts up our heads above the wickedness of wicked and ungodly men, which indeed is grown to an exceedingly great height in this city; which does exceedingly abound in pride, fulness, excess, and in all manner of superfluity of naughtiness, to the grieving of the spirits of just men, and to the making of their hearts sad, who fear the Lord and work righteousness. Yet, nevertheless, this we would have the brethren to know, that as yet we see scarcely any stop at all put to the work of the Lord in the city or country. For several precious meetings we had, as we came through the country, as a letter that is coming by the carrier, makes mention of, more at large, than at this time we shall do.

As for the meetings, in general, in and nigh unto the city, they were, the last first-day, as full, large and peaceable, almost as Friends have at any time known them; and abundance of sober people resorted to them and were generally quiet—the guard of soldiers which for a season was

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<sup>3</sup> See an account of these meetings in George Fox's Journal, under date of 1660.

kept at the Bull and Mouth, is now removed from there; and several quiet, large and precious meetings we have had there of late, since the guard was removed, which is not only removed from there, but also from several parts of the city. It is reported that the citizens would have all the soldiers of the old army removed out of the city forty miles, or rather disbanded; and they would undertake to guard and to protect the king and parliament. The old soldiers are in great contempt, and with most they are holden in derision, and that dreadfulness which once attended them is now departed from them, and others that dreaded them are now become a dread unto them. Indeed, now are anguish and distress come and coming upon many, whose hearts have been nourished, and exalted, and puffed up without the fear God; who have not regarded the cries of the oppressed, nor stood in God's counsel; but have boasted themselves against those that hewed with them once. Therefore, is it just with the Lord to give them for a prey to their enemies, who were a prey to them, while they stood in God's counsel; from which many of them have departed, and therefore are they fallen, snared and taken.

Friends in the city are almost generally well, as far as we know. John Stubbs is gone into Kent, Richard Hubberthorne is yet in the city. The chiefest discourse among the people here is, about the king and the parliament's proceedings; who are speedily preparing the way for his coming, which is suddenly expected: but blessed be the Lord forever, in whose power we can testify, that our King is come, who reigns in power and great glory; and therefore we need not look for another.

William Caton, Thomas Salthouse.

London, 8th of Third month.—This very day the king has been proclaimed in an extraordinary manner; the concourse of people that have been in the streets has been innumerable; the shouting for joy has been so exceedingly great among the people at times, that the sound of many trumpets could scarcely be heard, no the bells themselves could not sometimes be heard, but the noise has been exceedingly confused, like the noise of many waters. Time would fail me to relate the fantastical ceremonies that have been used, and the extraordinary pomp, the mayor and aldermen with the gentry have appeared in.

Oh! the vanity and superfluity of wickedness which has appeared in the city, my pen could not declare it in several hours' time to the utmost. But at present I have not much time, being about to go to a meeting, not knowing certainly whether this day they will allow us to keep any of our meetings; for they would not allow that at Westminster to be kept this day. This wickedness, which is now at an extraordinary height, will have an end in the Lord's time. Let this be sent to Swarthmore, after Friends have seen it at Kendal; my entire love is unto all the faithful there and elsewhere. Farewell.

William Caton

My dear love in that which is our life, is unto you all, and if George Fox be there I would gladly

hear from him, as he is free. As for the sufferings of Friends, which George Fox said should be given to this parliament, it is not yet a convenient time to present them, because they will not act anything till Charles comes, except what is in order to the bringing of him in, and so they were but lost to be given to them at present.

Richard Hubberthorne.  
London, 8th of Third month, 1660.

Returning to Journal:

I went down into Surrey and Sussex, where I had very good service for the Lord, and many precious meetings, which were of great service at that time. At Hurst in Sussex, upon the 27th of the third month 1660, I had a very large meeting, to which many Friends from several parts of the county resorted, together with many others that were not Friends; and an exceedingly precious and serviceable meeting it was, but weighty and heavy upon me, before I went into it. But this I have often observed and found by experience, that by how much the more I felt the weight of the service of the meeting, before I went into it, by so much the more was my service in it, and my reward accordingly; blessed and magnified be the name of the Lord forever!

At that time it was somewhat difficult travelling, by reason of the many watches that were set with a strict order, as I was informed, to apprehend all suspicious Quakers, Baptists, and Roman Catholics; howbeit, the Lord was pleased to preserve me out of their hands. At the time called Whitsuntide, we had a very precious and large meeting near Horsham, of Friends out of four counties, according to appointment; which we enjoyed, through mercy, pretty peaceably, to our great refreshment in the Lord; who in those days did very eminently manifest his heavenly power and presence in our assemblies, to our great consolation in Him.

After the aforesaid general meeting was over, and I was clear of that county, I went into Kent, where I visited the brethren, and had many large and precious meetings, which tended much to the confirming and establishing Friends in the truth, and to the convincing of those that heard the same eternal truth declared.

When I was clear of those parts, I returned again to London, where I stayed some time, and had good service. Afterwards I went into Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and visited Friends and their meetings in many places of the aforesaid counties, where I had as excellent good service as my heart could desire; for the Lord's refreshing presence went along with me, and the word of his power supported me, and carried me through the great and weighty service, in which I was so much exercised in that blessed day, wherein the truth did flourish and prevail mightily in very many parts of the nation; which was no small cause of joy to us, who were witnesses of it.

I returned again to London, where I always found service enough, and for the most part a door open in that city.—When I had been some time in it, and had had good service there and thereabouts, it was upon me to go over to Holland; and I returned into Kent after I had in much brokenness of heart, and in

perfect love and unity taken my leave of Friends and brethren at London, In passing through the country I visited Friends and their meetings, as my manner was; and I stayed several days at Staplehurst, with Thomas Housegoe, who then lay upon his death-bed, who had been a serviceable instrument in his day in those parts; and after he was laid in the ground, we had a very precious meeting, there being many Friends at his burial.

[At Dover, he writes to his friend George Fox, under date of the 16th of Ninth month, 1660; from which letter the following are extracts.

*To George Fox*

Since I came from London, I have had good service in this county, at Sutton, Cranbrook, Tenterden, but especially at Staplehurst, and in Thomas Housegoe's family; for it was so ordered that I came to his house the same day that he began to be very ill, and that very night I began to despair of his life; a day or two before he died, he gave a very good testimony to the truth, to the power and to the glory that is now revealed, etc. It was upon me to stay till his funeral was over, which was last third-day; and abundance of Friends were at it, yes, several out of Sussex, so that it was a very honorable burial. After his body was laid in the ground. Friends drew nigh into the meeting place, with several of the world, where we had a precious meeting; for the power and presence of the Lord were abundantly manifested amongst us, to the consolation of Friends in general. That night it was upon me to return to his house again, where I had very good service, and in the morning I left them in a pretty good hopeful posture; but assuredly he will be very much missed in those parts, and I believe there will be now more necessity of Friends visiting them pretty often than there was before: I desire that you wouldest be mindful of them.

I have also been at William Beeme's, and at Hythe, and at Folkstone, where I find Friends very well, but some in deep sufferings for that unhallowed ordination of tithes; some are in prison at Canterbury, and some in Dover Castle, for refusing to pay it. Yesterday I came to this town, and had a very good meeting yesternight among Friends here, who are as well as ever I knew them. Since I came to this town, I have been to see for shipping, and there are some vessels ready; it is thought they may set sail either this night or tomorrow at night, if the wind continue fair. I purpose, if the Lord will that I can get passage, to pass by them to Zealand, and go from there to Holland; but the officers here that look after passengers are very troublesome, bad men; so how the Lord will order it, I know not at present. Dearly beloved of my soul, let your prayers be for me, that I may be kept in the power, life, and wisdom of our God, to his praise, and to the comfort and consolation of the brethren, with whom I can rest in the Lord, even in the heat of the day; glory be to the Lord forever.

William Caton.  
From Swarthmore Collection.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*1660—He leaves Dover for Holland—His service in several cities and places—Returns to London (1661) but soon after revisits Holland—He travels with William Ames into Germany—At Heidleberg is courteously treated by the Prince Palatine.*

About this time I passed towards Dover, where I took shipping for Zealand, to go for Holland; and after some hardship sustained at sea, by reason of tempestuous weather and contrary winds, through the providence of the Lord I got to Flushing, where I stayed but little, and passed for Middleburgh, where I visited the very few Friends that there were in the city; and afterwards I went to Treveare, where I found a vessel almost ready to sail for Dort in Holland. In my journey I was exceedingly filled with the Lord's love, and the power of his might, though I was alone, not having any Friend in company with me, but many passengers; and among the rest a Catholic, who was filled with much envy and wickedness, and uttered desperate threatening words against me, giving some to understand what a small matter it was in their account, to do a man a mischief who spoke against their religion. In the height of his wickedness he boasted of a pardon which he had in his pocket, not only for the sins he had committed, but also for what he should commit: but before we parted, the power of the Lord reached to his own witness in the man, whereby he was smitten in himself for his folly, and his fury against me was much turned into friendship towards me. Thus do we often see the Lord changing the hearts of our enemies, and restraining them from the evil they intend against us; which we must acknowledge to be the Lord's doing, which is, and often has been, marvellous in our eyes; to him therefore be glory, honor, and dominion, forever and ever.

I got well to Rotterdam, through mercy, where I found Friends very well in the Lord. After we had been sweetly comforted together, I took leave of them, and went to the city of Leyden, where I also visited that little flock, with whom my soul at that time was comforted. From there I passed to the city of Amsterdam, where my refreshment was augmented in the Lord among his babes in that place, at which I arrived the sixth of the tenth month, 1660.

Afterwards it was upon me with another Friend called Peter Hendricks, to go into Friesland, which we did; and in due time through mercy we arrived well upon a first-day in the morning, at a place called Dockham, where we went into the meeting of the Baptists, so called, which was very large. When he that spoke had done, I stood up and began to declare the everlasting truth in their own language. They were much divided among themselves, for some would gladly have heard me, others would not allow me; but one of the chiefest of their teachers was very moderate, and spoke to this purpose, that if I had a nearer way to God to declare, than that which they knew, or one that was more excellent than theirs, they would willingly hear me. In order thereto many of them came together in the afternoon, and heard me declare that way which I preferred before theirs, and affirmed it to be nearer to God, and more excellent than theirs: and little they had at that time to object against it.

Before we parted they were so far satisfied, that by their great silence, in which they sat as if they had



been Friends, they seemed not to have anything further to object. After the meeting was done, the aforesaid teacher invited us to his house, and to take up our lodging there, which for several reasons we were free to accept of. When we got to his house at night, many people followed us, so that we had a very good meeting. And when we had continued there some time in very good service, we left that place and returned to Leuwarden, the metropolitan city of that province: there we found some in whom there were desires after the truth, with whom we had meetings. Afterwards we passed to a place called Mackham, where there were also many of the aforesaid Baptists, and we were entertained by an old man, who had been a preacher among them for many years.

When first-day came, it was upon us to go to their place of worship, which we did; and waited until he that was speaking had done: afterwards I began to speak, but he would not allow me, (that is, he that had preached,) but became presently very angry, though the people would gladly have heard me; but he would not permit them; and he became finally so uncivil, that he put the people out of the meeting place with his own hands; at which some being much offended, a skipper or master of a vessel, stood up and said, If they would not allow me to speak there, I should speak at his house; and the same man came and took us to his house, where afterwards we had a pretty good meeting, and such as had desires to hear the truth came there, so that I had some very good service there for the Lord.

When we were free of that place we went to Worchum, where we also had a meeting or meetings. When we were pretty clear of those parts, we returned again for Amsterdam, where we were received with joy and gladness by Friends, who rejoiced with us in the good service which we had had; and blessed be the Lord for our preservation.

[From this city William Caton addressed a letter to Friends in England, (as is supposed,) from which the following extracts are selected.]

O! My beloved friends,

It is delightful to me to meditate upon the Lord's love to you, and it is a comfort and refreshment to my soul to feel you in the unity of the eternal Spirit, wherein I have daily communion with you, though I am necessitated, for the scattered seed's sake, to be much as without the camp, where the reproach is borne, with many weights and burdens, by reason of which my soul is sometimes bowed down. Yet, O! my friends, I share with you of that joy and peace, love and life, which abound in your tents; and therein can I rejoice with you in the midst of our trials and sufferings, though as to the outward I am far separate from you. Yet know, that I have no more lack and scarcity than I had when I was with you; for my heart is filled with love, my mouth with praise, and mine eyes with tears, when I behold your integrity and innocency, your faithfulness and constancy, under your trials and burdens. Often is my soul poured forth unto my Father on your behalf;—unto whom a child is born, unto whom a Son is given; whose name is called the Prince of Peace, and of the increase of whose government there shall be no end. This is He, of whom I bear testimony to the nations, though they abhor Him, and say within themselves, —'we will not have Him to rule over us, or we will not allow any of His messengers and

servants to dwell among us, but we will imprison them, and put them to death,' etc. Thus the Lord may permit them to do, until they have filled up the measure of their iniquities, as the Amorites did; and then shall his iron rod be stretched over them, by which they shall be broken to pieces like a potter's vessel, who have abhorred Him, and hated Him without a cause; but in that day will he spare you, who have followed Him through great tribulation.— In the meantime, O! beloved, he will try your faith and patience; but be you not therefore troubled, for he knows what is good for you, in whom he has chosen in these latter days to manifest his power and glory, to the families of the earth, whose glory and dignity must be stained and brought to nothing.

[He then proceeds to give a similar narrative of his labors in Friesland, etc., though somewhat more minute than given at this place in the Journal. He afterwards adds;]

The sudden and violent storm which you have had in England,<sup>4</sup> has also stirred the waters very much here, so that they rage and swell, as if they would prevail beyond the bounds which are set for them. Much mire and dirt they cast up, venting part of it in their weekly intelligence, and part in ballads, wherein they seem to lay that chiefly to the charge of Friends which lately happened in London, as if they had conspired together to do much more than what was done. The vulgar sort of people that have no feeling of the witness of God in themselves, they believe it; but some sober and honest-hearted men slight it, and do not much regard it. But the baser sort take a mighty occasion hereby against us, and they rage and tear as if they would swallow us up quickly. We are credibly informed that fifty of the wildest of men here have combined together, not only to break our meeting, but also to pull down the house to the ground, where we have often met: so that you may understand, that we are here daily in as great jeopardy as they in England, that are not yet cast into prison. The last first-day there were some very wicked men at our meeting, who were exceedingly desperate and violent; but blessed be the Lord! they were not permitted to do much harm, and that which they did, was more to the house, than to Friends, who are given up to the will of the Lord, as well to suffer with you for the Truth, as to rejoice with you in the Truth.

Now friends, you know this day has been long foreseen, and often have you been told that it would come, and seeing it is come, think not these fiery trials strange which attend, though for the present they may not seem joyous; yet without all controversy, good will be brought forth by them to some, and these things shall not be in vain; for it appears to me that they work together for the hastening of that work, which the Lord is determined to cut short in righteousness for the elect's sake. Therefore, let that reasoning part be kept under, that would say, this would hinder the work: for who are you to reason with the Lord! is not the work his? And do you know better than he, what would be for the furtherance of it? If not, be still, patient, and content; and let him work for his Truth with us, or without us, according to the good pleasure of his Will; who has all power in his hand; and this is he in whom we have believed, who commands the winds and the

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4 See the Histories of England concerning the troubles consequent upon the return of Charles II.

seas to be still, and they obey him; have we not seen it, and are not we his witnesses? if so, let us be patient a little, and we shall see the Lord work wonderfully.

Though I have written thus largely to you at present, yet my heart is as full of love as it was when I began to set pen to paper: so in the fulness, do I most dearly salute you, and in it do I leave you, and commit you unto Him, who is of power to establish all your hearts in the living Truth, in which I remain, your dear brother in the fellowship of sufferings, in the gospel of peace,

William Caton.

Amsterdam, 25th of Eleventh month, 1660.

I continued several months in Holland, where I had very good service, sometimes at Atkmore, sometimes at Haarlem, sometimes at Leyden, sometimes at Rotterdam, but mostly at Amsterdam; and I was much alone, especially about that time, for William Ames who had had very good service in those parts, was some time in Germany, and some time at Hamburgh: and once he travelled through Bohemia, and to Dantzic, and from there to Poland. John Higgins who had been much in Holland, was seldom with me; so that I was much alone in the country: but the mercy and goodness of the Lord abounded very much towards me, for which my soul has cause forever to praise and magnify his name.

About the time called Whitsuntide, in the year 1661, it was upon me to come over to London, chiefly to visit Friends there and thereabouts, after their great suffering. And the Lord gave me an opportunity, with two other Friends, namely: William Welch, and Benjamin Furdy. Through the mercy of the Lord we got well over to Harwich, and from there to Colchester, and so to London; where I was at several precious meetings, and was more than a little refreshed with the brethren, not only at London, but also at Kingston. But being pretty much pressed in spirit to return for Holland again, where there was some needful service for me, which required my hasting, I took my leave of Friends and brethren, in much love and unity at London, with whom my refreshment at that time was so great, that the remembrance of it afterwards was a great comfort to me. We got well back to Colchester, where we had a very large and precious meeting, to our own and Friends' strength in the Lord. We then went to Harwich, from which we passed over to Holland again, and had a prosperous and successful journey of it, blessed be the Lord, which tended much to our encouragement.

At that time I had in hand the book, called. *An Abridgement*,<sup>5</sup> which I printed at Rotterdam; and after I had finished it, I visited Friends in most places of that country, and had several good meetings among them, to their and my refreshment in the Lord.

About that time it was upon me to go into Germany, partly to visit Friends, and partly to speak with the Prince Palatine, and some else in that country, I took my leave of Friends in Holland with much tenderness of heart, committing them to the custody and protection of the Almighty. About the 10th of the

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5 *An Abridgement or Compendious Commemoration of the remarkablest Chronologies which are contained in that celebrated Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius,*” etc., 1661. Reprinted 1689. Whiting's Catalogue.

seventh month, 1661, with my dear brother William Ames, I set forward on our journey towards Germany, and in due time we got well to Cologne; from there we travelled towards the Grave de Whitt's country, who had promised large liberty to all sorts of people, that would come and inhabit in his dominion. When we came there, we went to his house, and had an opportunity to speak with him; and he reasoned very moderately with us a while, and we endeavored to inform ourselves as much as we could from his own mouth, of the certainty of what was published in his name concerning liberty.

But in the end, we perceived clearly from him, that his invitation, though promising liberty or toleration, was not so much out of love to tender consciences, as out of covetousness for what was theirs, as since has more evidently appeared.

After we had had a very good time with him, and had informed ourselves sufficiently, and tried the ground from which such things proceeded, we parted from him, and went up into the country, and had good opportunity to speak with some of the priests and people; and after we had satisfied and cleared ourselves, we left those parts, and travelled on our journey towards the Palz or Palatinate; where in due time we arrived, through the mercy of the Lord, at a place called Kriesheim, where we found a small remnant of Friends, that bore their testimony to the truth; with whom we were refreshed, after our long and pretty tedious journey. There we continued some time, helping them to gather their grapes, it being the time of their vintage and when we had had a time of refreshment among them, we travelled towards Heidleberg, the place of the prince's residence.

Soon after we came to Heidleberg, we went to the captain of the prince's life-guard, and made known our desires to him concerning speaking with the prince; and he was willing to procure us access to him. Soon after, the prince sent for us to his palace, and he being at dinner, caused us to stand by him; and withal he heard very moderately what we had to say to him. Afterwards we presented several books to him, all which he kindly received from us, and was very courteous to us, and reasoned very familiarly with us in the presence of the great ones that were with him; and after we had had a favorable opportunity with him, we returned to our lodging.

In a short time after we went up to the prince's palace again, having some further occasion to speak with him; and having free access to him, we found him very moderate and courteous to us as before. He spoke to his captain to cause us to sit down at the table with his attendants, which we found freedom in the Lord to do; for he seemed to be somewhat troubled before, when he had observed our unfreeness in that thing. After dinner we had much private discourse with him, the governor of Manheim only being present, and we found him to be pretty courteously affected towards us; and therefore we were the more free to declare the truth in much plainness to him, and zealous in pleading Friends' cause with him, who had suffered by the priests about their tithe in his dominions. After we had spent some hours with him that day, we returned to our lodging again.

About that time we were very busy in answering several books that were extant in High Dutch against the truth and Friends; the answers to which we intended to have printed here, but the printers fearing the reproof of the clergy, dared not print them for us in this city. We then departed from there, and returned

again to Friends at Kriesheim; and when we had stayed some time with them, William Ames determined to return again for Amsterdam, there to get the aforesaid books printed. He took his leave of Friends, and I went along with him to a place called Alstone, where the governor of those parts lived. It was upon us to go to him, to lay some abuses before him that were sustained by Friends. He was moderate towards us, and a good service we had with him; and he gave me an order for the officer of the place where Friends lived, to take care that the rude multitude did not abuse Friends.

After we had been with him, we took leave of each other in the endearedness of our Father's love, and he [William Ames] went for Holland, and I returned to Kriesheim again; there I stayed with Friends some time, and afterwards went to Heidleberg again, for I was not clear of that city. When I came there I hired a lodging in a goldsmith's house, and sometimes I went up to the prince's palace, and had good service there; and sometimes I was with some of the great ones of the city, with whom I had also very good service, and some of them were very courteous and respectful to me: and more love appeared in some of them towards me than others could well bear. Then began the enmity in the clergy to get up against me; and through the means of some that were envious against me, I with another young man, who were all the Friends that were in that city, were ordered to appear before the council, as also the man that entertained us. This accordingly we did, and had a very good service, for never had there been any Friend there before: so they had many things to query of me; and the Lord was pleased at that very time to give me enough with which to answer them, as also utterance, boldness, and dominion, even to the admiration of some. They were moderate towards us, and allowed me to speak pretty freely and largely among them; but in the end, that they might appear to do something, they would have me to depart out of their city, though they had nothing to lay to my charge, except for declaring the truth, and dispersing some books which testified of the truth; nevertheless, they allowed us then to depart from their judgment seat in peace.

Afterwards the prince came to hear of it, and as we were informed, was very highly displeased with the council for troubling us, when we had given them no just occasion. After that I went to the president's house, who had examined me before the council; and after a little discourse with him, he became pretty moderate, and reasoned very familiarly with me, and asked me many things concerning our Friends in England; as also concerning the magistrates' proceedings towards them; and I was very free to give him a full account thereof for his information. Before we parted he seemed to be very loving to me, and thanked me for the present I had given him, which was some Friends' books; and yet before the council, my giving of such books to people was the greatest crime they had to lay to my charge, though both the prince and he received them from me, and accepted of them.

## CHAPTER XV.

*1661— He visits Manheim and Frankfort, his ill-treatment in a Monastery—Visits the Jesuits' College at Worms—At Heidleberg is introduced to the Prince—Is married to Anneken Derricks at Amsterdam, 1662.*

I WAS several months, yes half a-year, in that country, where I had very good service for the Lord, some time in one place, some time in another. I was several times at a city called Manheim, where there were a sort of Baptists, who lived together as one family, and had their goods common; with whom I was several times, and did bear my testimony among them to the truth of God, though few of them received it, I was several times with the governor of that city at his own house; and he was very courteous to me, at least seemingly, and desired me as often as I came to the city, to come to his house. I was also in the country with a countess, so called, who was very loving to me, and pretty open to hear the truth; and at her house I found a great lord, so called, who formerly had been general of the emperor's army, as I was informed; and a great conference I had with him in the countess' presence, who was rather one with me in her judgment, than with the great man before mentioned; and after I had had some very good service with them, I left them.

I was also at Frankfort, and endeavored to get some books printed there, but could not prevail with the stationers; for the books that were to be printed there, were first to be viewed by some of the clergy. When I saw I could not prevail there, I went with a Friend to another city called Hannau, where we got our business done; and afterwards returned again to Frankfort, one of the chief, if not the chiefest, city in Germany. On a certain time, I went into their chief monastery or temple, where the emperors are usually crowned; and the priests were gathering to their devotion: they were exceedingly offended with me, because I did not stand uncovered in what they call sacred, though it be an idolatrous, place. Some of the priests spoke to me, and one especially was exceedingly angry; and when we had spoken but a little together in Latin, he turned from me in a fury, and another that was with him fell upon me, and beat me sorely, and there he left me bleeding in the temple, where I left much of my blood behind me, as a testimony against the idolatry of that idolatrous place.

I was also in the synagogue of the Jews of that city, where I reasoned much with them, and had a good opportunity to bear a faithful testimony of the eternal truth; though they could apprehend little to it with their dark minds, which were blinded with the god of this world, as their forefathers were. I had also some books to dispose of among them, which for novelty's sake they coveted much after: and when I had cleared myself of them, I left them; and in due time returned again into the Palz.

I was also at the city of Worms; and it was upon me to go to the Jesuits' college, to reason with them, or some of them, concerning the truth of God, and their traditions, which I did. When I came there, one that was eminent among them did soon enter into discourse with me, and spoke very feignedly to me for some time; for at the first he seemed to have hopes, as it appeared to me, to have won or gained me to his religion; and therefore did he seem to be the more ready and willing to resolve me in whatsoever I

propounded, so far as I believe he well could.

But when he saw I did notwithstanding lay open their apostasy, and boldly gave my testimony against their inventions, superstitions, and traditions, he could scarcely contain himself from breaking out into a passion, I spent some hours in dispute with him, in the presence of several that belonged to the college, for whom he was as the mouth for the whole. When I had cleared my conscience, and borne a faithful testimony unto the truth among them, I left them, and returned again to Kriesheim, where our Friends inhabited; for sometimes I was there, sometimes at Heidleberg, and sometimes elsewhere, where I saw the Lord had a service for me.

[The following is an extract from an Epistle addressed to Friends in London, by William Caton, dated Kreisheim, near Worms, in Germany, 50th of Eleventh month, 1661, This instructive Epistle is printed at large in Besse's Sufferings, vol. ii. p, 451.

We have cause to praise and magnify the Lord God omnipotent forever, who does not only comfort and refresh us in our tribulations, through the consolations of his eternal Spirit, but also has prepared a refuge for us, which we have truly found in his eternal light and pure power. And now if no storm had come, then I believe there would not have been such flocking and flying to this refuse, as there has been, and as there is, and as I hope, there will be; therefore, if the storms of persecution do drive such as were neither cold nor hot from under their green trees of specious pretences and fair shows of religion and reformation, to this sure hiding place or refuge, which is in the eternal light, life, and power, which you have now made manifest, then will it be good in its season. Therefore let none be afraid of it who are faithful in their measures; for indeed our heavenly Father is so abundant in mercy and goodness to his people, that if he suffers storms and tempests to arise, he does not only still them, but even in the very time of them he covers his dear babes with the banner of his everlasting love, so that truly they need not to fear, though sometimes they that are tender and young among them may be too much afraid.

And forasmuch as I know that the refuge before mentioned is known to you, and the covering of the Lord's eternal Spirit manifested in you, which is the banner of his love spread over you, therefore I beseech you to be of good courage in the Lord: for to what end should you fear? to what end should you be troubled? to what end should you take thought? You know that neither fear of heart, trouble of mind, nor yet taking of thought, can in any wise avert these things.

And if it be the good pleasure of the Almighty to purge and refine you in the furnace of persecution, as heretofore he has done with many of his witnesses in the world, think it not strange that it should be so with you: but rather think it strange that the Lord has so long dealt so gently with you, and that he has so remarkably restrained the violence of the mighty, who have risen up against you, as if they would have devoured you at once.

But behold, how have they been abased, brought down from their seats, and overturned; and though they have, as it were, bruised your heel, yet they have not prevailed against the Lamb,

the captain of your salvation; neither have they overcome you, whose faith has stood in the power of the Most High, through which you have overcome, and not by the force of arms, nor by might of princes, nor by the greatness of your multitude. Remember, therefore, these things; and strengthen you one another in the faith and in the patience; and look you alone unto the Lord, and hearken and hear what his Spirit says in you and to you.

When the spirit of enmity rules, there is not much liberty to be enjoyed in matters of religion; for it is well known to you, how through that spirit we have suffered from the beginning, which has wrought mightily against us in our native country. In these countries there are three sects tolerated, namely: the Roman Catholics, the Lutherans, and the Calvinists; and all these have their particular government in their particular cities and villages; and all of them are addicted to persecute those that are not of their sect. But above all others they seem to be bent against us, as the most offensive, irregular, and perturbative people that are of any sect; and notwithstanding the great variance that is and has been among themselves, yet they can, as it were, join hand in hand against the truth and us. As for the Roman Catholics, they hate us as new up-started heretics, whom they account worthy of death: and the Protestants, they revile us and upbraid us, as if we were the pope's emissaries; and many of them esteem us as not fit to live upon the earth: so that as much as in them lies, they seek to toss us to and again, as a ship upon a troubled sea. But thanks be to God, our anchor holds; so that they, with all their hard threatenings, which proceed from their rocky hearts, cannot split our confidence, nor make shipwreck of our faith; which is in the Lord Jehovah, who is over all, blessed for evermore!"

William Caton.

When I was at Heidleberg, there came two of my dear brethren to the city, John Stubbs and Henry Fell, who had been at Alexandria in Egypt, and in Italy, etc. The postmaster of the place seeing them, did bring them to my lodging, for he knew me well, for they had no knowledge of my being in the city; presently after, came the captain of the prince's life-guard, having seen them in the street; and he being a very courteous man to us, discoursed very friendly and familiarly with us, and afterwards told the prince of the aforesaid Friends being in the city. Soon after, the prince sent his secretary to my lodging to desire us to come up to the castle to speak with him, which accordingly we did; and when we came there, he began to speak friendly and familiarly to us, as his manner was, and did ask them much concerning their travels, and how it had been with them, etc. And a very great opportunity we had with him in the presence of the nobles, so called, that were conversant with him. After he had discoursed long with us, he parted very lovingly from us, and soon after we went out of the city.

When the aforesaid brethren were with me, I received some letters out of Holland, whereby I was informed of the death of Niesie Derricks, of Amstersdam, who had been a dear and special friend of mine, and a true and faithful servant to the flock of God in the Low Countries; of whose love and virtue, faithfulness, and good service which she did in her day, a volume might be written. When I heard of her departure, my heart was much saddened, and broken within me; and indeed it was more than I could well bear; but the aforesaid brethren being with me, they bore with me; and the Lord supported me in



that heaviness, and comforted me with the promise and assurance which I had from him, of his raising and bringing her sister Anneken Derricks, with some else, into her love, life and spirit, to perform that or the like service for the Lord which she had done.

When I had been about half a year in Germany, and had had very good service, especially in the Palatinate, it was upon me to return again for Holland, which accordingly I did. When, through the mercy of the Lord, I was gotten well there, I visited Friends, as my manner was, and we were sweetly refreshed together.

[In the eighth month, 1662, he was married to Anneken Derricks, at the meeting in Amstersdam.]

The same day after the meeting was done, we brought William Ames's body to the ground, who had finished his testimony, and left a good savor behind him. Though we went as wisely to work as we could to prevent a tumult; yet nevertheless on a sudden the rude people were gathered together, and became so tumultuous, that not without much difficulty we could get through them with the corpse, which finally was laid in the ground; and afterwards the multitude was very rude, and Friends were much abused; howbeit, through mercy we were all preserved.

## CHAPTER XVI.

*1662—He returns to England; when in London, he sees Edward Burrough in Newgate shortly before his death—Travels into Surrey, Sussex, and Kent; is apprehended at Folkestone, but is discharged—Again visits Holland, and returns with his wife: travels into Warwickshire, etc., and arrives at Swarthmore.*

After our marriage I continued several weeks with my dear wife, and the Lord was pleased very much to comfort and refresh us together with his infinite loving kindness which abounded to us, and with his heavenly blessings which he caused to descend upon us; for which our souls have cause forever to praise and to magnify his name. Afterwards I went out upon the service of truth, to visit Friends in other places, as I had done before.

In less than three months after I married, it was upon me to go for England; and in order thereunto I took leave of my dear wife and Friends in those parts; and about the 25th of the eleventh month, 1662, I embarked for England; and through the mercy of the Lord, I got well to Colchester, where I was sweetly refreshed with Friends, as I usually was in that place. Afterwards I went into the country, where I had several good and precious meetings, and then went up to London with another dear brother, and there I was also sweetly refreshed as I often was among the flock of God, and especially at Newgate with dear Edward Burrough, who was then a prisoner there. But in less than two weeks after he was released from his bonds, for the Lord removed him out of this evil world, that he might reward him with life everlasting in the world without end.

When I had been certain days in London, it was upon me to go down into Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, which I did, and visited Friends in Surrey, and had some very good meetings among them, to our refreshment in the Lord, being accompanied by my dear brother Joseph Fuce. Afterwards we went to Horsham in Sussex, and visited our Friends and brethren who were in prison there; after which we had some good meetings in that county. At a meeting at Hurst, I was in much danger of being apprehended through the envy of a wicked priest; but the Lord restrained the officers from executing his will, and therefore I was preserved out of their hands.

We passed into Kent, visiting Friends and their meetings in our travels, as our manner was: at Staplehurst we had a precious general meeting, after which we parted in the fulness of brotherly love; he [Joseph Fuce] went back into Sussex again, and I went towards Dover. When I came to Foulstone [Folkestone] I attended a general meeting there; and the officers of the town, while I was speaking, came into the meeting, and apprehended me, and carried me before the mayor; who being pretty moderate, would finally have set me at liberty, if I would promise him, that if I went to the meeting again, I would speak no more in it, which thing I could not in any wise promise, and gave him my reasons why I could not; upon which he sent me to prison.

That same day afterwards we were had twice before the mayor, there being others with me, who finally discharged us all that night. I took leave of Friends there, it being the 1st day of the first month, 1663, and went to Dover, where I had a very good, serviceable and refreshing meeting among Friends and being comforted together in the presence of the Lord, I left them, and went to a general meeting in East Kent, and from there to Canterbury, and so to Rochester, visiting Friends, and from there to London. I stayed several days in that city, where I had several precious meetings: and afterwards, according as it was upon me, I went from there into the country again, in order to return for Holland; and had several good meetings in the country at my return, to the renewal of our strength in the Lord.

When the Lord of his mercy had thus prospered my journey, and made it successful, he also gave me a good opportunity to return again for Holland; where I arrived about the 10th of the second month, 1663, to mine and Friends' great refreshment in that country, and especially of my dear wife; with whom I stayed not very long at her habitation, but as was upon me, went from city to city, visiting Friends and their meetings: and the Lord was with me, in whose living presence we were comforted together as in months past.

I had not stayed above three months in those parts, when it was upon me to go for England again. My dear wife having longing desires, with some other Friends at Amsterdam, to see Friends in England; she and they determined to go along with me, which accordingly they did; and through the good hand of the Lord we got to Harwich about the 29th of the fourth month 1663, where we had a very good meeting with Friends, to our refreshment. From there we went to Colchester, where we also had a good meeting.

On the first-day following, we were at a general meeting in the country, to which many Friends and others resorted; and when I came there I understood that the constable had been there before me, and that he was determined to come again to break up the meeting. However, when Friends were gathered, I

went in among them in the name and power of the Lord; and when I had sat but a little in the meeting, my heart was full of the Word of life, which I had to communicate to the congregation, and a very living and precious meeting it was. When I had done speaking, and was sat down, the constable came into the meeting, with his warrant subscribed by several justices; but he knew not me from the rest. Moreover, there being a woman Friend speaking, he troubled himself a little with her; but afterwards went away, and my liberty was preserved for future service, through the mercy and goodness of the Lord God. Afterwards we visited Friends at Coxhall [Coggeshall] and Witham, to their and our refreshment in the Lord.

In some short time after, we went up to London, where we were much comforted with Friends; who rejoiced more than a little to see people of another nation, and of a strange language, brought into the same living truth in which they were established, and to bear the same image that they bore, and to be comprehended in the same love, which the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ had shed abroad so richly among them. And when we had been very sweetly refreshed with Friends in several precious meetings in the city and elsewhere, we went to Kingston to a general meeting; and one of the Dutch Friends was moved to speak pretty much in the meeting, and I interpreted for her: with which Friends were much affected and refreshed, feeling the same life and power in her that dwelt in us, giving testimony to the same eternal Truth; this, I say, did much refresh Friends, and confirm them in the present truth.

After that we returned to London, where we were comforted together as before; but we stayed not long there, for it was upon me to go into the north; and it was upon my dear wife, and the rest of Friends, to return again for Holland. I with several dear Friends, accompanied them aboard, where I took my leave of them, and committed them to the custody and protection of the Almighty.

In a short time after I also took my leave of Friends in the city, and pursued my journey northwards; and when I came into Warwickshire, I met with my dear friend Margaret Fell, and two of her dear children, as also two dear brethren, Thomas Salthouse, and Leonard Fell; and truly our rejoicing was more than a little in the Lord, having not seen one another for a long time before. We travelled together into Staffordshire, and there parted, some went for the north, some for Derbyshire; I returned again to a general meeting in Warwickshire, and went afterwards to Warwick, Coventry, etc, and visited Friends in several places in that county, where I also met with dear George Fox to my refreshment.

After that I went into Derbyshire, and had a meeting in the city of Derby, and visited Friends elsewhere in that county. Then I went into some part of Nottinghamshire, where I met with dear M. F. again; and afterwards we went to Chesterfield, where we had a very good meeting. We then went into Yorkshire, visiting Friends as we went, to a place called Sinderhill Green, where dear George Fox met us: and there we had a splendid general meeting together.

Afterwards we went to Balby, where we stayed some days, and many Friends resorted there, so that we had a good time of refreshment together. After this I took my leave of Friends, for it was upon me to hasten towards Swarthmore in Lancashire, which I did, but visited Friends by the way as my manner was, to our mutual comfort in the Lord. In due time, through the goodness of the Lord, I got well to

Swarthmore, where I had not been for some years; and there I was received in abundance of love, and was very sweetly refreshed with the remainder of the family. When first-day came, we had a very precious meeting, to the refreshing of the whole body of Friends that were present; for the power and presence of the Lord God was much amongst us, which was the cause of our great consolation in the Lord: blessed be his name forever and ever.

## CHAPTER XVII.

*1663— He visits Friends in Cumberland—Proceeds into Durham—At Scarborough takes shipping for Holland, but reaches Yarmouth Roads—Is driven back by storm again to Yarmouth, where he is committed to prison from Eighth month, 1663, to Second month, 1664.*

After being at Swarthmore I went to Lancaster, Kendal, and other places, and visited Friends in those parts to our mutual comfort. It was upon me to go into Cumberland, which I did, so far as to the city of Carlisle, where I visited Friends in prison, and there, even in the prison, I had a very precious meeting; and afterwards I visited Friends in several parts of that county, to our great refreshment in the Lord.

When I was clear of that county, I returned again to Swarthmore, and there I found dear George Fox. Dear Margaret Fell was also returned home, which tended to the augmenting of my rejoicing which was great at that time with them, the family and Friends. I had not been long there when it was upon me to return again for Holland: but in the interim I went over to Lancaster to a general meeting which was held there the week of the court sessions; and some occasion I had with some of the justices, as in reference to a certificate, which three of them granted me under their hands and seals, there being then reports of a plot, and for preventing my being stopped upon suspicion without cause. I therefore had their certificate, and returned again to Swarthmore; where I stayed but a little, when I took my leave of them in the fulness of endeared love, and with much brokenness of heart, and so I left them, being accompanied by several of the brethren into Westmoreland; and after we were much comforted together, we took leave one of another, and parted in the same love and unity in which we had been so plentifully refreshed together.

I travelled into the bishoprick, and visited Friends there, and went to Durham, and visited those that were in prison; and from there went to Sunderland, and had a general meeting between Sunderland and the Shields. Upon inquiry after shipping for Holland, I heard of several that were preparing to go over, but the wind being contrary, and being desirous to visit more Friends, I travelled along the country, not far from the sea-side, visiting Friends as I went, at Shotton, Stockton, Whitby, and elsewhere, and had some very good meetings. When I came to Scarborough, I heard of vessels there also, that were intended for Holland.

After I had had a very good opportunity with Friends there, to their and my refreshment, the wind being fair, and the ships ready to sail, I took my leave of Friends, and went aboard one; but soon after, we met

with contrary winds: howbeit, we got up as far as Yarmouth Roads, and there waiting awhile, the weather being pretty good, we set sail again, intending to run over, if the Lord permitted. When we had gotten about ten leagues, I was much persuaded we should have a storm, and told the master of it, and would have had him return again for England; it being then indifferent weather, he did not much mind my words, but endeavored to press forwards, though the wind was contrary. But that night following, according to my persuasion and expectation, we had a very sore tempestuous storm, and our ship proved very leaky; so that with pumping and other extraordinary work, the men were exceedingly wearied and toiled. To outward appearance we were in much danger, for about the very height of the storm in the night season we lost the use of the helm for a time, so that the poor men were in great distress. In the meanwhile my soul interceded with the Most High, who heard my requests, and granted my desires; though for my own part, I was freely given up to the blessed will of the Lord, if it had been to have made my grave in those great deeps. But the Lord was determined to show mercy unto us, which evidently appeared, in his bringing us, through such apparent danger among the sands, even finally back to the English coast again: for which extraordinary mercy my soul has cause forever to bless, praise and magnify his glorious name.

Afterwards we got well, through mercy, into Yarmouth Roads again, and the wind remaining contrary, we put into the haven, and I went up to the town, where I waited some days for the wind. In the mean time the first-day of the week came, and it was upon me to go to the meeting of Friends, which accordingly I did; and about the end of it, there came several officers and soldiers, and apprehended seven Friends, besides myself, who were strangers in the town, five of whom belonged to one vessel; and they carried us to the main-guard, where they kept us that night; and very good service we had with the officers and among the soldiers; and the next morning we were brought before the bailiffs of the town, who tendered us the oath of allegiance; and because we refused to take it, or any oath whatsoever, we were committed to prison upon the 4th day of the eighth month, 1663, and continued in prison until the 22nd of the second month, 1664; and then I with the rest of my fellow prisoners was discharged.

The following interesting Epistles, nearly all of which are from the Swarthmore Collection, will serve to carry on the narrative beyond the period of the termination of the Journal.

*William Caton To Friends.*

Yarmouth Common Jail, 9th of eighth month, 1663.

Dear and affectionately beloved Friends,

In the everlasting fellowship of the gospel of peace, into which we are brought through the arm of God's eternal power, do I dearly and tenderly salute you; who are dear and near unto me in the truth of God, which he has made known unto us, to the comfort of our souls; whereby he has engaged us above all the families of the earth to love and to serve him with reverence and godly fear. And though they that are without, do judge we are losers through our knowledge of the Truth, yet we find that we are become gainers through it; for if we lose the love and peace and

liberty, which the world in times past has afforded us, we have gained the peace of God and liberty in his eternal Spirit; if we lose that honor and treasure which are of the world, and which we have had in the world, we are honored of our God with bearing his name, and we are become sharers, with the rest of his sanctified ones, of heavenly treasure, which the world cannot give us, neither can it take away from us. So that whosoever deem or imagine we are losers through our coming to be of this way, or by our coming to the knowledge of this eternal Truth, I say, no; for the things that we have lost by reason of it, being but as dross and dung, are not worthy to be compared to what we have gained through it. Shall not we therefore love the Truth? and shall not we be willing to suffer the loss of all this world can afford us for its sake? For can we have a better cause to suffer for than the Truth? Can we suffer upon a more honorable account, than upon the Truth's account, upon the account for which all the righteous men, who have suffered in all ages, have suffered? And who are we that we should be called to this high and honorable calling?—or that we should be accounted worthy to become witnesses of this ancient Truth in this generation, to bear our testimony unto it with the rest of the faithful witnesses, servants and handmaids of the Most High! The consideration of these things I confess might even be enough to break and overcome our hearts, and to engage us, as it were, afresh unto our God, who has chosen us and loved us, before we loved him or made choice of him to be our Lord and God; whom we have found to be so exceedingly gracious and merciful to us. Let our souls and spirits therefore praise and magnify him forever and ever!

And now, Friends, you may hereby understand, how that after I had had a very precious opportunity with many of you in the north, to my great refreshment in the Lord, I was clear in myself to return again for Holland; and in order thereunto, I passed towards the sea-coasts; and when I came there, I heard of ships that were nearly ready to go for Holland, both at Newcastle and Sunderland. But the wind being out of the way or contrary, and I being desirous to improve my time to the utmost, and withal being very desirous to see as many Friends as I could before I took shipping, I travelled along the coasts towards Whitby and Scarborough, and had some very good and precious meetings among Friends by the sea-side. And finding a ship ready at Scarborough, and the wind being good, I went aboard her: but the wind came contrary again: howbeit we kept out at sea and that for the space of nine days, whereas if the wind had been good we might have sailed it in two days. But finally a tempestuous storm came upon us, of which I had had some sight before, and told the master of it, and would have had him return again for England; and indeed it was so violent that as to outward appearance we were in very imminent danger; and the more so because our ship had a sore leak, or rather more than one, and sometimes the pump was so out of order that it would do no service, and besides they had lost the use of their helm, even in the very height of the storm.

In the meantime the ship was in no small danger of being foundered or upset; and as for the poor men they were as if they had been plunged into the sea, and by reason of their continual pumping, besides the extraordinary toil they had with the sails, they were so exceedingly wearied out, that their courage and strength were very much departed from them. In which time

I did much intercede with the Lord, and did with much fervency of spirit wrestle with him, that if it was his will their lives might be spared, and we preserved out of that extreme danger; though as for my own part I found myself freely given up to bequeath my soul into his bosom of everlasting love, and my body to be buried in that great deep: indeed I confess I could sometimes expect little else. At that time I could have bid you all farewell, and all that in this world I do enjoy, and could have gone to my everlasting home in peace with my God; who even then beheld my meditations and intercessions; and because he loved me, was he prevailed withal, even for his mercy's sake, who was determined, as appeared, to show mercy unto us.

For when we were near the sands, where dear Hugh Tickhil's wife and another Friend were cast away, as I am informed, in their passing for Holland, the Lord was pleased to cast us between two sands, which if our ship had come to strike upon either, she must in an instant have become a wreck. But blessed be the name of the Lord who preserved us out of that imminent danger, whereby he has exceedingly engaged me unto him, and his unspeakable mercy I hope shall be held in a perpetual remembrance by me his servant; who at this time do make mention of this deliverance unto you, to the end that you may know how good the Lord has been to me, and that you with me may return thanks unto him; not only for his mercies in general to us, but for this to me in particular; the consideration and sense of which have more than a little broken my heart, which has been filled with praises unto the Most High.

Moreover, Friends, I would have you understand, that the Lord having delivered me out of the storm before mentioned by sea, he has permitted me to come into another by land among unreasonable men, who are like unto the waves of the sea. But he that limits the one, limits the other; and I am confident that he that has preserved me in the one, will in due time deliver me out of the other.

By contrary winds, after we had been nine days at sea or thereabouts, we put in here at Yarmouth; and on a first-day I went to the meeting of Friends, which was a precious peaceable meeting: at the end of it, when we were standing up to depart, officers and many soldiers came there, and carried eight of us away prisoners to the main-guard, where they kept us that night among the soldiers; and the next day we were carried before the magistrates of the town, who presently tendered the oath unto us. I told them, I had never sworn but one oath in my life, that I knew of, and that was when I was a boy; and I had known the terrors of the Lord against the thing, and therefore I dared not swear again. But without any respect to my or our tender consciences, they committed us to the common jail; and so much confidence they had that we would be true to our principle, that they had made out our court order beforehand, yes, before they examined us; wherein the only thing charged against us was for refusing to swear. We were all strangers to the town, come occasionally and accidentally to it; for five of the Friends belonged to one vessel in the town, who were come here to load with herrings for the Straits, one of them was the merchant, another the master, another his mate, and the other two seamen; the others are Friends out of the country: and there are warrants out for apprehending Friends in

the town also.

And very high they are, (as the sea was for a season;) and they keep Friends from us, and would force us to have what we have occasion for of the jailer, which we cannot consent to, though we suffer five times more than we do at present. But notwithstanding their fury and rage against us, it is well with us, — blessed be the Lord; and we are resolved, in his name and power, to bear our testimony for the Lord in this place, as many of our brethren have done elsewhere. For my own part I am perfectly satisfied in the will of the Lord, not so much admiring at my present bonds, as I have admired sundry times that I have been so long kept out of bonds; unto which I have long been freely given up in the will of God, where my soul is in peace with the Lord. Unto him who has gathered you by the arm of his power, and who is able to preserve you unto the end, whose name is called the Lord of hosts, do I commit you all; with whom I remain, in the unity and fellowship of the eternal Spirit of life, your dear friend and brother,

William Caton.

An extract from an Epistle of William Caton to Friends, dated a few days after the preceding one; it is from a collection of copied letters from Colchester.

Dear Friends,

How near at hand we found Him unto us, even as a rock of defense to fly unto, in our greatest straits, difficulties and temptations! And what free access have we had unto Him through his eternal Spirit in ourselves, when by jails, houses of correction, force of arms, or the like, we have been hindered from having access one unto another, or from meeting together in the outward! How did we rejoice in the Lord, when he covered our heads as in the day of battle, even until the fury of the wicked came to be abated!

And forasmuch as in these perilous times, we cannot well serve our God in that way in which He requires us to walk, without being in jeopardy of bonds and imprisonments, or of having other sufferings imposed upon us, by reason of our meeting together to wait upon the Lord; it does so much the more concern us to feel the drawing of our God by his eternal Spirit to our meetings; that when we are met, we may so much the more enjoy His presence to the refreshment of our souls. And then if we suffer for waiting upon him, he will not leave us comfortless in that suffering; neither will it be grievous to us, while we keep in that through which we enjoyed him in our meetings, for in that we may enjoy him in our sufferings: and then it will be better to be one day in prison with the Lord, than a thousand elsewhere without the enjoyment of his presence, in which we have found, as you know, much joy and peace, much comfort and consolation.

I suppose many of you have heard of my bonds,—how that after God, of his mercy, had delivered me out of a mighty violent storm at sea, I was cast in here; where they in authority have shown themselves to be worse to me and the Friends with me, than the barbarous people of



Melita were to Paul and them that were with him; who showed them no small kindness, for they received and lodged them courteously. But these that are called Christians, showed themselves far from courteous, in that they broke up our meeting with many soldiers, and afterwards committed us to prison; and instead of showing us much kindness, they have been so cruel to us, as that sometimes it was difficult for us to get water and bread. Howbeit, the Lord is with us, and their cruelty has been little to us; for we know that our God will, in his own due time, deliver us out of their hands, when our testimony is sufficiently borne. Of this I am very sensible, that with the baptism of suffering under this spirit of persecution in the nation, many are to be baptized into the fellowship of the gospel with the saints in light. And blessed and thrice happy are they, and will they be, that continue faithful unto the end,—for they shall be saved. Farewell in the Lord, in whom I remain your dear friend and brother,

William Caton.

Yarmouth Common Jail, 14th of Eighth month, 1663.

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*Addressed to T. S. and J. P.*

Dear brethren, T. S. and J. P.,

Yours dated the 12th of last month I have this afternoon received, to my refreshment in the seed immortal; in which I feel your love extending to me, and perceive your sympathizing with me in these my bonds; in which the Lord has been pleased to try me a little, together with the rest of my fellow prisoners, even as he has tried many who are now at liberty as I was, when they have been as I am: but blessed be the Lord it has been a good time for me; and as I think I told you before, much I have enjoyed of the Lord since my confinement, and his love is perfectly continued unto me, in which my soul does solace itself night and day. And much I could say unto you, if I were with you and the rest of our dear and near relations in that blessed family, who know my voice and integrity, my love and simplicity; which is also pretty much known to many more, whom I love in the Lord. In these parts I find the love of Friends to be much to me; but they are but seldom permitted to come in to us, for the bailiffs do absolutely gainsay it, for fear, as they pretend, lest they should bring in ammunition to us, books or letters, etc.—Howbeit, in eight weeks' time, through the providence of the Lord and our patient long suffering, our persecutors are brought so far as that they now do in part condescend to allow provision to be handed in to us at the door. The last seventh-day the jailer caused the door to be opened for provision to be brought in, which was more than ever he had done before; yet on the last second-day they were so high again, that when Friends would have brought in a spinning wheel, they would not allow them; and they going about to pull it up at the window, the turnkey cut the cords. But enough as to these things, for the Lord is with us; through whose word, power and Spirit we doubt not, but we shall in his time become victorious through suffering; as our Captain and thousands of his followers have been.

I was truly glad to hear of your liberty, and of Friends' welfare, and of the peaceableness and preciousness of your meetings in those parts; and especially of the well-being of that honorable family, and also of dear George Fox's liberty yet in it, which I know is no small mercy to it. I desire to be dearly remembered to him, also to dear Margaret Fell, and to all her dear children; unto whom my affectionate love is, as you right well know, as unto the rest of the family. I was glad to hear that my general epistle was come well to hand, and that it had such influence upon the hearts of our beloved Friends in the meeting to their refreshment. It is much with Friends in these parts, as you relate it is in the north, that is, the meetings are mostly pretty quiet, blessed be the Lord; but many of them are cited, and some excommunicated, and others have their goods spoiled, for not attending their devised devotion. I am yet very well, blessed be the Lord; so are we all.

My dearest love is with you, my dear brethren. Farewell,

William Caton.  
Yarmouth, 1st of Tenth month, 1663

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*Addressed to James Moore, woollen-draper, Kendal.*

Dear J. M.,

With the salutation of dear and unfeigned love, do I dearly salute you, and all our dear Friends and brethren with you; and being sensible of your desires to hear of me, to the end you might know how it was with us at the sessions, these are therefore to inform you, together with the rest of Friends, that we were not once called at the sessions. When I saw they had adjourned their court, I went and spoke with the clerk thereof, to know the reason why we were not called; he said, because the court was minded to favor us: for if we had been called then, there must have been a bill of indictment preferred against us, and the oath tendered again to us, and then we should have been more liable to have been premunured, etc. He said further, if we would but give sureties for our good behavior, we might go about our business and the like.

Afterwards I wrote to the judge and to the bailiffs; and the chief collector of this town took it from me, and gave it to one of the justices, who willingly carried it to the judge, and did plead our cause pretty much; the judge was a moderate wise man, and willing that we should have our liberty; and though he was in much haste to be gone out of the town, yet he prescribed to them a way how they might clear us, that is, by taking anyone man from the dock, though but a porter, and he might serve to be bound for a hundred of us; and when he came again he would take it off the file, so that we should not be called, neither needed even to appear any more. Further, he knowing our tenderness of conscience, ordered that the clerk should take nothing of us; neither would he have had us further troubled or longer detained. And this, one of the justices, that carried our paper and is our great friend, sought further to have accomplished, to the end that we

might have our liberty; but when the judge was gone, some of our grand adversaries consulted together, and resolved to perpetuate our bonds, except we should yield and give our consent to the recognizance: though they did not desire that we should come to appear at the sessions, yet they would have us to submit to satisfy their wills more or less; and because we cannot satisfy them, therefore are our bonds continued. Howbeit, the aforesaid friendly justice is very much dissatisfied, and told the rest, in the hearing of one of our friends, that he could not be quiet, and would not be quiet till he had us out; and in order thereunto, he labors yet very much to procure our liberty, but what the end thereof will be, time will manifest: in the mean time we hope to rest satisfied in the will of our God.

At Norwich there are several of our friends in prison, being fined for keeping on their hats in their judicial courts. Since the court sessions, meetings have been broken up at some places in these parts;—for the judge was very high and severe against the fanatics, so called, in his charge and proceedings. But Friends are sweetly kept, blessed be the Lord; and the truth is of good report and of good esteem among the upright in heart, notwithstanding the tribulation which comes upon them by reason of it. This very day we have had more visitors, than we have had in all the time that we have been prisoners here before; and much pity seems to be in the hearts of people towards us; and good service we had with them: but blindness and ignorance has happened to the most of them. The chief occasion of their coming to the jail was to see some condemned persons; and being here they came to see us also, and finding every man close at his work, the sight was so much the more strange to them.

I have little else to communicate, besides the redoubling of my salutation of true love unto you and to all the brethren. I am, dear James, your real friend and brother,

William Caton.  
Yarmouth, 18th of Second month, 1664

P. S.—The vessel out of which my fellow prisoners were taken, when they were put in prison here, was taken by the Turks, and carried into Algiers; so that though our persecutors intended it for evil towards them, yet the Lord may have permitted it to come to pass for their good: and one of them having heretofore been a slave in Turkey, knows what a miserable servitude it is. But the Lord knows right well, how to order things for the best, to them that fear him.

At the period of the following Epistle, we find William Caton in Holland; it is dated Rotterdam, 16th of Tenth month, 1664.

Dear and entirely beloved friends,

The love and affection that abounds in my heart towards you in the Lord I cannot easily express, nor the fervency of my desire to the Lord for you; yet however herein can I satisfy myself, in that we are come to read and feel one another in that which is immortal—which tongue (to the full) cannot express, nor pen (to the utmost) demonstrate; and even through this, which is

immortal, does my love extend unto you; and with the sense of your love, and the mercy of God to you and me, is my heart broken, my spirit melted within me, and mine eyes filled with tears. And what is that which thus breaks and overcomes me? surely it is nothing but the sense of the same love and life, which we have felt one in another, when we were together, to the comforting and refreshing of our souls. And though I am far separated from you as to the outward, yet I am not destitute of that which your souls delight in, nor deprived, through my external separation, of your joy and delight, of your solace and consolation, which is mixed with your adversity and suffering.

Howbeit my heart is often sad, and my spirit afflicted within me, because of the many impediments and obstructions which the Lord's truth meets withal in this country; whereby it is much hindered from spreading and breaking forth: so that I cannot say that it flourishes and prospers here, as it has flourished and prospered among you, when the Lord's truth did so eminently break in upon you, and his heavenly power did so mightily break forth among you, to our refreshment in the Lord. Yet verily I have no cause to complain; for the customary goodness and tender mercy of the Most High is perfectly continued unto me, otherwise I should be much more bowed down than I am, and that through the sense I often have of the body's suffering, and of yours as members of it; and also of the subtle working of Satan, together with other things of the like nature; but the sense of the aforesaid goodness and mercy does support me in all my travels and sufferings in the Gospel. And I doubt not, my dearly beloved, but that you have the sense of the same to support and uphold you, in all your manifold afflictions and tribulations.

Well, therefore, be patient and content in the will of the Lord, without willing anything, but that his will may be done in all things; lest while you should will to have things thus and so, and after this manner or the other, you should be found out of the will of the Lord, and among them that are willing and running, and unbelieving, to whom there is no true peace or rest. But I hope God, of his infinite mercy, will establish your hearts in faith and peace; that you may depend wholly upon his power and mercy, which hitherto upon all occasions we have found sufficient: to this then will I commit you all, my dear friends; and in the sense and virtue of the same, do I dearly greet and salute you all with love unfeigned in our Lord Jesus Christ.

I suppose that some of you have heard of my being lately in Friesland; where there was but little entrance to be gotten for the truth, and therefore was my refreshment the less, and my sufferings the more. Howbeit some few I found, and but few, in their metropolitan city, who with a ready mind received my testimony. When I had been there some time, I returned again to Amsterdam, where we are much more visited with strangers in our meetings than in any other place in this country. And as concerning the plague there, it is, through mercy, very much abated; so that there died the last week but about one hundred and eighty-six, which is about the ordinary number that used to die in a week: howbeit the city is not yet free of the sickness; for the same day I came from there, I was to visit a Friend that was exceedingly ill of the plague, and two of his children are lately dead of the sickness, with another young man that lodged in his house. So

that whom the Lord is pleased yet to visit with it, he visits; and therefore none can assure himself of being freed from it longer than the Lord pleases.

About the latter end of the last week, at and about Amsterdam, there was a multitude of trees, small and great, that were so admirably rent and broken and bowed down by ice that was frozen upon them, that it was very wonderful to behold; surely it was a figure to that lofty city, and to the inhabitants of it, who are like unto those whom the prophet compared to the tall cedars of Lebanon. Here has also been a strange comet seen for some weeks by many in these parts, which signs and tokens, as also the late visitation of the plague, together with the present threatening war, cause many to muse, and some to believe. Yet the Lord is determined to bring yet greater judgment upon this land; and it may be that when the vial of the Lord's indignation shall be poured forth, then the day of the Lord's gathering shall be. This day I have seen their weekly news, in which they have made mention of our seven Hertford Friends,<sup>6</sup> that were ordered to be sent away, showing that neither wind nor weather would serve the ship so that she could sail. And when the master could have no success with them, he put them ashore, that he might accomplish his voyage the better, etc. This even makes our enemies imagine, that the hand of the Lord is against our persecutors, in their proceedings against Friends. I have lately visited most Friends in this country, and they are pretty well, blessed be the Lord; and their dear love is to you all, and for anything I know, their small meetings are for the most part pretty peaceable.

Often am I, with other Friends, truly sensible of your manifold sufferings, and a perfect sympathizing we find in our very hearts with you; and we doubt not but you are sensible thereof. And truly we are right willing, not only to share with you of your consolation, but also to partake with you of your tribulation. So read you our love, desire and willingness, and compare the same with yours, and you shall find that we are like-minded with you, yes of one heart and soul, and members of one body with you. And in this union and oneness we suffer and rejoice with you;—and in the one eternal Spirit, by which we are united, do I remain, as in months past, your dear brother and companion,

William Caton.

The following are extracts from the latest original letter of William Caton's, which the Editor has been able to discover. It is dated "Amsterdam, 19th and 20th of the Eighth month, 1665," and is addressed to James Moore, woollen-draper, Kendal.

I give you to understand, that through the infinite mercy of the Lord we are very well, and our meetings continue unmolested; except sometimes among the many strangers that resort to them, there may be some contentious or light person, who may seem to be a little troublesome. But I must confess we have no just cause to complain, having no greater suffering than our sympathizing with our suffering brethren in England in their grievous sufferings. O! that the Lord would be pleased, in this remarkable visitation, which is upon that nation, to break the hearts of

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6 See Sewel's History, under date of 1664.

them that are so inclined to persecution;— that they might come to desist from all such destructive enterprises, which are so exceedingly prejudicial, both to kings, kingdoms, and subjects, as might largely be shown. Methinks it is very commendable to see, as I have often seen in this city, Calvinists, Lutherans, Catholics, Baptists of several sorts, Jews, Friends, Armenians, etc., go in peace, and return in peace, and enjoy their meetings in peace, and all are kept in peace in the city, and that without any trouble to the rulers; who I think have it manifold better, and are much more at peace and quietness than the magistrates in England, who first are troubled with making laws to take away liberty of conscience, and then more than a little with executing those laws, etc.

I was glad to hear of the welfare of my friends and relations; to whom I desire to be remembered, and in particular to my sister Dorothy and her husband: and let them know, how that I and my dear wife are very well, blessed be the Lord. I desire that my dear love be dearly remembered to all our Friends and brethren; also to Friends at Cartmel, Underbarrow, and about Hawkshead, and at and about Swarthmore; in particular to dear Margaret Fell and her children: and of my love to Yealand Friends in the truth I could say much. I herewith commit you all to the protection of the Almighty—and in love unfeigned remain your dear friend,

William Caton.

There is reason to believe that within two, or, at most, three months from the date of this last epistle, William Caton was removed by death, in Holland. “He died in the Lord, and is blessed; and rests from his labors, and his works follow him.”— from George Fox's Testimony concerning him.