

**THE CHRISTIAN PROGRESS**  
**OF**  
**THAT ANCIENT SERVANT AND MINISTER OF JESUS CHRIST**  
**GEORGE WHITEHEAD**

**RELATING HIS EXPERIENCE, MINISTRY, SUFFERINGS, TRIALS AND SERVICE IN  
DEFENSE OF THE TRUTH AND GOD'S PERSECUTED PEOPLE, COMMONLY  
CALLED QUAKERS.**

*“Ascribe the glory of all to God, for his mercy and truth's sake.”—Psalms 115:1*

*“The Lord has opened mine ear, and I was not rebellious, neither turned away back.”—Isaiah 50:5*

*“Hitherto has the Lord helped us.”—1 Sam. 7:12.*

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**TAKEN FROM THE FRIEND'S LIBRARY 1837-1850  
BY WILLIAM EVANS AND THOMAS EVANS**

**EDITED BY  
JASON R. HENDERSON 2016**

**BRIEF TESTIMONY OF GEORGE WHITEHEAD**

The following brief notice of George Whitehead, is taken chiefly from the Testimony respecting him, given by the monthly meeting of Devonshire house, in London, of which he was a member.

He was born at Sun Bigs, in the parish of Orton, in Westmoreland, about the year 1636, and

was educated at a grammar school in that neighborhood; where he appears to have made such progress in his literary pursuits, as to have been employed for some time as a tutor.

His parents had a view to educating him for the office of a minister in the Established Church, and his religious disposition and inquiring mind no doubt raised their sanguine hopes of his fitness for the office. In his seventeenth year, however, he embraced the opinions of the then universally despised Quakers; and in the following year he went forth, traveling on foot, to preach the Truth in several of the midland counties, and on one occasion nearly all the persons composing a meeting which he was addressing, were convinced through his lively testimony and prayer.

“He was one,” says the document referred to, “whom the Lord had fitly qualified and prepared by his divine power and Holy Spirit, for that work whereunto he was called, and whereby he was made one of the most able ministers of the gospel in our day. He was a large experiencer of the work of God and deep mysteries of the heavenly kingdom, and was frequently opened in meetings to declare of and unfold the same, in the clear demonstration of the spirit and power; dividing the word aright, to the opening and convincing the understandings of many who were unacquainted with the way and work of Truth; and to the comforting, confirming, and establishing of the people and children of the Lord, in their journey and travel Zion-ward.

“He was not only a zealous contender for and assertor of the true faith and doctrine of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, in a sound and intelligible testimony, but also was valiant and skillful in the defense thereof, against adversaries and opposers of the same; and one who through a long course of many days, was careful to adorn the doctrine of our holy profession, by a circumspect life and godly conduct, wherein the fruits of the Spirit: love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance, did eminently shine forth through him, to the praise and glory of God.

“Being thus qualified, and of a meek and peaceable disposition, he was had in good esteem amongst most sorts of people that were acquainted with him; which tended much to the opening his way in his public service for Truth, and frequent solicitations unto several kings and parliaments, bishops and great men of this our land, for the relief and release of his suffering friends and brethren, under sore persecutions and hard imprisonments, and for liberty of conscience, and also for relief in the case of oaths: in which labor of love and eminent services among other brethren, this our dear friend was principally exercised; and the Lord was with him and made way for him in the hearts of the rulers of the land, so that his faithful labor was often crowned with success, to the comforting and rejoicing of the hearts of many suffering brethren.

“He was a good example to the flock, in his diligent frequenting of first and week-day meetings for public worship, and other meetings for the service of Truth, so long as his ability of body remained; willing to take all opportunities for publishing and promoting the Truth; zealous to support good order and discipline in the church of Christ: and as he was not for taking hold suddenly of any, so he was as exemplary in not being forward to cast any off, in whom there appeared any thing that was good; being always desirous to encourage the good in all, condescending to the weak, but admonishing the faulty in the spirit of meekness and wisdom, that they might be preserved in love to Truth, and come into the unity of the one spirit, which is the bond of peace.

“We may truly say, he was a tender father in the church, and as such was of great compassion, sympathizing with Friends under affliction whether in body or mind; a diligent visiter of the sick, and laboring to comfort the mourning soul: careful to prevent, and diligent in composing differences.

“Dear friends, much more we might say on the behalf of this our dear deceased friend, an elder worthy of double honor; but it is not with us to give large encomiums of the dead; we have rather chosen to give but short hints of some of the Christian virtues and qualifications he was endued withal, believing there is a witness in the hearts of many yet remaining, that does testify for him and his faithful labors and service in his day; desiring the Lord may raise up many in the room of this and other worthy elders, some of whom are lately removed from us, and, we believe, taken into mansions of glory in the kingdom of God.

“It pleased the Lord to visit this our dear Friend with some severe pains and weakness of body, so that he was disabled for some weeks from getting to meetings; but he often expressed his desires for the welfare of the Church of Christ, and that Friends might live in love and unity.

“He continued in a patient resigned frame of mind to the will of God, waiting for his great change; rather desiring to be dissolved and be with Christ, saying: 'The sting of death was taken away.' He expressed a little before his departure, that he had a renewed sight or remembrance of his labors and travels, that he had gone through from his first conviction; he looked upon them with abundance of comfort and satisfaction, and admired how the presence of the Lord had attended and carried him through them all.

“He departed this life in great peace and quiet, the 8th day of the first month, 1722-3, about the eighty-seventh year of his age; and we firmly believe he died in the Lord, and is at rest from his labors, and his works follow him, “He was a minister of the gospel about sixty-eight years; and was buried the 13th of the first month, in Friends' burying ground near Bunhill Fields, amongst many of his ancient brethren; being attended by a very large number of Friends and others.

“Signed in and on the behalf of the monthly meeting at Devonshire house, the 15th day of third month, 1723, by forty Friends.”

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## THE CHRISTIAN PROGRESS OF GEORGE WHITEHEAD

Remembering the Lord our gracious God, in his ways and merciful dealings with me from my youth; how he found me among his lost and strayed sheep, on the barren mountains of fruitless professions, and how he drew me to an inward experience of his power and sanctifying work in my heart, and to know his teaching and spiritual ministry; thereby to enable me by degrees, experimentally to minister to others, and oblige me to live accordingly; as also to suffer patiently, with resignation of liberty and life for Christ's sake, when called thereunto, and being supported by his power, and cheerfully carried through many great trials and deep sufferings for his name's sake, and having had many eminent deliverances and preservations, even from my young years; I say, considering these things, I have been the more concerned for my friends and brethren, who for conscience-sake have deeply suffered by imprisonments and spoil of goods; and in the tender bowels of Christ Jesus have truly sympathized with the faithful in their sufferings and afflictions; and in his love been many times moved and stirred up to plead their innocent cause before authority, as well as to solicit with great industry on their behalf; wherein the hand of the Lord has been often with me, and his presence and counsel have strengthened and helped me, in answer to my prayers and supplications, and his power by degrees prevailed to mollify the hearts of many in the several governments towards us. Glory to the name of the Lord our God, who pleaded the cause of the innocent.

For these reasons, a concern has long been upon my spirit, to leave some remarks and footsteps—by an historical account of my progress, under the Lord's help and conduct, in his work and service: and in order thereto, to collect from several papers, notes and memorial, I had reserved, some of those exercises and transactions, wherein I have been both actively and passively concerned on Truth's account; and to digest the same into such a plain method as briefly as I well could, and as I thought might be most intelligible, both in point of fact and doctrine, with such observations as might conduce to the good end intended, namely, the glory of God, the honor of his excellent name, and the advantage of the serious reader, the more to consider of his divine grace and goodness, which endure forever, to them that truly love and fear him.

In my time, I have been greatly exercised in defense of the truth of the gospel, wherein the Lord did early assist me, by his Spirit and power; on which account I have been concerned in

many more controversies and disputes than are herein related; and omitting many circumstances, I have endeavored not to make too voluminous a narrative, but sincerely to relate the substance of the most material passages, which concern our Christian profession and principles, held from the beginning.

Those of our principles which have been chiefly opposed by our adversaries, and which I have been most obliged to vindicate and dispute for, are, the light and perfection; the gospel urim and thummim; the kingdom of Christ, against the kingdom of satan and antichrist. Let God arise, and His enemies be scattered.

From early inclinations and desires which the Lord was graciously pleased to stir up in my heart towards his blessed truth, as it is in Christ Jesus, I was drawn to be inquisitive after the knowledge thereof, and how to become truly penitent, and witness a true amendment of life from such a vain conduct, as in my childhood I had, with many others, been prone to. Being partly educated under a Presbyterian ministry, which the Lord showed me in several things, came short of what they professed and pretended in their worships, preachings and prayings; insomuch that before I heard of the people called Quakers, I could not cordially join with them; and being at a loss in my spirit, for what I sometimes secretly desired and needed, I was as one bewildered, and wandered further, seeking among other people, who had some higher and more refined notions concerning spiritual gifts, etc. I was then about fourteen years of age.

After a short time, I heard of some people called Quakers, who trembled at the word of God; and observing how they were reviled and reproached by loose and wicked persons, occasioned my further inquiry, and thereupon the Lord gave me to believe, they were his people, and I contended for them and their principles, so far as they were represented favorably to me, before I was at a meeting of theirs, or heard any of them minister.

And though the Lord had raised good desires in me toward himself, that I might know true repentance unto life, yet those desires were often quenched, and my mind led away through an airy, light disposition, fondness for music, vain mirth, and other vanities, like other children and youth, when conversant with them. Howbeit, the Lord was graciously pleased secretly to follow me with judgment and reproof in my very young years, and renewed desires in me after the right way. But I wanted to know a stay to my mind, while a hearer of the priests and other professors, not knowing, or following that light of Christ in me, which convinced and reprov'd me for the sins of my youth.

The light shined in darkness, as in a dark place, and was often, clouded, before it shone out of darkness. The spirit of the Lord moved upon the waters, even when darkness was upon the face of the great deep, before his works of old were wrought. And in order to bring forth his works

in the new creation, to make us new creatures in Christ Jesus, his spirit moves upon people's hearts, even when unstable as waters, and his light shines in them before they know God or Jesus Christ, in order to give them the knowledge of the glory and power of God, and of his dear Son Jesus Christ.

After some religious discourses with some young men soberly inclined, and when we had newly heard of a few people called Quakers, in Sedbergh, in Yorkshire, and in Kendal Barony in Westmoreland, I was—after my other seeking and wandering—desirous to go to a meeting of theirs, which was at one captain Ward's, at a place called Sunny Bank, near Grayrig chapel.

At my first going to the said meeting, what was most observable to me was, when I came into the meeting, and sat down seriously among them, after a little space of silence, a Friend, Thomas Arey, spake a little while of the spiritual deliverances, travels and progress, of the Lord's people in his way and work; alluding to Israel's deliverance out of Egypt, from under Pharaoh and his task masters. All which I thought I easily understood allegorically, or mysteriously, as spiritualized; but there appeared to me a great work of the power of the Lord in the meeting, breaking the hearts of many into great sorrow, weeping and contrition of spirit, which I believed was a godly sorrow for, sin, in order to unfeigned repentance.

I was the more confirmed herein, seeing a young maid go mourning out of the meeting, whom I seriously followed to observe her sorrowful condition; and beholding her, being sat down on the ground, with her face down toward the earth, as if she regarded no body present, she mourning bitterly, cried out “Lord, make me clean! O Lord, make me clean!” This did far more tenderly and deeply affect my heart than what I had heard spoken, and more than all the preaching that ever I had heard from man or men. It was a certain testimony to me, the spirit of the Lord evidencing to my spirit, that it was a real work of his power upon her heart, which also operated upon the hearts of others, causing both trembling, sorrow and contrition, in order to bring them to true repentance and amendment of life, and so truly to experience the work of regeneration and sanctification, from sin and uncleanness; and accordingly it proved so to many; glory to our God forever.

These things upon serious observation, making deep impression upon my mind, I was the more confirmed in the belief I had before, that the Lord was at work among that small despised people, and that he was about to gather and raise up a people unto himself, to worship him in the spirit and in the truth, for such he seeks to worship him acceptably; and that this his worship, is not in the dead and empty forms set up in the will of man.

Under these considerations, I was induced soon to leave the parish priests, or ministers made by the will of man, having no divine authority from God, nor commission from Christ, to teach

others; they themselves also being no good examples to the flock, by their pride and covetousness, contrary to Christ's command, and his ministers' example, insomuch that I knew I ought to turn away from them, as in a very short time I did, after the Lord by his light opened my eyes, to see the blindness of those guides whom I had followed by education and tradition.

And though I met with opposition and hard speeches from some near relations and others who were hearers of those priests, for confessing and vindicating truth, according to that little measure of understanding I then had, being but weak and young in years, and beset with various temptations and discouragements, yet the Lord my God helped and persuaded me to lake up a resolution, not only wholly to leave the said priests, but also constantly to resort to the meetings of his despised people called Quakers, and to sit down among them, though then but few in number in comparison of what they are since. Their meetings, which I frequented, were for some time in Sedbergh parish in Yorkshire, and sometimes in Grayrig and that way, near Kendal in Westmoreland, the county where I was born.

Some time after I was fully convinced, and my mind turned to the light, and I was persuaded and resolved to persevere among Friends, before I heard our dear Friend George Fox. The first time I heard him minister, was at an evening meeting at Sunny Bank aforesaid, at Captain Henry Ward's house. I was then very low, serious, and intent in my mind, willing to see and taste for myself, for my own inward satisfaction; and I saw and felt that his testimony was weighty and deep; that it proceeded from life and experience, and did bespeak divine revelation, and tended to bring to an inward feeling and sense of the life and power of Christ, and the sanctifying operation thereof in the heart.

His speech was not with affected eloquence or oratory, or human wisdom, but in the simplicity of the gospel, to turn the mind to the light and life of Christ; and the Lord abundantly blessed his ministry to many.

Our meetings in Sedbergh then were often at Thomas Blaykling's house, whose family was honest, and of good reputation, and at Gervas Benson's house, who had been a justice of peace; at Richard Robinson's at Brigflats, who was an innocent faithful man, and at other places near, in those parts. In Westmoreland, the meetings I sometimes went to, were often at Henry Ward's at Sunny Bank, and some other places near the same, and near Kendal.

Being joined to the said people, in derision named Quakers, and by the grace of God resolved to continue and persevere in their communion, and to wait upon God in his light, wherewith he had enlightened my understanding in a good measure, I had great satisfaction therein, being sensible that our society and converse with one another, as we had received the love of the truth, was helpful and encouraging to us, and tended to our edification and comfort. I greatly

loved and delighted in the free conversation and fellowship of sober, faithful Friends. When I was a school boy at the free-school at Blencoe in Cumberland, I loved retirement with some other sober, studious scholars, though but mean and poor in the world, rather than the company of loose, extravagant boys, though of the gentry, or richer sort, who were given to much play and gaming. In that company of which I was most fond, we were the most profitable one to another in our learning, and communicating the effects of our studies to each other; and much more in a spiritual and higher sense, when we were in some degree come to know the blessed Truth, in the light of our Lord Jesus Christ. Our Christian society, and communications therein of our inward experiences, did all redound to our mutual help and edification in the love of the truth, as it is in Christ, the light and life, and our great Apostle and minister, who teaches his true followers to profit in that love and life which flows from him, the Fountain and Foundation of all our mercies; helps, and lively encouragements in his way and work, to whom alone be the praise and glory thereof for evermore.

As to the progress, which by divine assistance I came to experience in the work of the Lord Jesus Christ in me, after I came to be resolved and settled in my mind and conscience, to join in communion with the said people, and to frequent their assemblies as aforesaid, the Lord by his light and grace of his Holy Spirit, having fully persuaded me, that without being converted as well as convinced, and without being regenerated, sanctified, and born again, I could not enter into his kingdom, nor be an heir thereof; and that the godly sorrow unto true repentance, and a real amendment of life, must be wrought by his grace and good spirit in me; and, that without holiness none can see God.

Upon these, and such serious Christian considerations, I was persuaded by the grace of God, to give up in obedience to follow Christ Jesus; to believe in, and obey his light given me, and to wait therein diligently, to receive power from him to become a true child of God; for as many as truly receive Christ the Son of God, he gives them power to become sons of God.

I saw it was my place to retire inwardly to the light, to the grace of God, the immortal, incorruptible seed, the ingrafted Word, which is our divine principle, frequently testified of among the said people, according to Holy Scripture.

And my mind being turned to this light, I came plainly to see my inward and outward state, and how much I was fallen into a state of degeneracy; how much depraved, corrupted, and alienated from the life of Christ and of God. The very vanity of mind and thoughts wherein I had been wandering, and estranged from the light and life of Christ, became my great burden and exercise to be delivered from, that I might be truly renewed in the spirit of my mind, and therein joined to the Lord. I was persuaded to wait in the light, in the way of his judgments, and

to bear and submit to his fatherly chastisements, and reproofs of instruction, believing, that Zion must be redeemed through judgment, and her converts with righteousness. Vain thoughts, imaginations, and wanderings of the mind, became a suffering and burden to me, and I earnestly sought the Lord for power to suppress and give me victory over them all, and to stay my mind upon himself, that I might enjoy inward peace with him.

I had a spiritual warfare to go through, and a body of sin to put off and be destroyed, though not grown to that maturity, as many of riper years, who are guilty of many gross evils, by their longer continuance and custom in sinning; nevertheless I knew a real necessity of the work of sanctification, inward cleansing from sin, and being born again.

That is the new birth that is born from above, which only is entitled to the kingdom of Christ and of God, which no unclean person can inherit.

In waiting upon God, and sincerely seeking after him with my mind inwardly retired, and my soul desiring and breathing after his name and power, he was graciously pleased often to renew his merciful visitations to my poor soul, and in the midst of judgment and chastisements, to remember mercy, that he might be feared. The sense thereof did often break and tender my heart, and cause me to be the more mindful of the work of the Lord our God, and the more to consider the operation of his divine hand, whose dealing with me was in judgment and mercy; his eternal word by judgment, caused fear and trembling in his presence, and by showing mercy, brokenness, and true tenderness of heart, which I often felt. In the lively remembrance thereof, I find still great cause to ascribe the praise and glory to his excellent name, power and divine goodness, manifest through his dear Son, even the Son of his love, our blessed Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

Many of the Presbyterian priests in Westmoreland, and other northern parts of England, appeared very envious against us, in the years 1652, 1653, and 1654. And in their lectures and sermons they reviled and reproached the Quakers and their ministers, terming them deceivers and antichrists, come in the last times; gathering what evil and false reports they could to incense their credulous hearers against us, thereby setting both neighbors and families at variance and discord, like invidious sowers thereof.

Some of their hearers, even of my own relations, and others, when they have come from their public worship, and from hearing a preachment against Quakers, have come full fraught therewith, to talk against them, oftentimes nonsense; sometimes I have returned them a Christian answer, which when rejected, I have many times found it my place to be silent, and let them clamor and scoff on; the leaders of the people, even those priests, caused them to err, and with their sour leaven, soured the spirits of many into enmity, whereby they hurt many.

My parents were hurt by them, and the more influenced against me for a time, until the Lord turned their hearts, and opened their understandings, to see better than they would by following their blind guides, whose work was to make divisions; yet my parents and relations had great natural affection and care in their way for me. For when they appeared most opposed and offended, which was a near trial to me, because I left their church and ministers, and was joined with the people called Quakers, their trouble and grief came more from their priest's influencing them against us, and fear of my misfortune, or losing preferment in the world, than either from any prejudice against me, or my religious profession.

They retained a real natural love and affection to me, while I was absent from them in the ministry and service of the Truth, about three years, and in that time had suffered several hard imprisonments, and otherwise for the same, in Norfolk and Suffolk; and returning to visit them, they were much reconciled and loving to me, and their understandings and hearts opened toward me and my friends, who came to visit me, when at their house.

My mother, some years before her decease, was really convinced of the Truth, and became a Friend in her heart: and my father seeing the corruption, pride and avarice of the priests, retained a love toward Friends till the end of his days. Likewise my sister Anne, before the death of her mother, became a friend to Truth and Friends, and continued so, an honest, loving, and serviceable woman, until death.

It is observable, when the priests or parish ministers, could not prevail to stop the progress and spreading of the blessed Truth and power of Christ, nor prevent the increase of our friends therein, by all their lectures and reviling sermons and preaching against us, their work was to endeavor to incense the magistrates, justices, and the government, against the people called Quakers; whereupon many justices and officers were instigated to persecution, and imprisoned many of our Friends in Kendal and Appleby jails, in Westmoreland, for bearing testimony against them. I was moved in the dread and fear of the Lord, to bear public testimony against their wickedness in several of their places of worship in Westmoreland, before I travelled into the south parts of England, yet the Lord was pleased to preserve me then, from any harm or imprisonment, having a further work for me in other parts of the nation.

After I had been some time conversant among our friends, and frequented the meetings to which I belonged, in Westmoreland and Yorkshire, chiefly between the years 1652 and 1654, being much inwardly exercised in waiting upon the Lord among them, where we had little preaching, but our meetings were kept much and often in silence, or but few words declared, the Lord was pleased sometimes by his power and word of life, to tender and open my heart and understanding, so that he gave me, among some others, now and then a few words livingly

to utter, to their and my own comfort, in Him who opened our hearts in great love one to another, which then increased and grew among us; blessed be the Lord our God forever. It was out of these, and such frequently silent meetings, the Lord was pleased to raise up, and bring forth living witnesses, faithful ministers, and true prophets, in early days in Westmoreland, and other northern parts, in the years 1654 and 1655.

The Lord our God having in these latter days and times been pleased to visit this island with his gospel day and power, according to his promise unto the Gentiles, and the isles that should wait for his law; and that his elect, his Christ, in whom his soul delights, should bring forth judgment to the Gentiles; Isaiah xlii. we also waiting in true silence upon him, and eyeing his inward appearance in spirit, and the work of his power in us, came truly to see and feel our strength renewed, in living faith, true love and holy zeal for his name and power; insomuch that the Lord gradually brought us to experience what he said of old, by his holy prophet; “Keep silence before me, O islands; and let the people renew their strength: let them come near; then let them speak: let us come near together to judgment.”

Thus keeping silence before the Lord, and drawing near to him in a true silent frame of spirit, to hear first what the Lord speaks to us, before we speak to others, whether it be of judgment or mercy, is the way for renewing our strength, and to be his ministers, to speak to others only what he first speaks to us. O! that the people truly minded this; that they would seriously consider hereof; then would they not run after, or follow such as their ministers, priests, or prophets, who run and God never sent them; who say, ' Thus says the Lord,' when God has not spoken to them; and, “who shall not profit the people at all.”

Before I was esteemed a Quaker, or was joined in communion with them, I had some understanding given me concerning those parish ministers, or priests, that they were not sent of God or Christ, having no divine commission or call to the ministry, but were made and set up by the will of man, and not experienced, but artificial preachers of what they studied, or gathered from others, and composed beforehand, without either waiting for, or receiving immediate openings or instructions from the spirit of Christ; and without so much as the real belief thereof, or of any necessity of the immediate help of the spirit and power of Christ Jesus, for his ministry, or thereby to preach Him in these days. But contrariwise, they have denied the same, and opposed our Christian testimony therein, which none of Christ's sheep or flock will do, for they both hear and know Christ's voice, and follow him, he being their leader and commander; and a stranger they will not follow.

Their pride and covetousness set many well inclined people against, and caused some to turn away from them; and the more, when many of them showed their envy and covetousness, in

persecuting, imprisoning, and greatly oppressing the people called Quakers, for conscientiously refusing to pay tithes, either small or great, or to gratify the priest's avarice. For the value of a tithe pig or goose, etc., they have prosecuted many honest men to imprisonment in jails, as if they valued their neighbor's pig or goose which they coveted, more than the liberty or life of their neighbor. Oh! inhuman and unmerciful! But when the priests became rigid persecutors and oppressors of us, it turned greatly to their own disadvantage, disgrace and shame, and set tender people against them; and our number, when called Quakers, the more increased. Though but weak, we came to be the more confirmed against those persecuting ministers, or parish priests, knowing that the Christian religion is not a cruel or persecuting religion, but tender, loving, and compassionate, and not without natural affection; for that can be no good religion which is void of humanity, one towards another.

We know also, that true Christians were persecuted, but no persecutors; that they were patient sufferers, not oppressors; they prayed for their enemies and persecutors, and sought no revenge against them.

I was early convinced and persuaded that tithes ought not to be required or paid, under the gospel dispensation. And the reason why those called Quakers, who are true to their Christian principle, cannot for conscience sake pay tithes, oblations, and obventions in this gospel day, is generally: First, Because Christ's ministry is, and ought to be, a free ministry, as he commanded his ministers; "Freely you have received, freely give."

Secondly, Because Jesus Christ, the one offering, and great Apostle, and High Priest of our Christian profession, has by the offering and sacrifice of himself, put an end to tithes and oblations, or offerings, and the priests' revenues, together with that priesthood and first covenant under which they were upheld and maintained; according to the reasons and arguments which the apostle gives and urges to the Hebrews, in the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th chapters. So that to demand tithes and oblations, revenues or profits thereof, appears to be a denial of Christ crucified, and his being offered once for all, and consequently a denying the privileges of the new covenant dispensation and ministry, ratified by him through the death of the cross.

To return to my own inward state, and experience in my spiritual travel and progress— when the Lord was graciously pleased to lead me through the law, judgment and condemnation against sin in the flesh, which Christ came to condemn, in order to bring me to the more glorious ministration and law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, the foundation of the prophets, and spiritually to experience the mystery of John's ministry of repentance, the washing of regeneration, the axe being laid to the root of the trees, as well as the cutting off the superfluous

branches, that a thorough work of regeneration might be wrought, these things were spiritually, and by degrees experienced inwardly, through the obedience of faith, waiting and persevering in the grace, light and truth received from Christ, in order to obtain victory over sin and Satan, that his work of sin, and the body thereof, might be destroyed root and branch.

And whatever divine openings, prophecies, sights, or discoveries, the Lord was pleased at any time to give me by his Holy Spirit, for my encouragement, the increase of faith and hope, I saw I must still be mindful of his inward work of grace, sanctification and holiness, that it might go on and prosper. Although many weaknesses and temptations attended, his grace was sufficient for me, and oftentimes gave me strength and victory over the enemy of my soul, and frustrated his evil designs. When he would have come in like a flood, with manifold temptations and devices, the spirit of the Lord lifted up a standard against him, and repelled him: “Glory to our God, and to the Lamb, in whom is our salvation and strength forever and ever, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion without end.”

As our blessed Lord Jesus Christ declared, “If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine.” It was in the day of his power as the light thereof did appear, that a willingness was wrought in my heart to do his will, as the same came to be made known to me, and to follow him in self-denial, and taking up the daily cross, which every man must do that will be his disciple: by whose light and teaching I came livingly to believe, understand, and receive those doctrines and principles essential to a Christian life and salvation, especially and particularly these following:

1. God's free love in his dear Son Jesus Christ, and his universal grace in him to mankind; and that Christ died for all men that were dead in their sins; he gave himself a ransom for all, for a testimony, in due time, of God's free love to mankind in general; for it was by the grace of God that Christ tasted death for every man. So that the free grace and love of God to mankind, are testified and evident, both in Christ's dying for all men, and by his being the “Light of the world, which enlightens every man coming into the world.”

2. The necessity of men's repenting, and truly believing the gospel, and of being so converted to Christ, as to receive Christ, and to experience a living and steadfast faith in him, in his light, name and power, in order to become the children and sons of God, it being by his power, through faith therein, that men become the sons of God; and not by an outward profession, or traditional belief without Christ, or without spiritually receiving Christ into their hearts, to know his work of faith and power in them, unto conversion, and a real change of their hearts and minds, by the washing of regeneration which is sanctification, the one baptism, which is the saving baptism of the spirit, for the washing us from our sins, and restoring us to newness

of life in Christ Jesus. To understand and witness that the true and acceptable worship of God “Is in spirit and in the truth;” and not after human traditions, or forms of men's prescribing, was a great satisfaction to my soul, and to be retired in my mind and spirit, to that holy spirit and truth, even the living Word, wherein God is truly worshipped, bowed unto, and waited upon in true humility, for therein he comforts and refreshes his people. All which every true believer in Christ, our light and life, understands, and knows the necessity of, even of these things, which are agreeable to holy Scripture testimony.

I always had a love to the Bible, and to reading therein, from my childhood, yet did not truly understand, nor experience those doctrines essential to salvation, nor the new covenant dispensation, until my mind was turned to the light of Christ, the living eternal Word, the entrance whereof gives light and understanding to the simple. Yet I do confess, it was some advantage to me frequently to read the holy Scriptures when I was ignorant, and did not understand the great and excellent things therein testified of. For when the Lord had livingly in some measure opened my understanding in the holy Scriptures, by my often reading the same before, having the better remembrance thereof, it was a help and advantage to my secret meditations, when a lively sense and comfort of the Scriptures was in measure given me by the Spirit, and thereby I was the more induced to the serious reading and consideration of what I read in the holy Scriptures, and the comfort thereof made known by the holy Spirit enlightening the understanding. All the promises of God, which are yes and amen in Christ Jesus, being truly comfortable when applied by the same Spirit, for that will make no wrong application thereof; that Spirit will never apply peace to the wicked, nor to persons living in their sins; nor tell the unjust that they are just, or righteous in God's sight.

It is through faith which is in Christ, that the holy Scriptures are said to make the man of God, “Wise unto salvation, and profitable to him, for doctrine, reproof, admonition, and instruction in righteousness, that he may be perfect and thoroughly furnished in every good word and work.” Doubtless, Paul esteemed Timothy's knowing the holy Scriptures from a child, to be some advantage and help to him, but it was principally through faith, which. is in Christ Jesus.

These things considered, I would not have Christian parents remiss in educating, and causing their children to read the holy Scriptures, but to induce them both to learn, and frequently to read therein, i. e. the Bible. It may be of real advantage, and profitable to them, when they come to have their understandings enlightened, and to know the Truth as it is in Christ Jesus. I have sometimes observed children in reading the Bible, have been affected with the good things they have read, from a secret belief of them, which has had such impression, that they have been induced to a more serious consideration thereof, when the Lord has opened their understandings in some measure, by the light of his grace in them.

It was without doubt, an advantage, even to the evangelical prophets of God, that they knew the Law of Moses, and understood his judgments and threats therein declared. They had thereby the more advantage over Israel in their ministry, both to warn them, and to declare such judgments for their great transgressions, when it was revealed by the Spirit that any of those judgments were approaching; and the more advantage they had over the people, because they had the Law of Moses read among them, and professed the same. So have Christ's ministers, who know the holy Scriptures, the more advantage over the hypocritical professors of the same as their only rule, who yet are of irregular, corrupt, and disorderly conducts.

By what I have here declared in commendation of holy Scripture, and the advantage thereof, I would not be understood to limit the gift of the Spirit of God, or ministry thereof, or any of his divine graces, from the illiterate, the unlearned, or from persons of little education,—as plowmen, herdsmen, shepherds, fishermen, etc. For God has given of his good Spirit, and spiritual gifts to such, and has promised “to pour out of his Spirit upon all flesh; and that sons and daughters should prophesy.” And Moses said, “Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that he would put his Spirit upon them.” Among whom, both men and women, learned and unlearned are included.

My entrance into, and beginning in the spirit, and believing in the light of our Lord Jesus Christ, was in order really to come into the new covenant and dispensation thereof; Christ being given both for a light and a covenant, and to be God's salvation unto the ends of the earth. This new covenant is a covenant of grace, of mercy and peace with God, in his dear Son Jesus Christ. It is that reconciliation, that near agreement with God and Christ, which man must come into, if ever he enjoys true peace. It is in this covenant that all the Lord's people and true Christians know him, from the least to the greatest, and are all taught of God; having also his laws written in their heart, and put into their minds, by his holy Spirit, His divine finger.

It is in this covenant that the Lord blots out all their former forsaken transgressions, and remembers their sins and iniquities no more, they continuing in this everlasting covenant, and in his goodness. He is a God keeping covenant and mercy forever, to them that truly fear him. Oh I my cry, my soul's breathing, my inward spiritual travel, my watchings and praying have been, “O Lord, preserve and keep me in your holy fear, in humility, in the sense of your power; that I may never depart from you, nor from your covenant; that I may never dishonor your Truth, or our holy profession. And hitherto the Lord has helped me on my spiritual journey and race towards the prize: I ascribe the glory and praise only to Him, who gives power to the faint, and to them of no might he increases strength; and often in my weak estate, has manifested strength. Salvation and strength come from Him who is the God of our salvation, that his redeemed ones may sing of his salvation; yes, of his judgments and mercies, and ascribe

salvation to our God, and to the Lamb that sits with him upon the throne, in glory and majesty forever.

As it was my early belief and persuasion, when convinced of the blessed Truth, that all who are truly called into Christ's ministry, to be ministers of the everlasting gospel, and preachers of righteousness, must be sanctified, divinely inspired, and gifted for that sacred work and service of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ; they must be careful that their conduct be as becomes the gospel; they must live good lives, as well as speak good words; they must be men fearing God, and eschewing evil; truly fearing God, and hating covetousness, and giving no offense in any thing, that the ministry be not blamed; concerning which, the Lord has laid upon me a godly care, which still remains upon me, both for myself and others; that our ministry be not blamed, and that no offense may be given to cause blame thereupon. What signifies it for any to have a name to live, when they are dead? What will it avail them? Or for loose, vain, proud, covetous, or unsanctified persons, to pretend to be in holy orders, when they themselves are altogether unholy, polluted, and sinful? I was in my very young years fully persuaded, that Jesus Christ would neither employ wicked or corrupt persons in his sacred service of the ministry, nor afford such his presence in their preaching, whatever they pretend or profess in his name. It is Christ's faithful ministers who truly obey him, and follow his example, that he will accompany with his divine presence and help in their ministry and gospel testimony. It was to such he gave this great encouragement and promise; "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world;" or, throughout all ages.

What that kingly prophet David earnestly prayed to God for, in Psalm fifty-one, does truly set forth the state and condition of true gospel ministers, whose ministry is attended with his power and presence, and thereby made effectual for the conversion of sinners unto him. "Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from your presence; and take not your holy Spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of your salvation; and uphold me with your free Spirit. Then will I teach transgressors your ways; and sinners shall be converted unto you."

These things have I sincerely aimed at, and earnestly desired of the Lord; and inwardly in spirit travelled for, with my soul and whole heart. And the Lord in measure answered me therein, before I travelled abroad in the ministry of the gospel of Christ, even the gospel of the grace of God; which gradually he gave and increased from small beginnings in me, and unto me, blessed be his most excellent name forever: for he promised unto his people, saying; "I will give you pastors according to my own heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and understanding."

They are only true pastors and ministers who are of his giving; and many such he has given, and will give in this gospel-day, according as was testified by a preacher, both of Christ as come in the flesh, and of the mystery of Christ as come in spirit. “Even the mystery which has been hid from ages and generations, but now is made manifest to his saints, to whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory, whom we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus; whereunto I also labor, striving according to his working, which works in me mightily.”

According to a real belief and persuasion that God would reveal this mystery of Christ in us, I was made tenderly concerned to wait for the same, that I might experience, witness and feel the power and coming of Christ inwardly in spirit, both to sanctify my heart, and give me understanding to do his will.

And when he called me to bear testimony for his name and power, and also for his inward and spiritual work in man, I was engaged in spirit to wait for his power and spirit to move and work in me; and that I might labor in his service according to his working in me thereby, and not otherwise to run or to strive in my own will, wisdom or strength, as knowing that without Christ, his power and presence, help and counsel, I could of myself do nothing, nor any one else. And when my ability was but small, and I was in much weakness, fear and trembling many times, the Lord helped me, and increased strength and ability in my labors beyond expectation; this care still resting upon me, even in my early travels, to minister only according to the ability and gift given to me of my heavenly Father, so to keep within compass of my own gift and ability; and when the Spirit of the Lord opened and moved but in a few words, I must not exceed, but sit down in silence when that ceased. Many times in waiting upon the Lord, and secretly breathing to him in silence, the spring of life would arise, and open counsel afresh to my own and other souls' refreshment and consolation. Often has my soul been brought low, and the Lord helped me, and renewed my strength, to persevere in his service; being sensible the more low I was in myself, and the more in fear toward God, though but weak and simple of myself, the more he would manifest his power, and bless my endeavors and service. Let Him have the praise of all, who is forever worthy.

After many blessed and comfortable seasons and refreshments from the presence of our heavenly Father, which we enjoyed in our meetings in the northern parts; and having cleared my conscience in testimony for the Truth, both in word and Christian conduct toward my parents and relations, being some time with them before, I travelled abroad into the south parts of England,— a weighty concern came upon me to leave my father's house and county of Westmoreland, and to travel abroad southward. I acquainted some Friends with my prospect,

and my dear friend Edward Edwards, who then was a young man, and lived at Gervase Benson's, near Coatley Cragg, above Sedbergh, though he was not then called into the ministry, gave up to travel with me, and to keep me company to York, above sixty miles, it being after harvest, in the year 1654. Both of us were given up to travel on foot, and went together directly to York, where we stayed two or three nights, and were at Friends' meeting there on first-day, which was but small, and I had a few words given me livingly to declare among them.

From there we travelled southward in Yorkshire, and met with our beloved friend and brother in Christ, George Fox, at one captain Bradford's, where we were at a meeting with him in an evening; and afterward we travelled into East Holderness, to Joseph Storr's, where again we met with George Fox, and several other Friends, and were comforted together, and travelled a little while in that country to some meetings where he was, who then had the public service wholly upon him there, for the strengthening and settling Friends in the Light and in the Truth.

I had some testimony laid upon me to bear at two steeple houses, before I left that county, but met with no hard usage, except haling out; the Lord supporting me in faith and hope for the service he had for me further south.

My honest, dear friend, Edward Edwards and I parted in Holderness, and Thomas Ralison, who travelled with George Fox, came with me to Hull, from which we went that night over the river Humber in their boat, being about four miles over, into Lincolnshire; we had a rude, abusive, drunken company in the boat, who threatened, and otherwise abused us, but the Lord preserved us from being harmed by them.

George Fox and Alexander Parker overtook us, being on foot, in our way toward Lincoln, and we got to a place at night, where was a meeting next day, being first-day; and a burden came then upon me, to go and bear testimony for the Truth at two steeple houses, one in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon. I had no harm or violence at either, except pulling or pushing out. But Thomas Ralison being at that in the afternoon, was abused and beaten, and followed into the field by a parcel of young fellows; and I was sorry that he was so evilly treated.

Next day he and I parted, and I took leave of George Fox and Friends with him, and travelled on toward Lincoln, taking a meeting by the way, where the Lord opened my mouth in a living testimony. After which, I went to Lincoln that night, being but a few miles off, and there met with John Whitehead, who had been exercised in public service in that city, and had met with some acceptance there, and gave some account thereof. I staid but one night in Lincoln, being pressed in spirit to travel forward toward Cambridge and Norwich, though left to travel alone, and still on foot. I went to Cambridge from Lincoln in less than three days, the days being then

short, though my feet were pretty much galled and blistered, even before I came out of Yorkshire; yet they amended while I travelled, before I got to Norwich, and I was preserved in health all along; which I thankfully esteemed as a great mercy from God, being then not eighteen years of age.

At Cambridge I was received kindly by alderman Blakeling and his wife, and by the few Friends there. James Parnel met me before I went from there, and we were comforted together, and among those Friends when we met. After two or three days stay there, I was still pressed in spirit for Norwich; from Cambridge Thomas Lightfoot travelled with me toward Norwich; we got within about three miles of Thetford in Norfolk the first night, the weather being wet and showery. It was something difficult to get lodging for our money at a little village where we staid, they were so shy or timorous of us; yet being at a house where they sold beer, we prevailed with them to entertain us that night, but the room wherein we lodged was but cold and mean, and the window so shattered, that the snow came in upon us. The next day we travelled to Wymondham, or Windham, which is about six miles from Norwich, where one Robert

Constable and his wife kindly received us, being convinced a little time before, by our dear friend Richard Hubberthorn, then prisoner in Norwich castle, for bearing public testimony to Truth at the steeple house at Windham, where those called Independents met, and one John Money was their preacher.

From Windham we went to Norwich next day, and I visited Richard Hubberthorn in prison, where we gladly embraced each other in dear and tender love, and were comforted together in the Lord; there being then a few Friends in that city convinced by his testimony and suffering, who coming to visit him in prison, were affected to Truth and Friends.

The most noted, serviceable Friend then in that city, was Thomas Symonds, a master-weaver, who received traveling Friends; he was a loving, honest man, and came to receive a gift in the ministry, and was faithful unto death. He lived and died in the faith, and was partaker of the promises, which are yes and amen in Christ Jesus. He was exemplary in the Truth, and serviceable both in the city of Norwich and county of Norfolk, where he lived.

Though I expected to suffer imprisonment in that city, yet as the Lord so ordered, I had liberty some weeks to have several meetings at Thomas Symonds' house in Norwich, and at Windham, at Robert Harvey's, a glover, who was an honest, innocent man, that received the Truth in the love of it. To a meeting at his house, came captain John Lawrence, who being then tenderly affected with Truth, was desirous I should have a meeting at his house at Wrampingham, which I was very willing and glad to have.

To that meeting came three priests, Jonathan Clapham, priest of the town, and two others to oppose; they staid in the parlor until the meeting was settled, and first they peeped out to see me esteeming me but a boy; and because of my youth, I was somewhat contemptible in their eyes to discourse with; and I understood they slighted me the more because thereof. However, Jonathan Clapham would undertake to oppose and interrogate me, about our not respecting persons by bowing, etc., as one ambitious, and more regarding worldly honor, and respecting persons, than seeking the honor which is from above. He pleaded what he could for it, and the Lord gave me suitable and scriptural answers, which in the spirit of meekness I returned upon him and his party, and laid open some of their unscriptural and unwarrantable practices; and feeling the Lord's power and counsel with me, I had dominion given me to vindicate the Truth, to the confounding the opposers. After a short time, Jonathan Clapham, and another priest—one Purt—withdraw, but the third staid until the meeting was over; for after the contest with the other two priests was ended, I had a very good and blessed opportunity to declare the Truth, and open several matters of weight, as the Lord was pleased to open them to me, and enlarge my spirit to demonstrate them, insomuch that at the same meeting, most of John Lawrence's family, with several others, were convinced and persuaded of the way of Truth.

The Lord gave me great comfort and encouragement, by his divine assistance in his work and service that day; and Friends present were greatly satisfied: and the priests' contempt of me his poor servant and weak instrument, turned to the contempt and disgrace of themselves; so that I had then, and have often had cause to ascribe the glory and praise to the Lord our God, and to declare that, “Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings have you ordained strength, because of your enemies, that you might still the enemy and the avenger;” though at these things the chief priests be sore displeased.

John Lawrence received the Truth, and me and others of the Lord's messengers in great love and tenderness, and gave up freely in obedience thereunto. When he knew a beginning in the Spirit, he turned not back, but persevered, and bore a faithful testimony in suffering for the truth, both in his person and goods. He and his family turning to truth and Friends, was a means to draw many after them, from the mercenary priests, to Christ, his light and free ministry, that they might know him to be their minister, their High priest, their Shepherd, and the bishop of their souls.

Near that time, in the ninth and tenth months, 1654, I had several meetings in and near Wymondham, and in Norwich. The Lord was with me, and helped me to publish his name and truth; to preach the everlasting gospel, and to turn many from darkness to the light, and from the power of sin and satan, unto God and his power; that people might not continue in empty forms and shadows, but come to the life and substance of true religion, and to the power of

godliness, and to know Christ to be their teacher and leader, whose voice his sheep hear, and will not follow the voice of a stranger. Many in those parts were convinced of the truth of these things, and turned to the light of Christ in them. Let the work of the Lord praise him, which began in those days, and has prospered since in that country, both in the offspring of many who then at first received the love of the truth, and in many others, whom the Lord has blessed in their obedience and willingness to serve him; being come unto the dawning of the day of Christ's power, wherein his people are a willing people.

The first opposition I met with at a meeting in the city of Norwich, was at Thomas Symonds' house, by an Antinomian preacher, who pleaded for sin to continue, even in the best of saints, through life, from Paul's warfare, etc., Rom. vii.; and that though they still continue sinners, they are not under the law, but under grace, and reckoned righteous in Christ. Much such sin pleasing doctrine we met with from professors in those days, whom in the name of the Lord we withstood, as I did the said Antinomian; and by the Lord's help, stood over him and his perverse gain-sayings, to his confusion. I saw those Antinomians were very dark and corrupt in doctrine, contrary to Christ's work, which is to destroy sin, and to save his people from sin and transgression.

At that meeting there were some persons deemed Ranters, allowing corrupt liberty. One of the chief of them seemed to own what I said against the Antinomian; I had then given me a sense that he was of a corrupt spirit, and told him, I denied his spirit also, as I did the opposer's, for I felt a zeal from the Lord against them both. The Lord's power was over all, in whose service he encouraged me from one meeting to another, insomuch that I was sure the Lord stood by me, and strengthened my spirit in his work and service; and the more I travelled and labored therein, the more my strength in him increased; for which my soul did often praise his glorious name, and sing praises to him even in solitary places.

A little time after I had another meeting at Thomas Symonds' house in Norwich, on a first-day of the week, and a company of those persons came who were in the spirit of ranterism; also the same person who seemed to take my part against the Antinomian opposer.

The power and dread of the Lord God, fell so weightily upon me to bear testimony against sin and wickedness, root and branch—against the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, the pride of life, and the love of the world, that the powerful word of the Lord pierced through the meeting, and so wonderfully struck down the spirits of those ranters, and other loose spirits, that they came to me that evening like men greatly wounded and brought down from their high floating notions of ranterism, so that they questioned their salvation, which before they thought themselves secure of, as if their mountain could never be removed; yet now they were under

doubts and fears, and such questioning as. Men and brethren, what shall we do to be saved? In compassion to their poor souls, I earnestly exhorted them to bear the judgment of the Lord, and his indignation, because they had greatly sinned against him, that they might find mercy from him through true humiliation and repentance; with more such like necessary counsel and warning, as the Lord by his light then showed me was most suitable to their conditions. I never was acquainted with that sort of people before those in Norwich; the most of them were convinced of the truth, and several of them became reformed in their lives and conduct; though some turned back into their corrupt carnal liberty, through carelessness, and lack of watchfulness, not keeping in the fear of God.

We have seen in our day, that where the deadly wound in the beast, or beastly nature, has been healed, in those who have not gone forward through mortification, nor patiently waited to see judgment brought forth into victory, they have miscarried, and turned from the grace of God into lasciviousness, or to embrace the world, and thereby to sell the truth, and themselves too, even their poor souls, for their own iniquities. "Behold, for your iniquities have you sold yourselves."

Some time after the aforementioned meeting at John Lawrence's, I went to visit him and his family and relations that were with them.

His wife, and her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Bedwell, and others of the family being convinced, were truly loving to Friends, as were their children. They were glad of the good service I had at that meeting, where the three priests were so greatly disappointed of their designed conquest and so much confounded.

Elizabeth Bedwell told me, that the wife of the priest of the town and she having discourse before the meeting, and expecting some dispute between the priests and the Quaker, the priest's wife asked her, saying "Mrs. Bedwell, which side will you be for'." Elizabeth pleasantly answered her, "I'll be for the strongest side."

After the meeting was over, the priest's wife told Elizabeth, "Now Mrs. Bedwell, I know you'll be of the Quaker's side, or for the Quakers, for you said you would be for the strongest side."

John Lawrence would often tell of that meeting with great pleasure, remembering the service thereof to the truth, and the disappointment the three priests met with, and how poorly they came off.

Elizabeth Bedwell, who would be for the strongest side, continued a faithful, innocent, loving Friend in the truth, and an example of humility until death; and her husband a loving man, and

friend to truth and Friends, especially in his latter years. It is worthy to be remembered, that both John Lawrence's own mother, and his wife's mother, who were very ancient women, came to be convinced, and received the truth in those times, and continued Friends in their old age to the last.

Also Joseph Lawrence, who was brother to John Lawrence, and his wife, received the truth and Friends in true love, and became very serviceable. Joseph suffered considerably for the truth, by imprisonments before he died. His wife lived not many years after she received the truth, but in her day was a very virtuous, sober, ingenuous, and loving Friend; and by her sober life and good example, left a sweet savor behind her.

Our ancient and faithful friend, William Barber, of Gissing, in the county of Norfolk, and his wife, early received the truth and Friends in great love and tenderness, in 1654.

I first met him at Diss, in Norfolk, and declared the truth to him and some others present, and opened something of the mystery of Christ, and of the ministry and work of his spirit within, and also of the enemy's contrary work in man, as the Lord was pleased to open and enable me. William was very tenderly affected, and broken into tears, and his spirit humbled, though he had been a great man and captain in the army; truth was near him, and I felt him near it, and my heart was open and tender toward him, in the love of Christ.

It was some time after before I saw his wife; she was an honest, sober woman, received the truth and Friends in great love and tenderness; and continued a faithful, innocent and loving Friend until her dying day. I observed the Lord endued her with much patience, considering the great and long suffering her husband endured by imprisonment in Norwich Castle, for the space of twenty years, or more, chiefly for non-payment of tithes to an old priest of the parish, who appeared implacably malicious in his prosecution, or rather persecution and revenge. William Barber bore a faithful testimony through patience and long-suffering; I know of none who suffered like him in those parts, though many Friends thereabouts have suffered deeply on the same account, and the Lord supported them therein.

After I had labored and travelled some weeks in that county, in the work of the Lord and his gospel, in the winter of 1654, a weighty concern came upon me to travel into the county of Suffolk, and first into some part of High Suffolk. As we went, Robert Constable, the Friend who went with me, procured an evening meeting at a town called Budsdale, where the people were pretty civil and quiet. The next day we went to Mendlesham in Suffolk, to Robert Duncan's, of whom I had a good account before, and of his being desirous of some Friends to visit them in those parts; for a meeting of an honest minded people had been some time kept at his house, dissenting from the parish priests and their worship; and yet they had several

preachers, or such as esteemed themselves spiritually gifted, in some degree, to preach and pray among them.

When I came to Robert's house, he kindly received me; next day being the first-day of the week, was their meeting at his house, into which I went, and sat in silence for some space, waiting upon the Lord in his holy fear, to see and feel what he would please by his power to open unto me to declare to the people there met, waiting to hear what should be delivered unto them. Some of their teachers seemed a little uneasy with our being silent so long as we then were; whereupon Robert Duncan spake a few words to this purpose, that peradventure they had been too much in words, or depending on men's teaching; and therefore God now might see it fit to bring them into silence, that they might come more to depend upon him for teaching.

Some of their preachers were for putting forward one or other of them to prayer; I let them alone, and patiently bore them in their voluntary devotion. After a little respite, the Lord opened and made way for me to preach the truth unto them, to turn their minds to the true light, that they might know the immortal seed and birth, which is from above, unto which God's everlasting love is; and that seed and birth which he hates, subdued, crucified and slain. It was to the inward work of his Spirit, and to the knowledge of Christ in spirit, and that they might know God's teaching by his Spirit, that I truly desired they might all come.

I was among them really in much humility, meekness and poverty of spirit, wherein the Lord was with me, and by his invisible power helped me, for his own name's sake, yes, and his seed's sake; which I felt among that people.

The Lord had a tender seed and people among them, towards whom my soul was truly affected, in the love and bowels of Christ Jesus my Lord and leader, who went before me in his gospel work and service; to him be the glory thereof forever.

The meeting was kept and ended in much sobriety and seriousness, and no opposition made therein to what the Lord gave me to declare among them; they being for the most part well inclined, and convinced of the truth then testified unto. And the meeting remained, and was held in that place, being so well satisfied with the truth and dispensation of the spirit, as professed and owned among the people called Quakers, that the friends thereof were content to wait upon the Lord together in silence, to know and receive life, power and teaching also from him. And the Lord for many years prospered them, although when that meeting was reduced to know a state of silence, some of their former preachers left it for a time; yet afterward returned, especially one that was most noted, namely Edward Plumsted, senior, who not only came to be a loving Friend in our Society, as his wife and family were, but also a preacher of the truth among Friends, some years before he died.

After my first going to Robert Duncan's, his wife, who was a weakly woman in body, and kept her chamber, as she had done for some time, was convinced, and received the truth, and me also in much love and tenderness.

By the Lord's power she was restored to her health and strength, so that she could walk many miles on foot, and continued an innocent, loving and faithful Friend until death.

Robert himself was greatly instrumental in the hand of the Lord in his day, in the support and encouragement of that meeting at his house, as well as by his great love to Friends, in receiving and entertaining them frequently. He was such an overseer as was truly given to hospitality, and the Lord blessed him both inwardly and outwardly.

After that meeting I was again concerned in spirit to return to Norwich and that way, where I had before some effectual service in and for the blessed truth, among the Friends convinced thereof, and other well inclined people; also to visit my beloved friend and brother, Richard Hubberthorn, as often as I could, he being still detained prisoner in Norwich Castle, where he had but a poor hole to lodge in, upon the end of a cross wall; which being a little old stone arched hole or room, it broke, and fell down not many years after. It was the Lord's mercy it fell not while Richard Hubberthorn was in it. My dear friend, Thomas Symonds, brother-in-law to Robert Duncan, who had a great love to him and desire for his good, was at the meeting at his brother Robert Duncan's house, and I returned with him to Norwich.

A few days after, it being near the end of the tenth month, 1654, there was a lecture at that called Peter's church in Norwich, and I believed the Lord required me to go there, to bear such testimony as he would please to give me, being endued with a holy zeal against iniquity, and the pride and covetousness even of the high priests in those days, as well as with compassion to the ignorance and blindness of the people misled by them.

When the priest, one Boatman, had ended sermon, I was permitted to say but very little, i. e. a few words against iniquity, etc., when some of the priest's hearers, came violently upon me to hale me out, some pulling by one arm, and some by the other, contrariwise; some striving to hale me out at the north door, and some out at the south porch. By their violence I got some hurt and inward pain in one side of my breast, being overstrained by their pulling and haling me contrariwise; but it pleased the Lord in a few days to remove the hurt and pain I got by their hard usage. From the steeple-house I was haled to Guild-hall, before Thomas Toft, mayor, who after examination about water baptism, and some other things, committed me to the city jail.

The mayor seemed to seek occasion against me because he had none, by questioning me about water baptism: asking me, if the baptism of John was from heaven, or of men? To which I

answered him, if they who now plead for water baptism could prove, or make it appear that they have commission from heaven to baptize, as John had, I would own it. But I supposed he did not intend so, but was for sprinkling infants. However, though he could get no advantage against me, he would send me to prison.

A little while before I was committed, James Lancaster, and Christopher Atkinson were committed to the same prison, though they came some time after me to Norwich; James was committed for calling people to repentance in the market at Norwich, he being an ancient faithful Friend, who preached the mighty day of the Lord, to excite people to repentance in several places as he travelled into those parts. But Christopher Atkinson, though he was kept orderly in his conduct while James and I remained in that prison with him, yet after we were released, and he left alone, he turned loose and scandalous in his conduct, to the great reproach of our holy profession, among them who desired occasion against us, and the truth professed by us.

In the prison at Norwich, we were hardly treated by the keeper, one Hunt, who demanded for one bed for three of us, four pence a night of each; we thought it was hard measure to demand twelve pence a night of prisoners for one mean bed, for three men to be crowded together in, and that in a cold room, where another prisoner lodged in a bed to himself. Not finding freedom to gratify the jailor in his oppression and covetousness, and afraid to bring any charge upon any of our Friends, to procure us better accommodation in prison, we thought ourselves necessitated to lodge upon the bare boards on the floor, in our wearing cloths and little covering besides; and thus we lodged for eight weeks together in the cold winter, and though we endured much cold, yet were through the Lord's mercy generally preserved in health. Such hardship I might think the greater to me, having been tenderly brought up by my parents, and then so young, as but about eighteen years old that same winter. While we were prisoners, our dear friend Thomas Symonds was sent to prison to us, only for asking a priest a question in the steeple-house after sermon.

At the next sessions for the city, James Lancaster and I were had into court, before Charles George Cock, then judge; and the great offense he took against us, was not putting off our hats in court, which we could not for conscience sake submit to, nor do such homage to mortal man. This he seemed somewhat highly to resent, as a contempt to the court and to authority, pleading for respect to superiors, as the duty of servants to masters.

I signified that servants ought to perform their duties, and to serve their own masters, not with eye-service as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart; whereas putting off the hat, and bowing to men, and thereby respecting their persons, is but an eye-service, and men pleasing, and no

real service or duty to superiors or government; neither do we know any law broken by wearing our hats, any more than by wearing the rest of our garments, nor do we thereby intend any contempt against authority. After a few words of this import, I bore the judge's threatening and insulting patiently, and stood still in silence.

John Bolton of London, being behind me in court, suddenly plucked off my hat, with the other Friend's, supposing thereby to pacify the judge, and prevent our further suffering, he with another Friend or two being come from London to visit us; howbeit we were remanded back to prison, our cold place of confinement. Suddenly after, on the same day, our friend John Bolton was sorely troubled in his conscience for plucking off our hats, and could not rest quiet in himself until he returned into court again, and made open confession against himself, condemning what he had done in taking off our hats. Upon which, as it was related to me, the judge signified, he thought what John had done, would not hold with the Quakers' principle. Note, the greater injury then it was in him, to urge or impose that practice on us, when he was sensible it was contrary to our principle, and consequently against our consciences.

John Bolton was sincere and conscientious in his public acknowledgment against himself, for what he so suddenly did to pacify the judge; though John had not been long a professed Quaker; yet he continued zealous for truth unto his end.

It may be observed, that the judge of the said court of sessions in Norwich, was tenderly cautioned beforehand by letter from us who were prisoners, against that very course which he took against us in session.

As he was esteemed one expert in the law, he might know the law was made against transgressors, and for the encouragement of them that do well; that it was not made to ensnare any man, nor call him an offender for words, or for declaring the mind of the Lord as revealed in obedience to him, either in cities, or other places. And they that revile and persecute his servants for the same, are transgressors of the law of God, which is righteous and equal, and which we desire may be established and practiced. Such magistrates as act accordingly in righteousness, are by us honored and obeyed, though not as the world does, only to the eye or outward appearance, but in deed and in truth, as in the sight of God.

For our parts, we are cast into bonds by the will of man, without the manifest breach of any law laid to our charge. Such magistrates as pretend justice and the law to be their rule, and act contrary, the Lord never ordained to execute his law; but such as are just in what he called them unto.

Seeing we were in bonds without the breach of any just law laid to our charge, we requested we

might be brought before the said judge in court, with our accusers face to face, that we might see what they had to charge against us.

And further in the said letter it is said, we are accused for contemning magistrates. This accusation is utterly denied as a falsehood; for magistrates, who do justly according to the law of God, we own and honor as his ministers; but such as will not do justice, unless they may have the bending of the knee, or the hat put off, which are not given them of God to require, nor is it a contempt of magistracy to refuse them, unless the law of God required the same; but we know not of any such.

I have abstracted the substance of the letter, only these words to the judge or recorder of Norwich, are near the conclusion thereof: “Thus, Friend, as you are a judge of the law, mind the Lord in your place, that you may exercise judgment between man and man in righteousness.”

We could have wished this letter might have taken some effect on the judge, but the Lord required us to clear our consciences therein, to whom we committed our cause, as believing it was our place to give such timely warning; however, James Lancaster and I were discharged at the said sessions by the judge, yet for some time after detained in prison by Hunt the jailor, pretending he had laid actions upon us for what he claimed as a debt owing for lodging; upon which we were detained, under the same hardships in the cold winter, in all eight weeks or above, until the jailor died. And then we were freed out of prison, so that the Lord delivered us by removing our unmerciful oppressor.

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*An answer to a Proclamation which came forth soon after our commitment to prison in Norwich, whereby our then persecutors were the more lifted up against us. The title of the said answer was:*

**The Truth proclaimed, and the Innocent cleared from false informations.**

The preamble being since added thereto.

Many false informations being then gathered up in several parts of the nation, against a harmless, innocent people, by scorners termed Quakers, and they then persecuted by false accusations and slanders, designed to bring them under great suffering, which many of us underwent in those days, notwithstanding the fair pretensions and promises of liberty of conscience, made by some of the chief persons in that government, pretending to be for a commonwealth, as partly appears in the said proclamation, gave us occasion to write in behalf of the said people, as being clear and innocent in the presence of the Lord, and before all men,

from those aspersions then cast upon them. But surely, those severe persecutions and imprisonments which were even under that government, contradicted those fair pretensions and promises of liberty of conscience; and as contradictory and injurious, and tending to persecution was it, for any in that government to join the Quakers with the Ranters, and that upon information too, as appeared in the said proclamation; some whereof, with the substance of our answer, are recited as follows: “That a free and uninterrupted liberty is granted to every man to exercise and practice the grace dispensed to him from God; and that every one by the powers is to be protected in their just liberty, to dispense according to the measure of light and knowledge they have received from God, without interruption; and to have all just and due encouragement and protection therein; this liberty and mercy being purchased by the price of much blood.

And therefore freedom and liberty to all persons in this commonwealth fearing God, is to be protected, answerable to the mercies received, being delivered and set free from the outward enemies of this commonwealth.

“And the things proclaimed against, are as follows:

“Imposing upon the consciences of their brethren, offering violence to their persons, or any otherwise seeking to hinder their liberty therein, and to be kept within the bounds of the royal law of love. But they who openly and avowedly, by rude and unchristian practices, disturb both public and private Christian meetings, in their religious exercises in the worship of God, whereby the liberty of the gospel, the profession of religion, and the name of God is much dishonored and abused.

And many informations being given forth of such practices, by those under the names of Quakers and Ranters, and such practices are disliked in all, and proclaimed against, which be contrary to the just liberty and freedom which the people of this commonwealth are to be protected in, etc.

“Answer 1. The power which from God immediately is received, brings into the true liberty and freedom as pertaining to conscience; and the pure law of God, which came from the same power, takes hold upon that which oppresses the good seed and conscience also.

“2. Laws made in the will of man, and man by his own power and will ruling, do keep in bondage.

“3. And though liberty of conscience and liberty of godliness, have been long pretended and promised, yet the same is not yet performed nor fulfilled to those who have been free to lay

down their lives, i. e. for this liberty of conscience promised and professed. Now when the Lord enlightened us by his true light, and brought us to walk with a pure conscience toward God and man, we find more tyranny, cruelty, and plotting mischief against us, than ever those accounted enemies of the commonwealth invented to take away our lives; though no man can lay any evil to our charge, done or acted, or law broken by us.

“4. But for declaring the truth freely, as it is made manifest in us, from the Lord, against all deceit and unrighteousness of men, we are shut up and kept close in holes and prisons, among thieves and murderers. This is the reward and liberty we receive from the world, for declaring to them in love to their souls, the eternal truth of God who has called us, whom we cannot deny for the world's advantage.

“5. For witnessing forth in life and power that, which protection is promised to, many now suffer in England, and have not their just liberty in the exercise of godliness, though not found guilty of any of those unchristian practices proclaimed against.

“6. The people called Quakers do not impose upon the consciences of their brethren, or any others, any thing which may embondage their just liberty or freedom in the things of God, but do desire that liberty; that all bondage and ties may be taken off the consciences of all people in matters of the worship of God; and for the purchasing of this liberty, do we suffer bonds and imprisonments, beatings, stonings, stocking, and other cruel usage, from those who profess themselves Christians, magistrates and rulers in this commonwealth, as it is termed: and these things we suffer without resistance, waiting for that liberty from the Lord to be freed from their bonds, who impose upon us things contrary to the light of Christ in the conscience.

“7. As to offering violence to any man's person, that is far from us, for Cain's nature in us is crucified, from which all murder, enmity and violence proceed, and from that we are clear before the Lord; our consciences also bearing us witness, how free we are from doing any violence to any man's person; but by violence we suffer imprisonment, without the breach of any law proved against us; so that the liberty proclaimed, is denied us by our persecutors.

“8. The royal law of love we sincerely own, and its bounds we do not pass; and we do love our enemies, who despitefully use us; and this against them shall bear witness, when in the sight of God we shall be cleared and justified, from all slanderous and lying informations formed against us, and from all bitterness of spirit, rude and unchristian practices, as biting and devouring one another, hateful and hating one another; all such practices we testify against, from the spirit of the living God. And to the light of Christ Jesus in men's consciences are we made manifest, desiring that their minds by it may be guided up unto God, out of all malice, envy, deceit, debate, malignity, whisperings, backbitings; and from all false informations and

slanders, which wicked and ungodly men cast upon us.

“9. They who are in the pure power of God, in whom the life of God is made manifest, though by the scornors of the world called Quakers, are no fighters nor strikers, nor revilers, nor scornors, nor truce breakers, nor incontinent, nor despisers of those that are good; neither biting, nor devouring, nor coveting, nor oppressing; and all fraud and guile are put far from them, who in the measure of the eternal Spirit do walk up in obedience to what they have received from God; and such are no drunkards, nor swearers, nor liars, nor whoremongers, nor idolaters, which must never inherit the kingdom of God: but the day of redemption in Christ Jesus we do witness, and the eternal judgment, through which the defiled nature cannot pass, but must be purged and washed from that which defiled; as many others are defiled whose minds are turned from the pure light of Christ in the conscience, and are not come to witness the pure judgment set up in the earth, through which redemption is witnessed by the righteous seed and generation.

“10. And as touching the many informations said to be given forth of such practices, by those under the names of Quakers and Ranters; i. e. of rude and unchristian practices which are disliked, “We answer, We do utterly deny the principles and practices of Ranters; who from the light of Christ, which is pure in the conscience, are turned into the liberty of the flesh, and into all uncleanness, having their wills at liberty to act uncleanness, and to practice those things to which the plagues of God are due. The vials of the wrath of God are to be poured out upon that filthy nature in which they live, who have crucified the just in them,—and with the unclean nature which rules in them, have we no unity nor fellowship: for our unity and fellowship is with them, who in the light of Christ do walk, and keep out of uncleanness and corrupt lusts.

For neither with the priests of the world, who keep people ever learning, led about with various lusts, nor with the Ranters, who take liberty to fulfill their ungodly lusts, have we unity; but are clear and free from all such; and separated by the eternal Spirit from them who turn the grace of God into wantonness.

But with such our unity is, who dwell in the pure power and dread of the living God, and in his presence.; where no flesh can glory, nor uncleanness stand, but is judged and condemned by the light, which does justify the righteous, and condemns the wicked world.

“This our answer and serious testimony considered, how unjust and injurious was it to rank the Quakers with the Ranters, and that in things scandalous and irreligious, and that upon informations too? Where was any justice or equity, or judicial proceedings, thus to compare an innocent people with the scandalous, and thus to reproach or criminate them upon informations and evil reports. O justice! O equity! O moderation! O Christian liberty! Where were you all in

those days? “And, O commonwealth! how common, how universal were you! What common weal, or what common welfare—what common good did you afford us, your peaceable, innocent subjects, and free born English people, when under your power and government, we were not allowed to breathe the common air? Now I proceed with the recital of our answer aforesaid.

“11. How contrary to this liberty and protection universally promised and proclaimed, our (i.e. six persons,) unjust imprisonment in the castle and city of Norwich is, may plainly appear to all persons of understanding, we being by the eternal Spirit of the living God, called from our earthly habitations, freely to declare and make manifest the eternal Word of God, and the powers of the world to come, as made manifest in us by the eternal Spirit, coveting no man's silver nor gold; but freely declaring what we have freely received from God, in love to the souls of all people, that they might also be partakers with us of the powerful truth of God, that their souls might live in it and know the pure God, whom all the world in their first state are ignorant of and enemies to.

“12. One of us, i.e. Richard Hubberthorn, in the Lord's work and service, being moved of him to go to one place where a people were met together; and when their public exercise was ended, did speak among them what the Lord had made manifest unto him. And the people being willing to hear the truth, some were convinced, and brought to know that which they had been ignorant of, “13. Bat one called a justice being there, whose envy appeared against the truth, sent our friend Richard Hubberthorn to prison, because he would not promise him not to come there any more; and so from that time has he been kept in prison twenty weeks, that was until the date hereof, and detained prisoner a considerable time after, contrary to law, and to the liberty and protection promised and proclaimed, “Another, a Friend of ours, who came to the city of Norwich, and upon the first-day of the week, being with some Friends met together to wait upon the Lord; as they were quietly together in his worship and service, in came the mayor of the city, and a rude multitude with him, and fell into dispute and contention with the Friend, disturbing their peaceable meeting; and when he could find no advantage against him, went his way.

But the next morning he sent a man to desire the said Friend to come to him under pretense of love; yet when he came before him and other magistrates of the city, he committed him to prison; without showing any law broken by the said meeting or Friend; for it was not the quiet meeting, but the disturbers thereof that broke the law and the peace.

“Two other Friends being moved of the Lord to declare in the street against the wickedness and ungodliness among the people, and exhorting them to repent, for that cause they were by the

mayor sent to prison.

“Another, i. e. George Whitehead, having a concern upon his spirit, on a lecture day, to go to that place improperly called St. Peter's church, in Norwich, and when their public worship or exercise was ended, beginning to speak among the people what the Lord had made manifest unto him, was not permitted, but violently haled out, and by the mayor sent to prison.

“And another Friend, who is a citizen in Norwich, coming into a public place termed the church, upon a lecture day, when public exercise was ended, and asking the priest a question concerning what he had been declaring amongst them, he was violently pulled out; and because he had not freedom to put off his hat in the time of the priest's prayer, was by the mayor committed to prison until the next sessions, and from that sessions he was bound over to the next.

“Thus people may see what liberty those that fear the Lord have, under this professed commonwealth, when such who for tenderness of conscience toward God, cannot respect persons, nor bow to the proud will of man, are imprisoned, and some indicted, because at the illegal command of proud men they cannot put off their hats, though otherwise they walk in all good conduct toward God and man.

“Now it is manifest that the said people called Quakers, and we the sufferers, are not justly charged with those crimes or offenses; but the informers are guilty of great injustice and injury against the innocent, who are clear in the presence of the living God, and by his Spirit. So that shame and confusion of face may fall upon our adversaries and persecutors, who cannot clear themselves from being guilty of the blood of the innocent. To the light in their consciences we speak; that is, we appeal against them, who are found enemies to the truth, and fighters against God.

“Given forth for the clearing and informing of all simple and tender hearts, in the pure truth of God, that they stumble not because of reproaches, which do always accompany the truth wherever it is made manifest, to the torment of its persecutors, who speak all manner of evil against us falsely, for the truth's sake; but this is our rejoicing, even the testimony of a good conscience, which all our persecutors cannot cause, or force us to deny. But all their tyranny or cruelty against us, and Him that sent us, for whose name's sake we suffer, does add to our crown of rejoicing, being made partakers of his sufferings, who suffered the contradiction of sinners; the same Christ as ever was, is now witnessed in suffering and in joy, of whom we are witnesses, who are now sufferers for the testimony of Jesus:

Richard Hubbrethorn,

George Whitehead,  
James Lancaster, etc.

Prisoners of the Lord in Norwich.

“From the castle and jail of Norwich, the 24th day of the Twelfth month, 1654.”

Besides our hard usage, and the severity of our confinement, to add affliction to our bonds, one Sampson Townsend, by trade a weaver, who had taken upon him the habit and place of a priest in Austin's parish in Norwich, to make himself famous, published a pamphlet to defame us, after we were committed to prison, as being in Norwich jail for errors and miscarriages, as deniers of the Word of God, and the Scriptures, etc., for which his envy and falsehood were publicly detected. And as he appeared malicious and of a persecuting spirit, endeavoring to incense the magistrates and people against us, by defaming and reproaching us, thereby making himself infamous; so he appeared as ignorant and shallow in disputing against us, at sundry meetings afterward, both in Norwich at Joseph Whitlock's, and at Repham in Norfolk, where I detected and laid him open, about his pleading for sprinkling infants as Christ's baptism.

After Townsend removed to Repham, I having a meeting in that town, he came to oppose me, but made little work of it; for he was manifestly confounded, not acknowledging the Word to be before the Scriptures, but asserting them to be the only Word of God, or the only Word, which was his old objection against us when in Norwich prison, for our testimony to Christ being the Word, which was in the beginning. At that meeting I told him, the word of the Lord came to the prophet, saying, etc., and these are the words of Jeremiah to whom the word of the Lord came. By these, the word which came to the prophets, and the sayings or words that came from the Word, are distinguished.

For to say the word of the Lord that came to the prophet saying, is not all one as to say the Scriptures came to the prophet saying, or that the Scriptures came so often unto him, and uttered those speeches, sayings and prophecies, which the living Word did, and which were not written in the Scriptures before the Word said them to the prophet. The holy Scriptures or Writings, are or contain the sayings or words of the eternal Word, that is, of God and Christ, as given and revealed unto his servants, his prophets and ministers; holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. What John was commanded to write, were the true sayings of God. But of Christ he says, his name is called the Word of God. And I think it is not slighting, much less contempt of holy Scriptures, to own them either as the words or true sayings of God, without giving them the same name or title, which more properly belongs to Christ or God.

After our discourse at the said meeting at Repham, as I was riding out of the town, the word of the Lord came upon me, to warn the people in the street to repentance, who for no other cause evilly entreated me, by stoning me in a furious manner; insomuch that I could scarcely get my horse to stand, or abide the place where I declared the truth to them, until they became more calm and quiet. I cleared my conscience to the people; for the Lord stood by me, and so preserved and defended me by his power and merciful providence, that I got very little harm by all their stoning me; but thereby they showed what fruit their minister, my opposer, had brought forth by his busy envious opposition against us.

And now to return to my narrative, when James Lancaster and myself were freed out of Norwich prison, which was in the first month called March, 1654-5, the jailor being removed by death, and his wife more tender than he was: I believed the special hand of the Lord was in our deliverance, and I was very thankful to him that we were so well freed, but we left Charles Atkinson still there.

In a short time after I was released, I went to see two prisoners there, whereupon I was apprehended, and had before Thomas Toft, mayor, and again committed, and there detained about three weeks, without any proof, or color of transgression, or law against me, but only the arbitrary will and prejudice of the mayor. However, the Lord did not allow him or them then to detain me long, having other work for me to do for his name and truth sake.

The reason of Charles Atkinson's remaining in prison after the rest, was partly an action, or an attachment laid upon him by an attorney, for speaking some rash or hard words to him, which he supposed were actionable; also the priest who then used to preach to the prisoners, took occasion to complain against him, if not to lay another action upon him, for some words spoken, whereby the priest was affronted. However, Charles Atkinson was not altogether so prudent or gentle in his conduct as he ought to have been; and that was not all, but worse befell him after he was left alone in prison; for though he got more liberty, and better accommodation than we had in prison when together, yet he falling into too much familiarity and conversation with some inclining to a spirit of ranterism, he grew loose, and waxed wanton against Christ, his light and truth. And at a certain time having a little liberty granted him out of prison, Richard Clayton and I met him at a Friend's house in the country, and perceiving he had got into too much lightness and liberty, we met with him alone in the field, and seriously admonished and cautioned him, which he could scarcely bear, without appearing offended and in passion. I was jealous what might befall him, or become of him, insomuch that a stop came upon me secretly, that I had scarcely freedom afterward to visit him in prison. He had been overmuch affected by some weak, indiscreet persons, and set up above his place, to his hurt, and some young men have been hurt thereby.

After some time his iniquity broke out, which my dear brother Richard Hubberthorn gave me notice of, I being about that time in High Suffolk and other places, laboring in the work of the Lord. And when R. Hubberthorn and Thomas Symonds went to Charles Atkinson's, he told them there was no redemption for him. Thus he was tempted to despair, by the enemy that had prevailed over him, yet he gave out a severe testimony in condemnation against himself. When I heard of his foul miscarriage, it brought deep sorrow upon me, even to solitary mourning and tears, for truth sake, and our poor innocent Friends, who had lately received the truth, being sensible that both would greatly suffer, and be reproached thereby. However, the Lord relieved me after a little while, and laid it the more upon me to labor and travel about in those parts, to strengthen the weak, to help and comfort the feeble, to vindicate the blessed truth and way thereof, and to exalt and set the same over the head of all deceit and wickedness, and backsliders, and such as turn into the pollutions of the world, well knowing and reminding Friends and others, that the truth is the same, and never changes, and ought not to be blamed; but such who turn their backs on it are condemnable, and judgment follows them. The Lord stood by me in that service, and by his power helped and strengthened me, to strengthen and help many others; so that the scandal took the less effect to do hurt or mischief in those parts; glory and dominion to our God, and the Lamb forever and ever.

After my release out of prison the second time, I travelled in Norfolk and Suffolk to Ingworth, Lammas and those parts, as well as Windham, Wramplingham, New Bucknam, Gissing, Dysse and Sylam. And my dear friend and brother Richard Clayton was with me at some meetings in Norfolk, on that side of the country near Aylesham and Lammas, where there was an honest minded people inquiring after the Lord and his living truth, whose hearts he had prepared to receive the love of the truth. And I well remember in what manner the Lord opened my heart, and enlarged me in the gospel testimony toward those people; it was much in testimony to the universal love and grace of God, the light of Christ in every man, to turn their minds to it, therein to wait to know God's teachings, and to come into the new covenant dispensation, where all the Lord's people are taught of him, and know him, from the least unto the greatest, and witness his law written in their hearts, and his spirit in their inward parts, according to his blessed promises, and this his new and everlasting covenant, as prophesied of by the holy evangelical prophets.

In this new covenant, not only the house of Israel and Judah may have a share, and be partakers of Christ, but all truly believing Gentiles also, to whom Christ is given for a light and for a covenant, and to be God's salvation to the ends of the earth; for God is not only the God of the Jews, but of the Gentiles also; and they are the true Jews and Israel who are spiritually such; Jews inward, by the spiritual circumcision of the heart unto the Lord by his holy Spirit.

And in order to come under this new covenant dispensation and ministry, therein to know and experience Christ to be their minister, their teacher, their high priest and prophet, the people aforementioned, were persuaded to cease from man, and from all their ministers and priests, made by the will of man; and mercenary ministers, who preached for filthy lucre and gain, making a trade of the holy Scriptures, adding their own divinations, meanings and notions thereto, having no divine revelation, or commission given them to preach, much less to make a trade of the words and testimonies of the holy prophets, Christ Jesus, or his apostles; but walking contrary to their steps and practices, in pride and covetousness.

The Lord often laid a pressure upon me, and others of his servants, to testify against the pride and covetousness of the priests, and their preaching for hire, for tithes, and forced maintenance, contrary to Christ's command, and his ministers' example. For this cause they were the more envious against us, and in their pulpits exclaimed and made a great noise, to incense the people and magistrates against the Quakers, so called, even to severe persecution and imprisonments. And the greater necessity was laid upon me, and others of the Lord's servants, to testify against those proud, covetous and envious priests, sometimes even in their public places, improperly called churches, to undeceive the people, that they might not still be led captive, nor incensed against truth by them.

It is still a matter to me very memorable, that by preaching livingly, the light, the new covenant, the word nigh to people in their hearts, yes, the gospel of the free grace and love of God in Christ to mankind, many were really and effectually convinced and persuaded of the blessed everliving truth, as it is in Christ Jesus, both in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, where the Lord led me early to travel, and helped and prospered me in his service; blessed and praised be his name forever.

When I was at Mendlesham meeting, at Robert Duncan's, A. D. 1655,—George Fox the younger, a Suffolk man, was effectually convinced, and received the truth, being then lately come out of the Parliament's army in Scotland.

One remarkable passage I may not omit; John Lawrence having been a member of an Independent congregation, or church in Norwich, and because he left them, and received us and our friends, their pastor, one Timothy Armitage and their elders, called him in question, and were minded to excommunicate him.

The same year 1655, about spring time, he was summoned to their meeting in Norwich, at their parish church, called George's of Tombland; I went with him there, and Edmund Bedwell, his brother-in-law, who had not then left off his sword or falchion, which I blamed him for, thinking they would take occasion against him and us for it, as some of them did afterward.

There was a great concourse of people, men and women met together, with their pastor and elders, and they repeated their allegations against John Lawrence, to this purpose: his forsaking their communion, entertaining strangers, or dangerous persons, or holding dangerous doctrines.

I could not perceive any fact or error they could prove against him.

And in giving his reasons why he left their church, whereof he had been a member, he answered according to the apostle Paul's doctrine, who exhorts, to turn away from such men as have a form of godliness, but deny the power thereof; such as are proud, heady, high minded and covetous men, though they may have a form or profession of godliness, yet denying the power thereof, from such we are to turn away. John Lawrence gave the same for his reason, why he turned away from them; though they had a form or profession of godliness, yet they denied the power thereof; and therefore he might justly turn away from them.

After which, in the fear and dread of the Lord, I stood up to declare a few words among them, but they quickly pulled me down, and by force held me down in the pew where we were; and some of their proud women that were near us, expressed their rage and envy against me in particular. Some of their church forcibly haled and pushed me out of the steeple-house, and exposed me to a rude multitude, who stood ready to lay violent hands on me, and they pushed and haled me away through the streets and market place of the city, sometimes throwing me down upon the stones, whereby I was bruised and hurt; though the hurt I got thereby, the Lord was pleased to remove in a short time. They followed and encompassed me, pushing me along, roaring and shouting, until I came near to the city gate, called Giles' gate, next to a little pasture ground; at the upper end of which I saw a great house, where the lady Hubbard dwelt, as I understood afterward. Upon the sight of it, I was in a great strait, and at a stand in my mind, the tumult being great about me, whether I should then go out of the city, in order to go toward Wramplingham to John Lawrence's, which I desired, or whether I should turn up toward the said great house, desiring the Lord to direct me at that instant.

I considered that if I should turn out of the city into the high-way, toward Wramplingham, I might be in danger of loosing my life in the high-way or field, by that violent tumultuous company that were then about me, and it would be the less taken notice of. If I must loose my life, it would be better to die where my testimony was to be borne within the city of Norwich, and where my persecution was begun because thereof, rather than lose my life more clandestinely by the tumult without the city, or abroad in the field; for I was given up to suffer what violence the Lord might permit them to do unto me.

On due consideration, I immediately turned up to the lady Hubbard's house, the raging company continuing still about me, by whose noise and shouting, the lady's chaplain, Dr.

Collins, as he was afterward termed, and most of the family, came out to see what was the matter, and why such a mob came before the house, and they saw that I was the person beset and persecuted.

The chaplain understanding what I was, undertook to discourse me, concerning the spirit which the apostles of Christ had; If I had the same spirit? I owned that in measure I partake of the same spirit, though I would not equal my degree of attainment to theirs.

If I had that spirit, the chaplain would have me prove it by some sign or miracle, as the apostles did. Or, if I could speak with tongues by a gift of the Spirit, and not by acquirement, as by human learning. I answered him, according to the apostle Paul's words in that case, speaking of the diversities of gifts, given by one and the same spirit; as I told him, all who had the spirit of Christ, had not all those gifts, as that of tongues and miracles; for to one is given the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge; to another faith; to another working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another different kinds of tongues; to another interpretation of tongues, yet all by the same spirit, the spirit and power of Christ.

It is evident that these gifts of tongues and miracles, were not common to all who had the spirit of Christ in the primitive church, but peculiar to some, as these questions import: Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all teachers? are all workers of miracles? have all the gifts of healing? do all speak with tongues? Implying that all the ministers and members of the church were not so gifted in all these respects, though they all had one and the same Spirit, from whom these gifts came.

And I may have the word of wisdom, knowledge and faith, by the same spirit, and yet not the gift of tongues and miracles. It no ways follows that none have the spirit, but they who have those gifts. I then clearly saw the chaplain's way of reasoning in this case would not hold.

When he perceived how tumultuous and rude the company about me had been against me, he questioned why I did not quiet or quell them, or supposed I might, if I had the same spirit or power the apostles had? I answered him, that the apostle Paul himself desired the church of the Thessalonians to pray for him, that the Lord would deliver him out of the hands of unreasonable men, for all have not faith. He was therefore sometimes in the hands of unreasonable men, when in tumults, and the Lord delivered him out of their hands.

While we discoursed, my persecutors stood silent, as in a ring, and heard us on the subjects before related; our discourse held but a little while, I suppose about half an hour.

In the mean time came a soldier or trooper, with his sword by his side, and perceiving me to be

the person persecuted and watched for by that rude company, as I withdrew he came to me, and said he would go along with me, and guard me to my quarters, or lodging; and laying his hand upon his sword, commanded the mob to stand off, to make way. So I was quietly rescued, and he went with me to my dear friend, Thomas Symonds' house, in the city.

I saw it was of the Lord I was put in mind to draw toward the lady Hubbard's, when I was in such a strait in the tumult as before related, and that a stranger should be at last stirred up to rescue me out of the hands of such unreasonable men, as had beset and abused me with violence. I have often been thankful to God for his merciful providence in that deliverance.

The soldier who took such care to rescue me, afterward became a Friend, and came into society with the people called Quakers, wherein the Lord showed mercy to him; his name was Robert Turner, of Lynn, in Norfolk. I knew not that he was the man that rescued me till twenty-five years after, when I was again prisoner in Norwich castle, with many more Friends, in the year 1680.

In those days prisons and jails were made sanctuaries, and places of refuge and safety to us, from the fury of the tumultuous mob, although we met with but mean treatment and hard usage in those places of severe confinement, many times among notorious criminals; and although I suffered both in tumults and imprisonments, by hard usage in them, the Lord helped and sustained me by his divine power and goodness, so that I was not weary of his service, nor my spirit faint in suffering. The grateful remembrance of his goodness, and lively sense of his love to my soul in those days, still live and remain upon my spirit; praised be our God forever and evermore.

My dear friend and brother, Richard Hubberthorn, being somewhat longer detained prisoner at Norwich castle, than I was in the city prison, in the year 1654-5, I had not his company at meetings, which I had both in Norfolk and Suffolk, until after he was at liberty, so that for some time I lacked a suitable companion to travel with me in the work of the gospel ministry in those parts, except as before related, Richard Clayton travelled with me in some parts of Norfolk, and Thomas Bond for a short space, at a few meetings, where I labored in the Lord's work and service.

The Lord greatly assisted me, and gave me living encouragement and comfort, when I was much alone, in his gospel ministry, and I was the more comforted, enlivened and animated in spirit by his divine power and presence, in feeling and perceiving his blessed work to prosper, and the truth of the gospel of Christ to take effect upon the hearts and spirits of many, both old and young, tendering them, opening their understandings, convincing and converting them to Christ the true light, and turning many from darkness, and the works thereof, to light, and from

satan's power to God, to know his divine power to make them his dear children and people, as many were in those early days. And how diligent were many, in going many miles to Friends' meetings, both ancient and young men and women, maidens and children. And what love, what brokenness and tenderness, would appear in meetings in those days of their first love and espousals, wherein many, as chaste virgins, were espoused unto Christ Jesus, in his light, life and spirit, and wherein many of those loving and tender Friends who were of the first fruits among us, continued and ended their days.

After Richard Hubberthorn was delivered out of Norwich castle, we had some comfortable meetings together at Sylam, at Joseph Lawrence's, near Hoxen in Suffolk; at Gissing, at William Barber's, and some other places in Norfolk, and were comforted together in the work and fellowship of the gospel of Christ Jesus; and particularly at Pulham, at William Grudfield's in Norfolk, who was an ancient, honest-hearted man, who received the truth and Friends in much love and tenderness.

Also at Matthew Elmy's, at Margaret's of Ilkisson, in the Nine Parishes, not far from Beccles, in Suffolk. He and his wife and family received the love of the truth, and were very honest, loving people.

On that side the country were gathered a few Friends who were truly convinced and turned to the Lord, and to his light and spirit in their hearts; among whom was William Bennet, whom the Lord endued with his heavenly gift, so that he became a living minister of the gospel of life and salvation, being also of an innocent and holy conduct; and afterward, for his faithful testimony, was a great sufferer in Edmundsbury jail, as many other Friends were, after king Charles the second came to the crown.

Richard Hubberthorn, and I also, had a considerable public meeting at Beccles in Suffolk, without doors in an orchard, where several sorts of professing people came, and some of them opposed; others questioned our testimony, concerning the light of Christ in men, or his enlightening every man that Comes into the world. Our doctrine of the light within, was chiefly questioned and stumbled at in those times, even by many great and noted professors and teachers, as if it had been some new doctrine, though it be both as ancient and Scriptural, as any other divinity taught by the holy prophets or ministers of God or Christ.

Among the opposers and questioners of our doctrine of the light at that meeting, was Richard Townsend, who behaved himself more mildly and gently than some of the company, seeming to be more upon the inquiry, than anywise prepossessed with prejudice.

Though he stumbled about the light, yet upon our demonstrating the truth thereof, and how the

light shows to man, and reproves him for sin, and would instruct him to repentance, and lead him out of sin and evil, if obeyed and followed; and that when the gospel is truly and livingly preached to men, this light in them answers and bears witness thereto—convincing them of the truth of what is preached and declared in the demonstration of the Spirit; and by this light in them, they are made capable truly to receive what is so preached and testified unto them, which otherwise they could not of themselves, by their mere natural capacities. On this wise, or to this effect, the light within, and the doctrine of the light, being argued for on our parts, the said Richard Townsend confessed, that there is an echo in men's consciences, answering to the ministry of the gospel; and this echo he somewhat insisted upon, but could not absolutely oppose the principle of light in men being spiritual.

After our meek and gentle discourse, with our Christian instructions then given him and others present, he took these things into further and deeper consideration, so that truth took such place in him, and bore that weight, that some time after he came into society with our Friends, not only to profess the truth he had questioned, but also to bear witness to it in conduct and public testimony.

In the fore part of the summer, in the year 1655, I had a very memorable meeting in High Suffolk, at Charsfield, a few miles from Woodbridge, where George Fox the younger then lived with his father, and it was the first meeting of Friends on that side of the country, and the largest that I had before in High Suffolk. I had no companion then in the ministry with me, but some Friends from Mendlesham side. To that meeting there came a very great concourse of people of various sorts; and the Lord having prepared the hearts of many of them to seek after and receive the truth, they came with good intentions and desires.

We had the meeting in an orchard, and it began about the eleventh hour. After I had waited upon the Lord a little space for his power to arise and give me strength to stand up in testimony, the people being in great expectation to hear what might be declared, the Lord was graciously pleased by his immediate power to give me strength in his name to bear a living and faithful testimony, according to the openings and discoveries of his free spirit, and the gift received of him to preach the everlasting gospel, in the name and power of our Lord

Jesus Christ, and agreeable also to the Scriptures of truth, the testimonies of the holy prophets, Christ Jesus and his apostles, his living, divine presence being with me. I was wonderfully assisted and enlarged in my testimony for him and his blessed gospel truth, insomuch that I was enabled to stand nearly five hours that day, (as many reckoned,) preaching the truth, and opening those things which concerned the kingdom of Christ and of God, and men's everlasting salvation.

Many were livingly touched in their hearts, and effectually convinced in their consciences of the truth then declared unto them, in the power and demonstration or plain evidence of the holy Spirit.

After I had declared for some time, one John Burch, a preacher among the Baptists, appeared to make some objections about their ordinances, as water baptism, and also the coming of Christ in person. And I being called to a spiritual ministry, in order to bring people out of shadows to the substance, to know Christ in spirit, and not after the flesh, nor to rest only in a literal knowledge of Christ, but that they might know him livingly and inwardly after the spirit; I gave answer to him in the spirit of meekness, for his better information, and instruction in the way of God more perfectly, than either John's baptism, outward shadows, or mere literal knowledge could bring any one to. In a little time John was silent and seemed somewhat satisfied, and after further and serious consideration, came to receive the truth in an inward sight and sense of the power thereof, so that he laid down his former preaching and profession, and became willing to wait upon the Lord among Friends in silence. After some years, he was raised up to bear testimony to the light, the spirit and power of Christ Jesus, and to be a minister thereof, in order to bring people to the knowledge of Christ, and his spiritual baptism in them. In his ministry, John Burch was very serviceable, especially in his latter days: he kept the faith, and in the faith of Christ, in love and unity ended his days in peace.

But to return to this memorable meeting; in the latter part came several noted priests, who were pastors and teachers among the Independents; Francis Woodell, and one Habergham, with some others, and made some objections and questionings. Both the people and John Burch and company, were very attentive and observant to see what they would make against us, being wrongfully prepossessed and prejudiced against us, that we denied the holy Scriptures, Christ, his ordinances, church and ministry, etc.

But in a little discourse with them, I perceived they were ignorant of our Christian principles and doctrines: what they had against us, seemed to proceed chiefly from the false reports of our adversaries, whereby we had been rendered so anti-christian and anti-scriptural in religion and profession, that they thought they might easily run us down.

Such prejudging and condemning persons before hearing or due examination, caused those opposers, and many others, to go but lamely to work against us, and the clearness of our Christian confessions and scriptural vindications, has many times daunted such, and put a damp upon their spirits when they have come upon trial face to face. So it appeared at that time with those Independent ministers, and as I have known in many disputes which I have been concerned in, with opposers and adversaries, how quickly their charges have been quashed,

when they have appeared against us upon false reports, and the authorities of envious adversaries; which they who are credulous will gain no credit by, especially when they judge or condemn others upon such reports and misrepresentations. I have often observed in religious controversies, that my opponent could give me no greater advantage against him, than by making use of false reports, or the authority of malicious persons or their books; or giving way to passion, which blinds men's minds, and clouds their reason and understanding.

But those ministers, however prepossessed, carried themselves moderately towards me and our friends, and made no long stay after they were clearly and plainly answered, and their expectations of getting any advantage against us or our doctrine frustrated; but soon went quietly from our meeting, and the truth greatly gained ground that day, and many were truly convinced and their hearts turned to God, his grace and truth.

That was the first and foundation meeting which we the people called Quakers had on that side of High Suffolk, and which has been continued ever since in those parts; as after that, for a "long time at Dalingoo, at Robert Mann's; at John Bennet's at Bradfield, and at William Feddeman's, and sometimes at Arthur Goddard's, all on that side the country, a few miles from Woodbridge. These were honest, loving Friends, who thus early received the blessed truth and Friends, and continued so to the end of their days, and had meetings at their houses. Some years after, the meeting was settled at Woodbridge, where it has continued many years.

A little while after, in the same year, Richard Hubberthorn met me in High Suffolk, and we had a good, large, and quiet meeting at the same place, where came some of the ministers and other professors. Then we met with no great opposition from them, some being more inquisitive than others; they could not tell what to make of the light within, or immortal seed in man, which we preached, or our doctrine thereof, though scriptural; yet in those days these Independent ministers were in high esteem, and several of them parish priests.

Things then were quietly managed to the end of the meeting, and the truth still gained ground; many grew weary of the priests, and more and more left them and their formal worships and resorted to our meeting, both in that county as well as in Norfolk, and many meetings of our Friends were settled in those places.

After considerable labor and service in testimony for the truth and gospel of Christ Jesus, in Norfolk and Suffolk, in the years 1654 and 1655, besides the imprisonment in Norwich before related, my dear friend Richard Clayton and I meeting again in High Suffolk, in the fifth month 1655, travelled together into Essex to Colchester, where James Parnel, that early servant of Christ, was prisoner in the castle, he being committed but a little time before. We visited him in prison; he was given up to suffer for his faithful testimony— was comforted in our visit, and

we were glad to see him so well under that confinement.

We travelled forward on the road towards London, being desirous to see our brethren and friends in that city, if the Lord had permitted. We went that day from the White Elm, near Ipswich, to near Chelmsford on foot, being nigh forty miles; and in the road meeting with our dear friend and brother George Fox, and Amos Stoddard, coming from London into Essex, were very glad to see them. Our desires of going forward were in part answered for that time, and we were willing to stay with them at some meetings in Essex, which we did, as at Great Coggeshall and Lexden, near Colchester, where George Fox gave large testimony to the truth of Christ, and against the world's corruptions.

On the first-day of the week following, being the 29th day of the fifth month 1655, I had a very good meeting at South Halsted, at John Isaac's, in his barn, Richard Clayton being with me; and John Harwood, a Yorkshire man, having met us in Essex, was minded to travel a little with us. At that meeting at Halsted the Lord greatly enlarged my heart in his gospel testimony toward that people; for the hearts of many of them were well disposed and inclined toward God and his blessed truth. By his invisible power he had opened a door of entrance among them, as well as a door of utterance unto them. James Parnel had been instrumental to convince many in those parts that summer, before his imprisonment at Colchester; and by his testimony and living ministry various professors were shaken, and at a loss in their professions and notions which they had gathered in their heads, without the experience of a true heart work by the power of Christ. For profession and talk of religion and church, did greatly abound in those days among many, as well as pride and self conceit, which the Lord was about to abase, as he manifestly did in a short time after; for those summer shows of religion would not endure a stormy winter.

I must confess to the glory of God in my own self abasement, and his bearing sway over my will and affection by his own power, wisdom and providence, I was at that time prevented from going to London to visit my brethren and friends there, according to my own desire and affection; the Lord having then more work and service as well as suffering for me to go through in the country, and particularly in the county of Suffolk, before I might obtain my desire of going to London, Having had blessed and effectual service by the special assistance of the Lord's power, in Norfolk and in High Suffolk, I must now be a sufferer in Low Suffolk, and bear my testimony for him, in a hard confinement and inhuman treatment in prison. In those days, among the exercises which befell several of us, whom the Lord so early called and sent forth to preach the gospel of repentance unto life and salvation, we were led and moved one while to run to and fro, that knowledge might increase among people, in the ways and dealings of the Lord; another while to be taken and imprisoned, strictly confined, and severely used, and many times inhumanly and barbarously treated; as the subsequent accounts may in part show;

also what manner of spirit ruled and actuated some men under high professions and pretensions of religion and Christianity; and how unchristian they were in practice.

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*The case of those called Quakers, who were sufferers in Edmundsbury jail in Suffolk; one whereof was myself.*

Upon the 30th day of the fifth month, 1655, being the second-day of the week, George Whitehead and John Harwood, with Richard Clayton, passing through a town called Bures, in Suffolk, Richard Clayton was moved to set a paper upon the steeple house door in that town, wherein was nothing contained but what was agreeable to holy Scripture.

We two, being gone a little before while he set up the paper, and looking back and seeing some people about him, were moved to speak a few words to the people, exhorting them in the name and fear of the Lord, to fear God and to return from the evil of their ways.

While we were speaking, there came a constable, Richard Humm, and carried George Whitehead and John Harwood before Harbert Pelham, called a justice of peace, being then in Bures, though his office of justice was not for the county of Suffolk, but for Essex.

Nevertheless he examined us, one after the other, and in the meanwhile Richard Clayton was kept from us, and not examined there; neither when he had examined us, could he lay the least breach of any law to our charge, nor show any thing contrary to the Scriptures in the paper which Richard Clayton had set upon the steeple house door. But forthwith he sent us with the constable and some others, to Thomas Waldgrave, a justice of peace at Smallbridge, near Bures, who also when we came before him, examined us in some few particulars; and when he had so done, could lay nothing to our charge to merit suffering, nor show us any law that we had transgressed, though we demanded it. He threatened, and would scarcely hear us speak for ourselves, but caused us to be turned out of his house, until he and the said Pelham had consulted together against us, as it appeared; so the same day Richard Clayton was whipped in Bures, though not severely, by command from the said Waldgrave, as was pretended, for the paper which he set upon the steeple house door, and sent out of the town the same day by a pass.

Next day he sent John Harwood to Edmundsbury jail, and the day following he also sent George Whitehead to the same.

On the 2nd day of the seventh month, 1655, George Rose was also taken, and sent to the same prison the 4th day of the same month, by John Gurden, a justice of peace for the county of

Suffolk. The cause of the said George Rose being taken and committed to prison, was for asking a question of one called a minister of Stoak, after he had ended his sermon and exercise.

We three who were committed to prison, were continued prisoners till the next general quarter sessions, holden at Edmundsbury, the 9th day of the eighth month following; and then were called before William Blumfield, one of their justices of the peace for the said county, who sat judge of that sessions; but no more justice than before could we have there. For John Gurden and Thomas Waldgrave being both on the bench, our adversaries and accusers informed the judge against us, and would scarcely allow us to speak.

Thomas Waldgrave threatened the jailer to fine him forty shillings, if he did not silence us when we desired to answer an indictment which was preferred against George Whitehead and John Harwood; which indictment was groundless and false. For therein we were termed laborers of Bures, and accused of several times disturbing the magistrates and ministers, and with having been several days at Bures before we were taken prisoners.

Whereas, John Harwood was never in that town or county before that day we were taken prisoners; neither did we disturb magistrate or minister, as falsely charged; neither did we speak to any magistrate or minister in that town before they took us prisoners; neither did Thomas Waldgrave bring any to prove the indictment, or any thing in it, but that we owned the paper for which he caused Richard Clayton to be whipped, which we read and owned publicly in the open sessions.

So without any proof of the indictment, the jury which they had prepossessed and caused to pass upon us, brought in their pretended verdict against us,—that we were guilty according to the manner and form of the indictment; both which were false, as well as without color or proof.

A false indictment was likewise preferred against George Rose, without any appearance of proof also; wherein they accused him for a common disturber of the peace, and that he had been several times before and after at Stoak, though he was never there before the day he was taken prisoner; and so unjustly proceeded against him as they had against us, whom the jury had given their judgment against. And he that sat for judge, complied with the enmity and injustice of the rest of our adversaries there present, and imposed a fine of twenty nobles upon each of us, namely: George Whitehead, George Rose and John Harwood, for which we were detained in prison under great hardships, for above twelve months after sessions.

Upon the same day before mentioned, when John Gurden had gotten his envious design against us three, as he came out of the sessions house door, George Fox, jr. was stirred in spirit to speak

a few words to him in this way; “Repent of your unjust actings this day, for otherwise you can not escape the just judgments of God,” For which John Gurden took hold of him, and caused him to be haled before the bench; and accusing him, said he should go to prison except he would find sureties to appear the next sessions, but showed no law transgressed by him; nevertheless he forthwith caused him to be sent to prison, where he remained with the rest of us, and partook of the same hardships in the common jail, for above twelve months after, until we were released together.

Upon the 22nd day of the ninth month, 1655, Henry Marshall, a Cambridgeshire Friend, was sent to prison by John Gurden, for speaking a few words to one called a minister, at Boxford, after he had ended his sermon, or devotion; but before he was sent to prison, John Gurden caused him to be put in the stocks, and there kept about an hour.

At the next general quarter sessions held at Edmundsbury, the 14th day of the eleventh month, George Fox and Henry Marshall, were called to be tried; where one called Justice Colthrop, for the county of Suffolk, sat as judge, who followed the same course of persecution against them, which before was taken against the three of us before mentioned; for a false indictment, according to the form of the other, was also preferred against Henry Marshall, without any proof thereof; and a fine of twenty marks was imposed upon him; for which he was kept in bonds with the rest of us. Here were three punishments laid upon a person: the stocks, the prison, and the fine, for one pretended offense.

But there was no indictment brought in against George Fox, jr., neither did John Gurden, who caused him to be imprisoned, appear there, nor any witnesses come in against him; so that according to the national law, he ought to have been cleared and set free; nevertheless he was sent back again to prison, and in the calendar noted, that he must remain in jail until the next quarter sessions, except he found sureties for his appearance then and there. And though detained till that time, yet was not then called, neither set free; neither would the jailer show any order or warrant for his detention in jail, though demanded.

So arbitrary against us were these our persecutors in their proceedings, though professors both of the Christian religion and justice; pretending to act what they did against us, in the name and behalf of his highness, the Lord Protector, as they then styled him.

Thus their imprisoning, straitly confining, and fining, were done in his name, and under pretense of his power. But the power of the Lord our God, sustained and supported us patiently and innocently, to bear all those persecutions and severities inflicted upon us, knowing that it was for his sake, and for the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, that we suffered in those days, and that the cause was His, which we were engaged in, and he would plead and defend it, as he

has done; blessed be his worthy name and power forever.

The foregoing case, as to matter of fact, was fully written and dated in Edmundsbury common jail, the 31st day of the third month, 1656, and subscribed by us who were then prisoners; therein declaring ourselves willing to seal to the truth with our blood, if required.

John Watteridge, an honest friend of ours in Edmundsbury, was sent to prison to us, from their quarter sessions held for that town, the 12th day of the second month, 1656, for refusing to swear to the office of a constable, though he refused not the office, but the oath, for conscience-sake to Christ's command, "Swear not at all;" for which he was fined forty shillings, and so committed.

Thomas Smith, John Clark, with some others being his judges, the first said, he punished for swearing, and for not swearing.

John Watteridge, when sent to prison, was put in a nasty room, full of fleas, and lodged upon the floor, not in a bed. He was detained prisoner about fourteen days, by his own account; although his cloak was taken from him, at the jailer's command, for four shillings and four pence, demanded for jail fees; but no law showed for it, no more than for their robbing him of it for the same.

The paper for which Richard Clayton was whipped at Bures, runs after this manner: "If you set up such ministers as seek for their gain from their quarters, who are greedy and covetous, you set up such as the prophet Isaiah cried against, Isa. Ivi. 11.

"If you set up such priests as preach for hire, and divine for money, you set up such as the prophet Micah cried against, Micah iii. 11," etc.

With other Scriptures to show the evil fruits, covetousness and corruptions of false teachers, and leaders, etc.<sup>1</sup> Which paper Thomas Waldgrave produced against us at the sessions, but could not produce or show any law broken thereby, no more than he did against me, for my giving him the title of T. Waldgrave, in my letter to him, according to his own subscription to his warrant of commitment, as is hereafter shown.

A poor pretense for detaining me fifteen months in prison!

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*The substance of a letter which I sent to Thomas Waldgrave, after he committed me to Bury*

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1 I have not the entire paper, if I had, I would have inserted it here.

*jail.*

T. Waldgrave,

To you who are called a justice of peace, am I moved of the Lord to write against your unjust dealings. Before you sent me to prison, you told me I might stay under the constable's custody at Bures that week, till another justice came home, that I might be examined before him; but instead thereof, within two days time, sent me to prison; where I and my fellow-prisoner are put among the thieves, and not allowed the privilege they have; our friends not being permitted to come in to speak to us, but are violently haled from the inner door.

And here we are confined as if not worthy to breathe in the common air; and the jailer acts in rage and tyranny against us, worse than against thieves and murderers; and to cloak, or excuse himself therein, alleges, that surely you would not have sent us here, unless you could have proved us transgressors; though you could not charge us with the breach of any law.

Know, that although you may be at ease in your unrighteousness, and do not lay to heart the sufferings of the innocent, who suffer by you, yet remember that the judgments of God for this your cruelty, slumber not.

Remember the end of the persecutors of the true prophets, Christ and his apostles; of whose sufferings and testimony against all unrighteousness, we are in measure partakers.

When we demanded of you, to show us what law we had transgressed, you caused us to be haled out of doors, and consulted with him called Justice Pelham, against us; though his office is for another county.

When did ever any godly magistrates punish transgressors without showing them their offense? But you have not convinced us of any.

In your warrant, I am unduly charged to be a common disturber of the public peace, but no such disturbance is proved. Therefore be ashamed of your injustice against the innocent, and of making these lies your refuge therein against us; for know that the righteous God, who judges righteously, will be avenged of such unjust dealings.

We are free that all the world should know the cause of our suffering, wherein we are in

innocency and peace; and that the truth which we profess and own, shall not lose by our suffering for the name of Christ; having a cloud of witnesses of the truth for which we suffer. But as you are found in the steps of them who persecuted and imprisoned the saints, and among them that conspire and take counsel together against the Lord and his anointed, unto such the Lord will speak in his wrath, and vex with his sore displeasure. Therefore repent of your cruelty, lest the Lord cut you off, and give you your portion among the persecutors and uncircumcised.

Remember that now you are warned, while the Lord does not speedily execute his judgments upon you. To the light in your conscience I appeal, which bears witness against all these practices that are contrary to it, and is the condemnation of such who live in them.

An answer to these things, and of the cause of our detainment in these unjust and cruel bonds, I do demand of you speedily, you having caused them to be laid upon us.

From an innocent sufferer for the Truth,

George Whitehead.

Edmundsbury Jail, the 15th of the Sixth mo., 1655.

This letter Thomas Waldgrave produced in court at the aforesaid quarter sessions, and the only exception he made against it was, my giving him the title of T. Waldgrave. I told him I followed his own subscription to his mittimus, whereby he committed me, having therein so subscribed himself, T. Waldgrave; but he concluded, it was not for me to do as he had done; whereby he proved no crime at all against me.

Copy of the mittimus. To the constables of Bares, and to the keeper of the jail of Bury.

“I have sent you herewithal the body of George Whitehead, of Orton, in the county of Westmoreland, being an idle wandering fellow, and a common disturber of the peace of this nation; requiring you, in the name of his highness the Lord Protector, etc., to receive him into your jail, and him there safely to keep, that he may be forthcoming before the justices at the next sessions for the peace, to be holden for this county at Bury, then and there to be proceeded withal according to law; and hereof I require you not to fail; this 1st day of August, 1655.”

Observe, an idle wandering fellow; this is false in fact, as well as scurrilous and

disdainful; for, 1. I am well known to be no such person; for after my parents took me away from that noted school at Blencoe, in Cumberland, at the request of some Friends, I taught first a private, then a public school.

2. After that I was at my father's house part of a summer, and then was not idle, but industrious in what was proper for me, not being educated either in idleness, nor willing to eat the bread of idleness, that I might prevent all reflection and reproach against me on that account.

3. And when it pleased God to call me by his Word from my father's house, and out of my native country, to preach the everlasting gospel, therein I labored faithfully, and travelled in the service thereof, according to the grace and ability given me of God, in his dear Son Christ Jesus.

4. A common disturber of the public peace of this nation, is also unjustly charged against me; for I was, and am of a peaceable conduct, being also a minister of the gospel of peace.

5, How came I to be termed an idle wandering fellow, in the warrant of commitment, seeing in the indictment at quarter sessions I was called laborer? Thus self-contradictory was this our prosecutor; where envy is, there is confusion. Could he reasonably think himself more dishonored by my giving him his own title of T. Waldgrave, than he did by his injurious and illegal proceedings against us? And that it may further appear what kind of warrants these justices made against us, here follows also a copy of John Gurden's warrant of commitment against George Rose.

*Suffolk.—To the keeper of the Common jail, at Bury, St. Edmunds, and to his deputy, and deputies there.*

“Forasmuch as upon examination of George Rose, late of Halsted, in the county of Essex, glazier, and upon examination taken upon oath before us, against the said Rose, sufficient cause appears unto us, whereby to enforce Rose to find two able and sufficient sureties for his personal appearance at the next sessions of the peace, to be holden for the Franchess of Bury, St. Edmunds, and from there not to depart without license of the court. And forasmuch as the said George Rose refused to find sureties, we therefore herewithal send you the body of the said George Rose, requiring you in the name of his highness the Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, to receive him into the said jail, and him there safely to keep until the next sessions; if in the mean

time he the said George, being by his own confession, one now usually called a Quaker, shall not in the mean time find such able and sufficient sureties for his appearance as aforesaid. Dated at Affington, the third day of September, 1655.”

Observe. 1. What legal precedent could they have for such a warrant of commitment, when they neither assign cause to require such sureties, nor any matter of fact, as a breach of law deserving imprisonment? 2. Though his confessing himself one called a Quaker, seems to be made the reason of his commitment, we cannot think it was either a legal or valid reason, or cause of such severity, as these persons were bent upon against us. How evident is it therefore, that their own invidious wills were their only laws therein?

*The substance of a letter to William Blumfield, who sat for judge at the Quarter Sessions aforesaid.*

“To you who are called a justice, am I moved of the Lord God to write; therefore in moderation read and consider, that you may be informed for whom you have acted. Friend, in the judgment seat at sessions, you were set to judge of causes, according to justice; but the cause of the oppressed, who suffer for righteousness, you have not regarded, in joining with the persecutors against us who so suffer. They preferred a lying indictment against us without evidence of fact, and caused a company of poor ignorant men, who knew us not (i. e. a jury,) to give a verdict, so termed, upon oath, which was, that we were guilty according to the manner and form of the indictment, which in neither was true, wherein they did forswear themselves. And then by your fining us, you have joined with our persecutorS who imprisoned us, namely, those called Justice Waldgrave and Justice Gurden, whose injustice many took notice of, in their standing to be both our accusers and judges. In consenting to act according to their wills, which are cruel and envious, you have acted contrary to the just witness of God in you; and in lending an ear to them and their council, you have not taken counsel of God: and woe unto them that take counsel, but not of me, says the Lord; that cover with a covering, but not of my spirit, that they may add sin unto sin.

“The swift witness of God will pursue you, and judge you for partaking with the wicked.

Your conscience is defiled, and the profession, held in unrighteousness, is stained; all your profession of God and Christ will not cover or hide you, from the righteous judgments which will come upon all them that join in iniquity: and though hand join in

hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished.

“Therefore consider what, and for whom, you have acted. Own the light of Christ in your conscience, and it will let you see, how you can not have peace with God in these things, and how forwardly and unadvisedly you have acted against us, as you would not be done by. Consider, would you be taken passing on the highway about your lawful occasion, examined and imprisoned, contrary to the law of God, and of the nation, and in prison suffer ten weeks, and then be fined and sent back to prison again, as we were, contrary to the laws of justice and equity? Honestly deal with yourself, and see if you have done to us as you would be done by.

“When did ever any godly magistrate act such things!’ Let the witness of God in your conscience judge whether these things be of God or no; whether persecution and cruelty become them that profess Christianity and godliness, yes or no.

“Consider your ways, and come out from among the persecutors, and repent of these unjust actions, that your hands may be washed from the guilt of their blood, who suffer for righteousness' sake, lest you have your portion among them who are in the offenses against Christ's flock, who suffered persecution by the seed of evil doers; for he that offends one of the least of them who believe in him, ' It were better that he had never been born, or that a millstone were hung about his neck and he cast into the sea.' “Therefore, now from the Lord you are warned, before whom you can not excuse yourself in these things before mentioned, and declared in love to your soul. Whether you will lay them to heart or not, I am clear; having peace and consolation by Christ Jesus in my sufferings for righteousness' sake; not being convinced of the breach of any known law. Glory to the Lord God forever.

“George Whitehead.

“Edraundsbury common jail, the 20th day of the Eighth month, 1655.”

Our persecutors having confined five of us in prison, by their warrants before recited, and by their quarter sessions, passed judgment of fines upon most of us, it is fitting that some account should be given of our treatment and usage in prison.

After two of us were first sent to prison, we had a lodging in an upper room two or three weeks, and then understanding that the jailer would exact upon us for rent, and expecting our confinement might be of long continuance, we desired a free prison, upon which we were

turned into the common ward among felons. After continuing a few weeks, a Friend, Samuel Duncon, in compassion to us, privately gave the jailer some money to let us lodge above again from the felons.

But when the time for that money was ended, the jailer insisted upon his old exaction of four pence a night from each of us, which we were neither free to yield, nor to allow any of our friends to be charged with, but desired a free prison, and we were again turned into the common ward. While we lodged above, after the Friend gave the money to the jailer, two notorious robbers, who were of that company that had robbed sir George Wyninif's house, and were condemned at the assizes before, broke prison and made their escape, leaving their irons and shackles behind them.

We were glad that we were not present in the common ward at the time they broke out, for they were desperate fellows, and made their escape for their lives. We esteemed it a providence that the said Friend had for that little time procured our lodging apart from the felons.

Now we were settled in the common ward among felons, in a low, dungeon like place, under a market house, our lodging being upon rye straw, on a damp earthen floor, though we were therewith content, and the place sanctified to us. But not being willing to contribute to the jailer's extortion, nor tree to buy any of his beer, he keeping a tap house, and many of his prisoners often drunk, his rage arose very much against us, after we were so many as five, sent to prison successively, and all in the common ward, and in the time of our confinement drinking only water.

That for which he appeared most enraged against us, was because we frequently testified and cried against the foul and horrid sins of drunkenness, swearing, and other disorders and abuses among the prisoners, and which the jailer's servants occasioned by permitting their excessive drinking strong beer for his ungodly gain.

But the Lord stirred us up the more zealously to cry aloud against the wickedness of the jailer, his servants and prisoners for these gross evils and disorders; because the jailer made a profession of religion and piety, being member of a Presbyterian church in Bury, and calling in the prisoners on first-days toward evening, to instruct them and exercise his sort of devotion among them. Because I told him of his hypocrisy therein, his fruits being so much contrary, his daughter was offended, saying, "What! call my father a hypocrite, who has been a saint forty years? Now to evince some of his fruits, and of our treatment by him and his agents, observe what follows.

On the 21st day of the tenth month, 1655, the jailer smote George Rose on the face till he drew

blood; and on the 28th, he smote George Fox and John Harwood on their faces before several witnesses. On the 21st of the eleventh month, he smote George Whitehead on his face till the blood came out at his mouth, only for reprehending and detecting some falsehoods he had uttered against us, which some present heard; whereupon a woman of his own society or profession, seeing his fury and violence, told him he dishonored the gospel. It seems she was more tender and conscientious than he.

Many other times he shamefully abused us both in words and actions, whereby his servants, tapster and turnkey, and some of his drunken prisoners took the greater encouragement to follow his example; for his tapster often grossly abused us, and not only threatened us, but cast a stone violently, whereby he hit one, and in his rage took up a stool to have smitten or cast at some of us, but was prevented by one present taking hold of it. He often slandered and beat -some of us on the face, and also violently buffeting with his fists, for no other cause but reprehending his and their wickedness.

Some of the prisoners also have often abused us, by taking away our food, alledging the jailer gave them leave to do so, and thereby taking occasion to do us mischief, several times beating some of us, stoning, despitefully using us, threatening to kill, and to knock some of us on the head.

One said if he did kill us, he should not be hanged for it, and that there was no law for us if he did kill us; and being drunk with the jailer's strong beer, he kicked and wounded some of us on the legs, and greatly abused us, knowing it was against our principle and practice to fight or beat him again; which we could easily have done to him and the rest of the jailer's drunkards that abused us, if our principle would have allowed, being five of us, mostly able and lively young men. But we esteemed it greater valor and more Christian, patiently to suffer such injuries for Christ, than to fight for him, or avenge ourselves; and rather, when smitten on one cheek, to turn the other, than to smite again. The said drunken prisoner who had so abused us, when he was a little sober, confessed that the jailer made him worse than he would have been against us. But by such inhuman usage, the jailer could not force our compliance with his covetous designs, or corrupt practices for gain.

On the 19th day of the second month, 1656, he came into the common ward, and asked if we would pay him for keeping us here? We asked him what we owed him.

He said, "Fourteen pence a week, each of you;" though some of us had been thirty-one weeks in that common jail, and none of us did then lie in any bedding of his; but when some straw was brought us to lie on, which was allowed by the county for the prisoners' use there, we paid for bringing it, or we might not have had it. We told the jailer, that when we demanded a free

prison, he turned us into this place; upon which he commanded the turnkey to take away our bed clothes, saying, "Take away their clothes, and leave them nothing but the straw to lie upon, and take away their boxes." So the turnkey and tapster took them all away, and left us not so much as our night caps, which were hung up in a basket by the wall.

And moreover the jailer threatened to take away our coats from off our backs; we told him he might do so if he would, for he might as well take them as our other good: our bed clothes, a coat and a cloak, and our boxes, wherein was our food, i. e. bread and cheese, linen and other things. "Then," said he, "I will not take your coats till warmer weather." We told him he would shame his profession. He said, "That's no matter, you are all heretics." After the above said goods were taken away, the jailer's daughter said, "They have robbed you of all."

Those goods were detained from us about twenty-four weeks, in which time we were forced to lie in part of our wearing clothes, upon the straw; yet the Lord gave us patience and comfort in our sufferings, as he did his servants of old, who suffered the spoiling of their goods joyfully; being also made willing not only to suffer such spoil, but to lay down our lives for Christ's sake: glory to his name forever, who thus supported and comforted us in our tribulations.

On the 28th, Mary Petche, an honest, poor Friend, who was employed to bring us necessaries, coming to prison with some linen for us, that is: two shirts, two caps, two bands and four handkerchiefs, we having been robbed of the rest as before, the jailer caused the same to be taken from her, and would not allow her to deliver them to us. And the same day the turnkey took away George Rose's coat, which he usually wore; at other times not allowing our provision to be delivered to us, until he had stopped the woman that brought it and searched into her basket, to see what she had brought for us.

Not complying to take lodgings of the jailer, at 2s. Ad. a week each of us, nor to pay him Is. 2d. each, demanded by him, for the time we had been in the free prison, the common ward, he proffered us some privileges if we would submit to his terms; which we refusing, his anger still continued against us, insomuch that on the 3rd day of the third month, he commanded his tapster to take away George Fox's hat, which the tapster took from his head; but the same day the jailer's wife, being more compassionate than her husband, brought him his hat again, and said she did not know that her husband commanded the tapster to take it from him.

Having shown such examples of malice and abuse to us, some of the prisoners when almost drunk, still took the more encouragement to repeat their violence against us, especially one, who was often most base and abusive, beating and kicking us, and smiting some of us on the face, without reprehension by turnkey or tapster, when they have been present and known us so abused; but instead thereof, the tapster then also beat one of us on the face, though when they

were out of drink, and not incensed by the jailer, we had them generally under and quiet.

But on the 19th of the third month, two of the prisoners so violently smote George Fox on the face, that the blood came out at his mouth and nose. On the 21st day following, one of them shamefully spit upon George Rose and George Fox's faces, pulling them by their noses, as they have done by us several times; and on the 22nd day of the same month, George Fox standing at the inner door, a pot of coals and ashes were thrown in his face by one of the prisoners.

Thus, day by day for a time we were abused, beaten, buffeted, kicked, spurned at, and despitefully used, for no other cause, but testifying against the frequent drunkenness, swearing, wickedness and ill government in that prison; and against the tyranny, cruelty, and bad example of the jailer, his turnkey and tapster. It is too tedious to enumerate all their abuses and acts of violence and cruelties against us; and being therein conscious to themselves, lest they should be exposed, the turnkey threatened to take away our inkhorns, and did take away one, with several papers, saying we should write no more, and often watching to hinder us from writing.

Having often threatened to lock us up in the women's ward, a low, filthy room, because of our constant testimony against their gross disorders, as also against allowing the tapster to let the prisoners have so much strong drink as to drink to excess, and the abuse of themselves and others; the jailer, instead of reforming, proceeded in his unwarrantable allowance of such excess, and in punishing us for our righteous testimony.

On the 26th day of the third month, he caused George Rose to be put into the women's ward; upon which George Whitehead bade the jailer take notice, that it was for declaring against drunkenness and swearing, which he himself connived at, that he caused him to be put there. For which words the jailer caused him also to be forthwith shut up in the same ward; and likewise George Fox and Henry Marshall, we being one in our testimony; so we four were there locked up and confined near two hours; and when we asked but for a stool of our own to sit upon, they would not allow us to have it.

After they had let us all out, they put George Rose into the said ward again, and there confined him about four hours, and stones were cast in at the window, some of them striking him; the tapster also taking strong drink in his mouth and spitting it in his face as he looked out at the window.

But our punishment from the jailer did not end here. While George Rose was shut up in the women's ward, the jailer came to George Whitehead and George Fox, and said, "If you will persuade George Rose to be quiet, he may come forth. George Whitehead told him that he would not persuade him from crying against wickedness. Whereupon in his rage, he threatened

to put us three into the dungeon, and caused George Rose to be brought out of the women's ward, and threatened to let us down into the dungeon with a cart rope; but he and the turnkey put us, i. e. George Whitehead, George Fox, and George Rose, down a ladder into the dungeon, where they seldom put any, except some very quarrelsome, murderous persons; for it is about four yards deep under ground, and very dark, and but a little compass at the bottom, and in the middle of it an iron grate, with bars above a foot distant from each other, and under the same a pit or hole, we knew not how deep.

But being warned by a woman that saw us put down, and pitied us, we kept near the sides of the dungeon, that we might not fall into the pit. There we were detained nearly four hours, singing praises to the Lord our God, in the sweet enjoyment and living sense of his glorious presence, being nothing terrified nor dismayed at their cruelties, but cheerfully resigned in the will of the Lord to suffer for his name and truth's sake, if they had left us to perish in that dark, dismal, and stinking dungeon; though the Lord would not allow that, besides the jailer might fear being hanged if he had detained us, and we had died in the dungeon.

When we were let out of the dungeon, the turnkey, at his shutting us up in the common ward, allowed a malicious prisoner to come in and smite George Rose violently on the head, without reprehending him for it; but that was a common practice among these persecutors, especially when drunk.

While we were in the dungeon, several of our friends came to visit us from Norwich, Colchester, Halsted in Essex, and other places, but were not allowed to come to us, nor we to speak to them. At other times they have thus dealt by us and our friends, when they have come many miles to see us; and when kept out and they have come to the prison door or window, they have had water cast upon them by some of the jailer's company, pretending that he had order from the justices that none of our friends should come to us; yet he and his wife told them that if they would pay the turnkey, they might come to us; and he told them that if they would give him 6d or 4d a piece, he would let them come to us; but they refused to gratify his covetousness therein. Our friends have been many times unjustly kept out from us; yes, when some Friends of Norwich have waited long without doors to come in and see us, both they and we have been disappointed and prevented from seeing one another. Thus our friends have been kept from us without doors, and we daily abused within.

The prisoner who was most abusive to us, being one of the jailer's drunkards, threw a naked knife fiercely at one of us, and it missing, he threatened to kill some of us, saying he could but be hanged, he had but a life to lose. He also having taken away some of our things, we acquainted the jailer therewith, and told him if there was any more blood shed by this prisoner,

it would lie at his door; and if he did not allow him in what he had done against us, we wished him to command him to restore us our things; but instead thereof, his answer was, "Let him do what he will," in the hearing of this most abusive prisoner; whereby he took the more encouragement to abuse us, and the woman Friend also, who brought in our necessaries; on whom he laid violent hands, pushing her backward. The turnkey also that night smote two of us for refuting some of his aspersions cast upon us, and said he could not use us bad enough.

This abusive prisoner, who had threatened to kill some of us, taking encouragement from the example of the jailer, turnkey and tapster, one night being furiously drunk, after we were locked and bolted close in the common ward, resolved to kill one or other of us that night, as with curses he threatened over and over; nothing must serve him but he must be the death of some of us. But in faith in the name and power of the Lord, we stood over him, believing he should not have power to hurt any of us, though he attempted it, taking up a fire brand; but we saw his power was limited, that he could not harm, much less kill any of us.

He had a boy in the same ward, about ten years old; and as the boy was kneeling by the wall, frightened to see his father in such a rage, the father presently took up a stone bottle, and violently threw it at his poor boy, but missed him, and broke it to pieces against the wall, the poor boy narrowly escaping with his life. For if it had hit him on the head he had probably been killed.

Still the drunken, outrageous man continued in his fury; he must needs kill somebody that night, either his poor boy, or some other, or else he would not be pacified. Seeing him thus murderously resolved, it immediately came upon me with great weight, as I believed from the Lord, let us not see murder committed in our presence; whereupon I said to my fellow sufferers, let us seize him, and hold him hand and foot, till he will be quiet; and they presently took hold of him, laid him gently upon his back, and held him fast, hand and foot, as I think, above an hour's time, in which he made a roaring noise, but to no purpose; for we were all closely warded up in a low, dark place, hard to be heard in other parts of the prison; no, I am persuaded, if any of us had cried out murder, we should scarcely have had one come to relieve any of us.

However, we prevented the intended murder, by holding the drunkard's hands and feet, till he was quiet and went to sleep, as we made him promise before we would let him loose, having a strict eye over him, to prevent his doing any mischief; for though we had not cords to bind him with, yet we were sensible he needed to be bound or restrained from doing mischief, as much as any outrageous mad person.

Although the Lord enabled us patiently to bear and suffer gross abuses and spiteful usage,

much more than here related, without any retaliation or revenge, yet murder ought to be prevented, if possible, by any lawful means or restraint. As the prophet Elisha said, concerning the king's messenger sent to take him; "See how this son of a murderer has sent to take away my head; look when the messenger comes, shut the door, and hold him fast at the door," etc.

William Dewsbury in true love, came to visit us in Bury jail; and understanding something of the jailer's cruelty, wrote him a letter as follows:

"For Robert Newton, keeper of the jail in Bury.

"Your cruelty and oppressing the innocent, is come up in remembrance before the pure, eternal, dreadful God; and if you do not repent and speedily return to the living God, and diligently attend to his pure law in your conscience, that it may guide you to cease from your cruelty, and restore to the servants of the Lord what you have taken from them, and no more offer any violence to them — which if you so do, you know not but that the Lord may show mercy; but if you continue in your pride and stubbornness, you had better never have been born: the eternal, dreadful God will stretch out his hand against you, and render vengeance upon you, and will wound you in your inwards, that anguish and pain shall take hold upon you; that you shall be tormented day and night, in the presence of God and his holy angels, and your portion shall be with all the unrighteous, whose worm never dies, and fire never shall be quenched; for such as you sow you shall reap; and you shall know this is the word of the Lord God. ' The day draws nigh,' what is declared the Lord will bring upon you; remember you are warned in your life time—if you perish your blood will be upon your own head.

"William Dewsbury."

The jailer was greatly tormented and enraged at this letter.

Some of the abuses were examined by the magistrates in Bury, and clearly evinced to them before the jailer's face.

After we had suffered such hard usage by the jailer, his turnkey and tapster, and some of the drunken prisoners, an account thereof was sent to some of our friends at London, which they put in print, and acquainted Oliver Cromwell the Protector, so called, and his deputy Fleetwood therewith, whereupon order was given to have the matters complained of inquired into. I was first called out and examined, the 22nd day of the third month, 1656, before John Clark and Thomas Chaplain, called justices, the jailer being present; and upon the 22nd, George Rose was also called before some of those justices, the jailer present; and his and his agents' abuses

proved against him at both times, concerning his smiting George Rose and George Whitehead on their faces, until the blood came out at their mouths. The jailer to excuse and lessen his violence, would have them believe he only chucked us under the chin, and that he took me by the nose.

Upon the 6th day of the fourth month, I being again had before the said John Clark, Thomas Chaplain, and one called Justice Moody, and Major Sparrow, to be examined on the said complaint, John Clark, who first took upon him to be our chief interrogator, or examiner, appeared very much to favor the jailer, tearing a note sent by a Friend to warn them to examine matters, and do justice without partiality; which when I delivered, he presently tore in pieces without reading, or allowing the rest concerned to read it. I told him he should have seen what was in it before he had rent it. He said, that was all he would do with it. I then warned them to see justice done. But as our paper was reading, and I questioned about the abuses related, John Clark would not have me to answer matters particularly as read, but said, read it, and then let him answer to it. But as it was read, I answered the particulars, and gave them a clear account of matters of fact of the jailer's cruelty. Some of which he confessed when I put them home to him, particularly the taking away our goods, or necessaries, which he commanded the turnkey to take from us, with other injuries and violence done to us. Some of the justices present, confessed the jailer was to blame, and warned him not to allow us to be abused by his servants; for if they did, they would send them to Ipswich jail, and commended G. W. for a moderate man.

On the same day George Rose was also again examined, and again made it appear how the jailer had abused us, and used violence to us, such as smiting him and George Whitehead on their faces, until the blood came out at their mouths; and his tapster's smiting him more than ten times, and spitting beer in his face. The jailer confessed that all that was written by us of his taking away our things was true; but because George Rose reprov'd him for his cruelty.

Justice Clark bade the clerk write down, that it was for assaulting the jailer; partially pleading to extenuate his offense. Seeing such partiality, we could not expect a full and true account would be returned to Oliver Cromwell, Protector, but that our sufferings would be prolonged, as they were, for some time after these grievances were clearly made manifest to the justices.

However, our discovering the jailer's cruelty, had some effect upon him, though he was sorely vexed to be thus exposed, yet it brought some fear and restraint upon him; and for some time before we were released out of prison, we enjoyed more quietness, although, drunkenness and much disorder, and ill government, was allowed and continued in that prison. When I have in the fear of God told the jailer thereof, and testified against him, for permitting the same for his

own profit, his answer often to me was, Away devil, away devil, etc. And to George Rose, for the same cause, he would cry, when he went toward him, Now comes wide mouth, now comes wide mouth; because George Rose spoke somewhat louder to him, against permitting so much drunkenness in his house as he did; he being a professor of religion, a member of a church, and instructor of others, and by his daughter esteemed a saint forty years; and doubtless he was the more favored in the examination, by his neighbor, John Clark, because of his religion, membership and fellowship.

When the barbarous treatment and hardships which we endured in the said jail, were much noised abroad, our Friends at London were compassionately concerned for our relief, and thereupon Oliver Cromwell was several times applied to, particularly by Mary Sanders, a friend of ours, who was a servant, a waiting gentlewoman in Cromwell's family.

She often took opportunities to remind him of our suffering condition, and of other Friends also being confined in prisons, as she has often told me. She afterwards married our beloved Friend Henry Stout, of Hertford.

She was a good example in that family of Oliver Cromwell's, while she lived there, and continued in her integrity in true Christian faith, and love to Friends unto the end.

Anne James, of London, who afterward married our dear Friend Robert Duncon, was tenderly concerned for us, when we were in Bury jail; and she also acquainted Oliver Cromwell with our case, and sought our relief, which was at last obtained, after I had suffered fifteen months, or above, in the said jail, and the rest of my fellow-prisoners above a year, except Henry Marshall, who suffered nearly a year; all of us, God knows, under severe restraint and great hardships.

Yet I am still truly and humbly thankful to the Lord our God, in remembrance of his great kindness to us,—how wonderfully he supported and comforted us through and over all these our tribulations, strait confinement, and ill usage, and preserved us in bodily health. In the comfortable enjoyment of his glorious divine power and presence, several of us have often been made to sing aloud in praise to his glorious name; yes, his high praises have been in our mouths oftentimes, to the great amazement and astonishment of the malefactors shut up in the same ward with us. When walking therein, our hearts have been lifted up in living praise to the Lord, often for several hours together, with voices of melody. Oh! the sweet presence and power of the Lord our God, how precious to be enjoyed in prisons and dungeons, and strait confinements. O my soul, still bless you the Lord, and forever praise his excellent name, for the true inward sense and experience you have often and long had, and still have, of his divine power and unspeakable goodness. Glory and dominion be to our God, and to the Lamb that sits

upon the throne, forever and ever. Let the praise be unto him in whom is our help, salvation and strength.

Although we were confined to a noisome common ward, and strait, stinking yard, without any accommodation, yet the Lord by his power so sanctified the confinement to me, that I had great peace, comfort, and sweet solace, and was sometimes transported and wrapped up in spirit, as if in a pleasant field, having the fragrant scent, and sweet smell of flowers and things growing therein, though I was not in an extasy or trance, my senses being affected therewith. The Lord made bitter things sweet unto me, and hardships easy; although we were sensible our persecutors and oppressors were so cruel toward us, that they cared not if we had all perished in that jail. But our trust and confidence was in the name of the Lord Jehovah, in whom is everlasting strength and safety: to whom be everlasting glory, dominion and praise, world without end.

I humbly hope and trust in the Lord, I shall never forget his loving kindness and mercy shown unto me, in those cloudy days of distress and affliction.

#### A Copy of our Release.

“Thursday, the 16th of October, at the Council at Whitehall.

“Ordered by his highness the Lord Protector, and the Council, that the Quakers imprisoned at Colchester, in the county of Essex, and Edmundsbury and Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, be forthwith released and set at liberty: and it is referred to sir Francis Russell, to take care that the same be done accordingly; as also to consider how the fines set upon them, or any of them, if any, may with most conveniency be taken off” and discharged: and likewise to take order that upon their being set at liberty, as aforesaid, they be forthwith sent to their respective homes.

W. Jessop, Clerk of the Council.

Pursuant to this order, sir Francis Russell took special care to put it in execution. He sent his clerk to the prison to see us set at liberty, which was done accordingly; and in kindness to us, gave us an order or warrant to produce in our defense, if there should be occasion, that we might travel without molestation or interruption; not confining us to go to our respective homes. He was a considerate and tender spirited man, and showed compassion toward us and our friends, who were sufferers for conscience sake toward God; he appeared clearly against persecution. From the good character which I had of him, and the kindness he had shown us in our suffering, I went to visit him in the year 1659, as I travelled near that way, which he took

kindly, and entertained me with religious and friendly discourse. One part of it was, he intimated his having been very much against the severity James Nayler had met with when prosecuted before the House of Commons, in the year 1656.

Being set at liberty without being sent to our respective homes, we could then travel where the Lord pleased to order us, to visit our friends and meetings: and the Lord laid a concern upon me, especially to visit our friends and meetings in Norfolk and Norwich, where I had labored in the gospel, and had suffered before, and also in High Suffolk and Essex, and some other parts, where the Lord did greatly strengthen and assist me by his power in his service; and made the same effectual to his praise, and his people's comfort and confirmation in the living faith, which is in Christ Jesus, his light and grace.

Although our hardships in Bury prison were extreme, as before related, yet the Lord caused all to work together for good to us; our faith and strength in Christ came to be greatly increased, the blessed truth promoted, many convinced thereof, and added to the church, and gathered into our spiritual communion and Society, through the great sufferings of those times, and our faithful testimony borne therein. The great persecutions then against us, caused great inquiry among the unprejudiced and well disposed people, who could not but think, that persecution and cruelty against us for religion, was no sign of a good religion in the persecutors; and that the patient sufferers were more like true Christians than the persecutors.

In the time of our severe confinement in Bury jail before mentioned, my fellow prisoners, George Fox and George Rose, received a gift and part in the ministry of the everlasting gospel, and were enabled by the power and Spirit of Christ, to thunder out judgment against deceit and wickedness, and to preach the way of life and salvation; which they did in the zeal and love of the Lord God, and ministered according to their several gifts and abilities, received from the giver of every good and perfect gift.

George Rose became a great traveller in the work of the Lord beyond the seas, not only in Holland and Germany, but also in the American colonies, as New England, Virginia, Bermudas, Barbados, and other remote places.

I have not a particular account of his travels in those parts and islands, and we have often desired a more full relation thereof. After various difficulties and dangers he passed through by sea, and great travels and service in those foreign parts in America, he, with some other Friends, lost their lives in a storm at sea, near the coast of Virginia, as has been related to us.

George Fox the younger, did not live long after an imprisonment he underwent when king Charles the second came in; though that was no hard imprisonment, being removed from

Harwich to Lambeth, on some groundless suggestions or complaints. He died some time after he was at liberty, in the country.

John Harwood, who was prisoner with us in Bury jail, while we were there confined, patiently suffered with us, and walked orderly and soberly; and was for some days together in fastings, low and humble in his spirit, and had some part in the ministry: but within three or four years after we were released, he came to loss by proceeding disorderly with a widow toward marriage, but was disappointed: and what added to his hurt, he conceived prejudice against some of the brethren, as George Fox senior and others, for disowning his irregular and unwarrantable procedure.

This I mention to prevent reflection, that we may not be unjustly upbraided by his miscarriage.

When I was at Colchester and Coggeshall side, one Okely, or Okey, priest of Stanway, three miles from Colchester, busying himself against the Quakers, in his ignorant opposition, to whom Stephen Crisp gave some answer, gave us occasion to desire a public discourse with him in his parish church, so called, at which place a meeting and time was agreed to; but when we came there, the priest took up most of the time in preaching upon the text, "Remember you the law of Moses, my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb, for all Israel," etc. The scope of his discourse being to prefer the Scriptures for their only rule. But it being near night before the sermon was ended, and days then short, we had very little time to discourse matters; neither did he know how to begin to charge us, but questioned us about Christ and his human nature, as their term is. We owned his divine nature, and his being man also, as he is our only Mediator, etc., according to Scripture. But our dear ancient friend, Robert Ludgater, questioning the priest about the two natures of Christ, as that he called human, and the divine, the priest turned it into a sort of levity and impertinency. It growing night, the meeting soon ended, with no advantage, but disadvantage to the priest, the people being generally civil, and more serious than their priest.

Before the winter in 1656 was ended, the Lord gave me an opportunity to visit Friends at London, of which, before my imprisonment at Edmundsbury, I was prevented; that visit was very acceptable to Friends there, and I had very good service in and through the meetings, in the ministry and demonstration of the holy Spirit and truth of Christ; and many were convinced thereby, while I was among them, which was not long then; but I was concerned to return into Essex and Sussex. And having visited meetings at Colchester, Coggeshall, and other parts of Essex, as in Denge hundred, and several parts of the county, and also at Sudbury and Haverhill, and other places in Suffolk, a concern fell upon me to have a meeting at Saffron Walden, where I had a large and good meeting, though toward the conclusion, some professors made a little

opposition, but were soon answered and silenced. Yet notwithstanding, some Friends of Essex and myself being at an inn that evening, at supper, the bailiff of the town with a constable, or some officer, and others with them, came in and caused me to be taken away, set in the stocks, and there kept for some time in the night, before they let me out; and this without any breach of law or crime laid to my charge, but only out of a peevish humor, and their own envious wills, and to cast causeless contempt upon me and my friends. I wrote to the bailiff next morning, to know if he had any matter of fact against me, or any more to say to me; but he gave me no answer, so I went from there to Cambridge, and parts adjacent, and visited meetings in the love of God to and fro, in the countries, until I returned into Essex, to Colchester.

I had a meeting at Nayland in Suffolk, not far from Colchester, where the common people were so rude that they would not allow the meeting to be quiet within doors, but were ready in appearance, to pull down the house, which was but small; whereupon we drew out the meeting into a meadow ground, near the town's end on Essex side. The meeting was large, and I had a good and full opportunity to declare and demonstrate the living truth, with power and dominion given me of God, whose power was over all, and came so over the meeting, that it was quiet, though it was held for near three hours together, and the season then somewhat cold.

That morning before the meeting, the Friend of the house where it was appointed, at Nayland, came to me weeping, and under trouble, because some wicked fellows of the town had threatened to kill me if I had a meeting there. I pitied the man for letting in such fears from their threats, and told him I did not fear them,—I was given up in the will of God, in whose hand is my life is, and they should do no more than he permitted them; I doubted not that the Lord would restrain them and their envy and wicked purposes; and I would not disappoint the said meeting, nor alter the appointment thereof.

So I encouraged the poor Friend against his fears, and the Lord appeared for me, both in his service and in my own and Friends' preservation, by his divine power that gave us dominion and a quiet meeting, as before related. Let the dominion, glory and praise, be ascribed and returned to him forever.

After a few weeks the Lord again laid a concern upon me to have another meeting at Nayland, which, accordingly was appointed at the same Friend's house where the first was. But this second meeting we had in his yard, or little orchard, to which several Friends of Colchester, and other places in Essex and Suffolk, came. After we had for some time waited upon the Lord in silence, I was moved to stand up and preach the everlasting gospel, and testify against sin and wickedness, against the beast and false prophet, and against the devil's persecuting power and ministry. After I had for a considerable time declared the truth in the meeting, a person, a

pretended gentleman, came rushing in with a constable and rude company, and with violence pulled me down as I was declaring the truth; and some of them, with the constable, had me to Affington, to our old adversary, John Gurden, who, when I came before him, and he had information given him against our said meeting, presently began to threaten me. I desired his moderation to hear me before he passed judgment.

“You are a moderate rogue,” said he.

“Moderate rogue! said I; such language does not become a justice of peace, especially one professing Christianity.” He in great fury highly threatened me, by which I apprehended he then designed to lay me fast in jail again, as he had caused several of us deeply to suffer.

After his angry threats, he returned into his parlor, where his son and the priest of the parish were to consult.

In the interim I sat in his hall, waiting upon the Lord, and some Friends with me; and then I secretly breathed in spirit, that if it might stand with his will, he would not then permit that persecutor to send me to Bury jail, where I and others had so lately, and for a long time, deeply suffered; for his malice ended not with that hard imprisonment of ours. The Lord was pleased to answer my desire, and immediately to show me that he should not send me to prison, but cause me to suffer by stripes. I was greatly refreshed, strengthened, and given up in the will of the Lord, patiently to endure that punishment, which the invidious persecutor was permitted to inflict upon me, it being for Christ's sake and his gospel truth, wherein I had great peace and strong consolation in him, for whose sake I suffered.

Being soon called into the parlor before the said John Gurden, and his son Robert, the priest being present, I was examined by various questions, as of my name, country, and reason of traveling abroad,—to which I gave particular answers, and plainly told him and those present, how God would overturn them and take away their power, who were persecutors and oppressors of his servants or seed; and withal, that God would limit him, i. e. John Gurden, that he should not effect all his evil designs. He deridingly bid me “Go quake.” I said. Do you then despise quaking? He answered, “Yes; I do despise quaking.” I said, Then you despise that which the word of the Lord has commanded. “How prove you that?” said he. Bring me a bible, said I; a bible being there, I showed him Ezekiel, xii. 17, 18. Moreover the word of the Lord came to me, saying; Son of man, eat your bread with quaking, and drink your water with trembling, and with carefulness. Whereupon he could not vindicate his despising quaking.

His clerk took part of my examination in writing as he ordered him, which being read, John Gurden required me to sign it. I signified that it was deficient, or lamely taken.

He would have urged me to sign it; then I took the pen and began to write my exception against the deficiency of the relation, intending to sign the same at the bottom of what the clerk had written. But John Gurden plucked the pen out of my hand, and said I should write nothing but my name, which I positively refused; if he would not permit me to write my distinction, he ought not to impose upon me to sign a lame relation, which was but in part true.

When thus treated, and being ordered to withdraw into the hall, John Gurden and his son directed the clerk to draw up a warrant to have me severely whipped next day at Nayland, the town where I was taken and haled out of the meeting. John Gurden came out to me into the hall, and highly threatened me again, having a law book in his hand, which I took to be Dalton's Justice of Peace, and there read some abstract of an ancient statute or law, against vagrants, sturdy beggars, idle and dissolute persons, loiterers, peddlers, tinkers, etc., with the penalties, etc.: intimating to me that they had ordered me to be whipped at Nayland; and if I came again into that country, I should be branded in the shoulder for a rogue; but if I came a third time I should be hanged. I answered, I am no such person as you have mentioned; you are an old man, and going to your grave; you do not know how soon the Lord may put an end to your days, and disappoint you of your evil designs against me. However, I fear not your threats, if the Lord whom I serve require my return into these parts, I must obey him. "I know I am an old man," said he. Aye, said I, you are old in iniquity; it is high time for you to repent.

I was called to hear their warrant for my punishment read, and the constable to have his charge of execution given him, which being read, Robert Gurden charged the constable to see their warrant executed upon me to the purpose, at his peril. I told him I could expect no better from him, who falsely swore against Henry Marshall, an honest man, at the quarter sessions, that he said Christ was a vagabond; whereupon Henry was wrongfully fined as a blasphemer, and kept in jail with us at Edmundsbury, nigh twelve months; his words being most grossly perverted, quite contrary to what he said when taken prisoner; for being accused for a vagabond or vagrant, Henry told them, "That Cain was a vagabond, though he had a city upon earth; but Christ was no vagabond, though he had not whereon to lay his head."

How contrary was this to the information given upon oath against him at sessions. Which I believe the said Henry told us above forty times in prison, and which I also charged the said Robert Gurden with, one time when he came scornfully to look upon us, when we were in prison; and reminding him thereof before his father, when he charged the constable to see their warrant executed to purpose upon me: his father to excuse him, said he swore to the best of his remembrance. I asked him if he could not remember to speak the truth? Do men use to swear in court upon uncertainties, or doubtfully? With other discourse. The warrant being signed and sealed by the father and the son, I was returned back to Nayland, in order to endure the

execution thereof the next day.

That night I lodged at a public house, where I rested quietly in much peace.

A copy of the warrant and pass follows.

To all constables, and all other officers whom it may concern, and to every of them.

Be it remembered, that one George Whitehead, a young man about twenty years of age, who confesses himself to have been born at Orton, in Westmoreland, being this present day found vagrant and wandering at Nayland, in this county, contrary to the laws of this nation, and being thereupon brought before us, two justices of the peace for this county, is by us ordered to be openly whipped at Nayland aforesaid, till his body be bloody, as the law in such case enjoins; and he is to pass from there from parish to parish, by the officers thereof, the next way to Orton aforesaid, before the first day of June now next ensuing.

Dated at Affington, in this county of Suffolk, the 1st day of April, 1657.

Be it remembered, that this bloody warrant is grounded upon a notorious falsehood; for I was neither found vagrant nor wandering at Nayland, but in a religious meeting for the worship of God, and out of the same was pulled away with violence, and had before these two persecuting justices, who, contrary to their office and titles, have therein acted both contrary to law, justice, and to the peace of the nation, in causing an innocent person to be cruelly scourged, and that upon a gross and notorious falsehood.

The said warrant was the next day after its date, put into severe execution by a foolish fellow, whom the constable got to do it. When the constable had stripped me above the waist, which he could not persuade myself to do, but I let them act their own cruelty, the fellow, with a long, sharp whip, laid on so violently, that he cut and wounded both my back and breast with long stripes, tearing the skin and shedding blood, till some people present cried out to stop him. There was a great number present, it being in a public place, like a market place, in the street, and many wept to see their cruelty; yet, by the Lord's power I was enabled cheerfully to bear it all with patience, great comfort and rejoicing, even in the very time of the execution, whereby many were amazed and smitten. How many stripes I had, I do not well know, but remember that the marks thereof were to be seen a long time after, both on my back and breast.

It is also very memorable to me, how wonderfully the Lord, by his divine power, supported me, even while they were inflicting their cruelty and punishment upon my body; that even then my

spirit was raised, and my mouth opened to sing aloud in praises to the Lord, my God, that he counted me worthy to suffer for his Name and truth's sake.

When the hand of the executioner was stayed from beating me, by the cry or call that was made to stop him, I told the people that it was a proof of a minister of Christ, patiently to endure afflictions, persecutions, stripes, imprisonments, according as the holy apostle testifies; "Approving ourselves as the ministers of God in much patience, in afflictions, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults," etc., as it is more fully in 2 Cor. vi. And while I stood with my stripes and wounds naked before them, I then told the officers concerned, that if they had any more to lay upon me, I was ready and given up to suffer, it being in the cause of Christ, for conscience sake. I may not forget the wonderful power, aid and comfort which the Lord afforded me in that suffering condition, and the contempt my persecutors enviously designed to cast upon me and our friends by that sort of punishment, legally intended against rogues and thieves, but unjustly inflicted upon me, who was innocent.

This memorial is given to warn all justices and magistrates professing Christianity, against following the steps of those invidious, persecuting justices before mentioned.

The said execution against me, and the solemnity attending it being over at Nayland, I took my horse and was accompanied out of the town by the constable and others, towards Sudbury, to which town the officers with their said warrant and pass, attended me the same day it was executed.

The next day I was passed away from constable to constable, through Clare and Haverhill, into the edge of Cambridgeshire.

In Clare, when the warrant was produced to pass me forward, as ordered, several persons took great notice of me, and seeing me have a pretty good horse, and well habited, some said, "This young man does not look like a vagrant."

In the edge of Cambridgeshire, we met with a constable in the field at the harrow. And being made to understand it was about nine miles to have me the next way, as the warrant required, to another constable toward Cambridge, he thought it was too far for him to go with me, I said he need not trouble himself, I knew what way to go. He then freely delivered me the warrant, it drawing toward night. I returned alone to find some town where I might lodge that night, and not in the very way that I came, but somewhat more toward the south; so I rode about five miles that evening, to a town called Steeple Bumsted, in Essex, where I got lodging in an inn.

The inn keeper being drunk, and understanding I was called a Quaker, I heard him say, "I'll

kick him from stile to stile;" yet the next morning being more sober, when I paid for what I had, he parted friendly with me.

Then I rode to Halsted and Coggeshall, and after that to Colchester, and had several good meetings there and in those parts, and at Sudbury, and near Nayland, aforesaid.

The country being alarmed and awakened by my suffering, the people were the more stirred up to come to meetings, to see and hear the young man that was so cruelly whipped at Nayland. Many were tenderly affected and convinced, and the truth of our testimony was the more spread and prevailed; so that the dark wrath of man turned to the praise of God, and I had great joy and consolation in Christ Jesus my Lord, for whom I was freely given up to suffer, and he did powerfully sustain and stand by me therein; glory to his name, and dominion be to him forever.

I was more deeply concerned in spirit, to travel and labor in the gospel ministry in that country, and those parts where I had so greatly and openly suffered; and often to visit those eastern counties, being supported in spirit, and borne up above all the threats of branding and hanging, and above the envy of that cruel, persecuting spirit, and made to despise all the shame it could cast upon me, by reproach and contempt.

In the forepart of that summer, in the year 1657, meeting with my dear friend and brother, Richard Hubberthorn, we travelled together out of Huntinglonshire, from King Rippon to Leicester, and to Coventry, Warwick and Worcester, and visited Friends as we went in those places, having some meetings with them. In Gloucestershire, we met with our dear brother, George Fox senior, at one justice Grimes' house, a few miles from Gloucester, who with his wife and family, were convinced of the blessed truth, as it is in Christ Jesus, his life and power. In the court yard of this house, George Fox had a large meeting that first-day we met him. I showed the justice, John Gurden's bloody warrant against me, and the pass before mentioned, at which he wondered, and was offended at his cruelty, and minded to write to him against his persecution.

The next day I went to Gloucester, and visited those few Friends then in that city, which was very acceptable to them. After that, I travelled about in that county and Worcestershire, and visited the meetings of Friends mostly round the counties, and in part of Herefordshire; the word of Christ and of life, being plenteously in my heart and ministry, enabled me by his power largely to preach, to the convincing, strengthening, and comfort of many. Although I met with opposition and contention from some Baptists, and others in those parts, as in Gloucestershire, Lemster in Herefordshire, and in the city and county of Worcester, where the Lord stood by me, and strengthened me to stand against all the opposition and contention which I met with, or

stood in my way; for which I did, and ever shall bless that divine Power whereby I was called forth, and greatly assisted in the defense of the gospel of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ.

Our friend and brother, Thomas Goodyear, and some Baptists, had appointed or agreed to a meeting at our Friends' meeting place at Stoak Orchard, near Tewksbury, to dispute or discourse matters of difference about religion; and hearing of that appointment, I went to the meeting, which was held in a barn, where the said Thomas Goodyear and the Baptists, and a great company of people, Friends and others were met.

The Baptist preacher began in a kind of preaching, instead of arguing against our friends and principles; chiefly about eternal life, where he thought we might have it, that is—in the Scriptures—and not by following a light within; not confessing Christ or his light within, or in man, nor to his divine revelation or immediate teaching and ministry in believers; but placing all chiefly upon the Scriptures without, giving them the preference; insisting on John V. 39. Search the Scriptures; for in them you think you have eternal life, etc. Further, in his preaching on this subject, he mentioned these words of Christ: “The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life,”

From which the Baptist thus argued: “If the words of Christ are in the Scriptures, then there is spirit and life in the Scriptures, or we may find eternal life in the Scriptures: but the words of Christ are in the Scriptures, therefore spirit and life, or eternal life is in the Scriptures, or we may find eternal life in the Scriptures;” with more such doctrine,—upon which he continued preaching so long, I think near an hour, that after we had borne it so long patiently, I was constrained to call out to be heard, to give answer.

I obtained silence and liberty to answer, and then went through the heads of his objections, and gave him plain answers, refuting them particularly; yet sincerely owning the holy Scriptures, words and doctrine of Christ therein contained.

But the Baptist's argument and inference from Christ's words I distinguished thus: that though the words of Christ, as proceeding immediately from his mouth, are spirit and life when he speaks them, yet the same words as written and only read in the Scriptures, are not spirit and life; for many read his words without his spirit, and without a true understanding thereof. By his saying, “The words I speak unto you,” they are spirit and they are life; he does not say the words as written, much less the Scriptures or writings, are spirit and life. When Christ himself speaks to a soul, his words are spirit and life to that soul, for spirit and life are in his words, when he speaks them. But when another reads or speaks them without his spirit, they minister neither spirit nor life. For instance, Christ's calling to Lazarus when dead and buried, “Lazarus come forth;” his words were spirit and life to Lazarus. But let another read or speak the same

words to a man dead and buried, and cry to him to come forth, they will not raise him to life. With much more in the plain demonstration and evidence of truth, against his objections; on which he having made a large preachment, it required the longer time to answer, which I claimed as my right on truth's account.

The Friends present at the meeting were much satisfied in the defense which the Lord enabled me to make at that time, in vindication of the blessed truth, and the friends thereof. The auditory who were unprejudiced, were the better informed, and their understandings opened, and the opposer and his party quieted, and so went away; for the Lord's power went over all in that meeting, and truth gained ground, though it was through some contention.

At Worcester city I had a large meeting, where I met with some opposition, and one time from some professors, several persons of note being present; but their dispute was soon over, for they could not maintain their opposition, and the truth prevailed over them, to the convincing of many. The Lord was with me in my testimony for his name, and gave me suitable answers by his immediate power and spirit, opening matters in vindication of the truth of the gospel, which he had given me a dispensation of, to bear witness to his light and grace, and to turn people thereto in their own hearts and consciences. Glory to his excellent name and power forever.

I also had a meeting at a place called Clifton upon Teamd, about seven miles from Worcester; it was without doors in an orchard, and many Friends and others came to it, some Friends out of Hereforshire, etc. After I had some time to preach the truth, one John Dedicote, esteemed a minister or priest of Richard Baxter's communion, accompanied with several others of his brethren, and Colonel Birch, as mouth of the rest with him, must needs enter into dispute against me. His main point was to dispute against perfection and freedom from sin in this life, as not attainable to believers or saints on this side the grave.

One or two Friends out of Herefordshire, who had been professors, being convinced of the truth, one of them would undertake to answer the priest in my stead, being jealous of me, that I should not be able to deal with him because of my youth, and the priest being ready to run into his logic and syllogisms.

[Editor's Note: A syllogism is a form of argument in logic where a conclusion is derived from two supposedly true premises. For example: "All men are mortal. John is a man. Therefore John must be mortal." Syllogisms were very common in public debates in the time of the early Quakers.]

I forbore a little, and observed what essay the Friend would make to answer the priest's argument; on which I quickly saw I must step in and discourse the point, and not be put by.

After I entered upon the dispute, the Friends who had been afraid of my inability, concluded I should deal well enough with the priest, and quietly left the controversy with me to manage.

The chief point of doctrine John Dedicote insisted upon, was for sin and imperfection to continue in men during life; that perfection, that is, freedom from sin, is not attainable in this life; accusing even St. Paul with not being free from the act of sin while in the body, or upon earth; but could not lay any actual sin or act of sin to Paul's charge, or to the charge of any other of the saints who died in the faith, which they were not freed from before their decease. On the Scripture, Heb. Xii. 22, 23, those attainments therein mentioned, my opposer would not own to be attainable in this life, particularly their being come to the spirits of just men made perfect. He would have it construed, that was not in this life, or on this side the grave, arguing after this manner; if perfection be not attainable on this side the grave, then they did not come to the spirits of just men made perfect in this life, or on this side the grave: but perfection, that is, freedom from sin, or the act of sinning, is not attainable in this life; ergo, they did not come to the spirits of just men made perfect on this side the grave.

I clearly saw the fallacy of his argument in the second proposition and consequence, and the absurdity thereof, and showed the people how the apostle then wrote to those believing Hebrews, to whom he says: "But you are come unto mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, and to the general assembly and church of the first born which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect." That those believers were not then dead and in their graves when the apostle wrote thus to them, and told them they were come to the spirits of just men made perfect.

Can you think the apostle would write to them when they were in their graves? Then the argument was forced to be dropped, and some other arguments our opponent attempted, but made little of it, being fully answered and refuted, and matters cleared relating to the inward and spiritual work of Christ, and his being made manifest to destroy the work of the devil, which is sin and the pollution thereof.

I had then and oftentimes, great comfort, life, and strength given me in pleading the cause of Christ and his righteousness against the devil's cause and work of sin and unrighteousness; and the power of Christ and his counsel did really accompany and assist me in that service, to the confounding of such as would plead Satan's cause, for the continuance of sin term of life: in which work they were none of Christ's friends, servants, or ministers, whatever their professions or pretensions were.

In this dispute the Lord showed me both the fallacies of the adversaries' arguments, and gave me more discovery and sight of their kind of logic, and their crafty way of syllogizing, than

ever I had before; and quickly to find out fallacies, and many times absurdities, in their arguing, though they pretended mood and figure for it.

The Lord gave me to perceive when a proposition was false, and when the inference was unjustly deduced from a proposition, though in itself true; knowing that it is a principal part of true logic in disputations, to see that the proposition is true or truly stated, and that the consequence which naturally follows, so that they truly agree.

After the Lord was pleased to give me a clear understanding in this matter, between the true and the false way of arguing, between what was true logic, and what was falsely so termed,—as there is a true science and that which is falsely so called; then I was the more prepared to withstand all the crafty opposition of pretended logic and syllogisms which I met with, both at Cambridge and other places, and valued them no more than pedantry; and I could easily invert an adversary's absurdity back upon him by way of syllogism.

I have met with many priests very dull at their acquired artificial logic, and incident to run into many absurdities, while they would often contemn and deride us as illiterate men; but when we have discovered and refuted their ignorance and absurdities, then they would cry out against us, and asperse us as Jesuits. Thus I have been often treated by them.

After the said John Dedicote and his brethren could not stand their ground, to maintain his plea and arguments, for the continuance of sin and imperfection in the best of saints during life. Colonel Birch resumed the plea to maintain their point, contrary to the apostle John's testimony: "Whosoever is born of God does not commit sin; for his seed remains in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." Against this the Colonel argued from that article in the Lord's prayer; "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." "Therefore," said he, "they had trespasses that needed to be forgiven, and they were born of God, and were his children, because he was their Father when they said. Our Father which art in heaven," etc.

This seemed to be the chief argument that was advanced at that dispute, wherein he appeared to go beyond the priests: but I demonstrated the several states and degrees of children, of such as might call God father, of such children under Christ's teaching, or in his school, as needed to crave forgiveness of their trespasses; and of such children whom John wrote unto when he said; "I write unto you little children, because your sins are forgiven you." Had they need always to pray for forgiveness of their sins all their life time, after their sins were forgiven? No sure, that would imply that still they lacked forgiveness, or were in a state of condemnation when their sins were already forgiven them, which is very inconsistent. To which I did not understand any reply could be given by the Colonel or priests; who, after full discourse quietly withdrew from

the meeting.

But further, as to the point then in question, about calling God our father, etc.

1. He is so; and may be so called, as he is our Creator, having created man in his own image: “Have we not all one Father ? has not one God created us.”
2. God is owned to be our father when we are begotten by his living Word, into a measure of true and living faith in Christ, in order to be sanctified, being adopted or chosen to be his sons and heirs of eternal life; and being such children or sons by adoption, we have received the spirit of adoption, whereby, as young and weak children, we cry to him, Abba Father.
3. When we did experience but a small entrance into the work of regeneration or sanctification, and our hearts were turned toward God with tender breathings and desires to him, that the work might go forward and prosper, toward the completing of the new birth, then we could truly call God, “Our father, having begotten us again unto a lively hope.”
4. And though little children, whose sins are forgiven, through repentance and faith in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, are but weak, and may stumble and possibly fall, so as to get some bruises or hurts, yet the apostle John gives this encouragement to such; “My little children, these things write I unto you, that you sin not,” etc. Whereby he implies a possibility of a sinless state, as also our duty not to sin. And also not to despair of help and recovery, if any of us in that weak condition of little children, happen to sin, or get some fall, hurt, or bruise, as in these following words; “And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.” Such kindness and help has our Mediator afforded, if we do not sin willfully.
5. And furthermore, even such little children as are but weak and feeble, who experience a measure of true faith and repentance in the name of Christ, God is not willing to cast off, but to own them for his children and people; and if they be sincere in their desires and love to him, and do not draw back, but follow the Lord fully, yes, follow the Lord Jesus Christ in and through the work of regeneration, they will become his free born children; he will be an everlasting Father unto them, and they shall be his sons and daughters, and heirs of his heavenly kingdom forever.
6. God was pleased to esteem Ephraim his dear son and pleasant child, when he was humbled under his chastisement, and prayed to be turned, and repented; see Jer. xxxi. 18, 19, 20, And in that low condition the Lord extended compassion and mercy to him, or that tribe. Oh! the

bowels of the tender mercies of God, which move and are opened abundantly in his dear Son Jesus Christ, to the truly penitent and humbled, through his fatherly chastisements.

7. Now to consider the new birth completed or perfectly formed in Christ Jesus; such who are perfectly born from above, by the Holy Ghost, born of water and of the Spirit, so as to be thoroughly washed, sanctified, and made living to God in Christ, abide in him and sin not, as John said. Whosoever abides in him, sins not; and he who is so born of God, that he cannot sin, it is because he is so born, and his seed remains in him. To attain to this state and stature in Christ Jesus, requires a true travail of soul, a perseverance and growth in grace and faithfulness in the love of God, a being rooted in love, and a real stability in truth and righteousness. The true and heaven born child must be kept in the bosom of the Father,—and blessed be our heavenly Father, he has many such children, who will never forsake him who is the God of their salvation, and who will rather die than deny the truth. And, “Who shall separate them from the love of Christ?” And, “We can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth.”

Contrary to which apostolical doctrine, the said John Dedicote has also argued in a letter to me, dated the 23rd of the fifth month, 1657, though I had otherwise fully informed him, both at our dispute and by writing. His doctrine therein is much as before, against perfection and a sinless state in this life, signifying that his heart is saddened, because that perfection in this life and freedom from sin are preached up by us. And that no error does more sadden his heart than that doctrine, and that it is a soul ruining doctrine.

His doctrine herein is contrary to the holy apostle's doctrine; “Finally, brethren, farewell; be perfect, be of good comfort, etc.” The doctrine of perfection, therefore, was not to sadden their hearts, but to comfort them.

Neither could it be either an erroneous or soul ruining doctrine; and to affirm it to be such, is to reproach Christ and his ministry, who preached the same doctrine of perfection and holiness. See Mat. v. 48. Luke vi. 40. 2 Cor. vii. 1. Ephes. iv. 12. 2 Cor. xiii. 9. 2 Tim. iii. 17. Heb. x. 14. 1 John iv. 12, 13. 2 Cor. vii. 1. Psal. 1. 2.

This person whose heart was saddened, because of our doctrine of perfection and freedom from sin being attainable in this life, further affirms, that the righteous are not perfect in graces, and that faith is imperfect; that the faith of the best is sometimes weak and full of doubtings; and that faith and knowledge are both imperfect.

Observe. A heavy charge against the righteous, and even the best of men, together with their graces, faith and knowledge, without exception: but he has not affirmed this either from his own experience, or from holy Scripture; as himself being either one of the best of men, or one

really righteous, or one in the faith of Christ, whereby he purifies the heart of a true believer; for if by imperfect, he means sinful, or mixed with sin, or having sin, for he joins imperfection and sin together, he, with many others of his profession, who are but sinful ministers, do greatly err herein, as being ignorant both of the divine graces and faith of the righteous and best of men. It is no good sense to affirm their faith is sometimes full of doubtings; which is little better than to tell us, that the faith of the best is full of distrust or unbelief; which is contrary to the nature of that true and living faith which is the gift of God, which Christ is the author of, and a fruit of the holy Spirit. It is also called, the faith of the operation of God; and though there be a state of weak believers, who are weak in faith, or of little faith for a time, yet their faith grows and increases, who follow Christ, the author of true faith; even the most holy faith, which was and is the saints' victory. The degrees and increase of faith, prove not the faith of the best of men to be sometimes full of doubtings and imperfection. And a lack, as to growth, for some time proves not impurity in the nature of true faith, if it be but as a grain of mustard seed. It is a weakness on the creature's part to let in doubtings, fears or distrust, whereby there is a declining from the faith which is the gift of God, from whom every good and perfect gift comes. And men's declining or erring from the faith, is not the condition of any truly religious, much less of the best of men, whose faith and confidence stands in the name and power of Christ Jesus our Lord, in whom we receive the end, the blessed reward of our faith, even the everlasting salvation of our immortal souls.

In the same year and summer of 1657, I travelled and labored much in the gospel ministry in the several counties of Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Warwick, and in Staffordshire, and other parts; and visited many meetings in the love and good will of God, of which I had through his dear Son, received a true and living sense and experience, whereby I was strengthened and supported in great labor in the work of the ministry of the gospel; and in which love my service was very acceptable where I travelled among Friends and friendly people, I met with little opposition, disputes or controversies from adversaries, after those I met with in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and once at a meeting at Lemster in Herefordshire, at the latter end of the meeting; and at a meeting in Warwickshire, where a fierce Baptist began a contest about the Word, but made little of it; for it was observable how impertinently he opposed our asserting Christ to be the Word of God, which was in the beginning. And consequently, that the Word was before the Scriptures were written.

Against which the Baptist made exception from Christ's parable and construction thereof, Mat. xiii. 4, 19. Mark iv. 4, 15. Luke viii. 5, 12; concerning some seeds which fell by the way side, which the fowls came and devoured; that is. When any one hears the word of the kingdom, and understands it not, then comes the wicked one and catches away that which was sown in his heart; or, the devil comes and takes away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe

and be saved.

Hence it was objected, that the devil could not take away Christ out of their hearts.

And what then? Neither is it said the devil takes away the Scriptures out of their hearts, or that the Scriptures were sown in them, or in those several sorts of ground. Parables are not to be taken literally, nor always to be strained to a literal sense. Though the devil cannot catch away Christ out of men's hearts, he can catch away loose and ignorant hearers' hearts from the sense of the Word preached, when touched therewith, that they may not believe and be saved; which is too common among forgetful, barren hearers. And all that can be argued from there can never prove that the Word is not Christ, for that is to contradict John i. 1; or that Christ is not the Word preached, for that were to contradict his ministers, who preach Christ the living, eternal Word.

I had sometimes heard of one Rice Jones, and that he was at first convinced of the truth testified by George Fox; but soon turned aside against him and Friends, and gathered a separate meeting to himself, which some people termed proud Quakers, he making them believe he was divinely inspired, so as to open the spiritual sense of the Scriptures.

They kept their meetings at the castle at Nottingham.

When I was there on a first-day of the week, I was concerned to visit them at their meeting, where I sitting a while, and observing the manner of their exercise, and their attending to hear Rice expound Scripture to them; and seeing how dead and empty their devotion or exercise was, I was moved to bear a plain testimony against their deadness; not waiting to feel the power of the Lord to quicken them unto his spiritual worship, or to the same purpose and effect: and I had some discourse with Rice, upon which he seemed somewhat down in his spirit, and stopped from going on that time.

A woman present, who appeared to be a sober and chief hearer, seemed somewhat offended at my discourse with him. She said to me, "I saw a simplicity in you after you came among us, but now the subtlety is got up in you;" whereby she seemed to aim at, or own simplicity. However, my spiritual, living testimony then borne among them, had so much effect upon that woman and some others, that they were convinced of the truth, and left Rice Jones and his meeting and came to Friends; perceiving that, "though he had a form, he denied the power of godliness, and therefore they might well turn away from such."

And though the said Rice came to some few of our meetings afterwards, yet I never heard that he came to any true settlement in his mind, in the light or power of truth, or to a real love to

Friends. It is not men's professions or notions, gathered merely from the letter; but the spirit that begets true love, amity and unity.

Having labored in the gospel work in the counties and places before mentioned, and had many large meetings without doors that summer; and being, after my confinement and hard usage in prison in Edmundsbury, as before related, toward the latter end of summer, at a meeting without doors at Leicester, on a first-day, I became somewhat weak in body, and was taken sick of a fever, through some cold that had seized upon me, insomuch that I was at times very sick and weak, so that my recovery was doubted.

When the disease was at the height, or thereabouts, the Lord showed me that he would restore and raise me up again; my work was not yet done—I must yet live to bear testimony against the covetous priests, etc. This was so clearly and powerfully revealed and shown to me, that I was immediately revived thereby; and certainly believed, what I had cause before to question, that the Lord would restore me to health for his name and work, and people's sake.

The next morning I told some Friends where I lay, how the Lord had that night discovered to me that he would raise me up and restore me to health. My work was not done, he had yet more work for me to do; I must further testify against the covetous priests.

The Friends who heard me were very glad; and my health sprang up so speedily, that I recovered and grew better and better, and increased in strength every day; the time of that sickness being about two weeks before I recovered. The place where I lie that time, was at a town called Whetstone, near Leicester, at Thomas Pauley's or Parley, who with his wife, were honest, loving Friends, Quickly after my recovery, I travelled again in the work and service of the Lord through part of Warwickshire and Coventry, and northward through Yorkshire, visiting meetings as I could conveniently in my journey toward my own county, Westmoreland, the summer being then well nigh over and winter approaching.

I had several good meetings in Yorkshire, and got well to my parents' house in Westmoreland, to whom I was very acceptable, and received with great joy and kindness, having been above three years absent from them. In that space of time I was known to have suffered great hardships under persecution; so that I was to them as one risen or come from the dead, for they had esteemed me as one lost or dead, as it was in a contrary case to mine; “This my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost and is found,”

Though I never was a prodigal, yet accounted as one lost, until the Lord gave them a better understanding who had so thought of me.

In the time of my three years absence, the Lord secretly, by his power, removed those prejudicial and hard thoughts out of the hearts of my parents and relations, which the priests had at first influenced them with, concerning me and my friends, the people called Quakers. I was and am still fully satisfied, the Lord did secretly plead my innocent cause, after I was rendered as a miserable object, and given over for lost and undone; yet through all the Lord gave me faith and patience to bear all, and to outlive many oppositions, trials and exercises, as well as hardships; glory to his excellent name and power forever more.

Being returned into my native county, I had good opportunities to visit Friends at the several meetings which I had frequented, and where I was most known before I travelled abroad in the work of the ministry; as Sedbergh, Grayrigg, Kendal, Ravenstonedale, and Strickland meetings, and those parts in Westmoreland, etc., where I was joyfully received, and my ministry, given me of the Lord, very acceptable and to the great comfort of many innocent Friends, in whom their first love was fresh and lively, and which they retained to the end of their days.

I also rode over the sands to Swarthmore, in Lancashire, to judge Fell's, to visit Margaret Fell and her family, and the meeting of Friends at their house; where we were comforted together in the Lord, and in the great love and unity which our Friends there, and in those parts were then in, I also visited Friends' meetings through Cumberland, where I had not been conversant or much known before that journey; yet Friends being very loving in that county also, they very kindly received me and my testimony and service for the Lord God and his blessed everliving truth; he having made me zealously concerned for the promoting and spreading thereof, as well as he had enabled me to endure great suffering and hardships for the same, I remember in those days. Friends in the west part of Cumberland kept their meetings without doors, at a place on the common called Pardsay Cragg, not then having convenient house room to contain the meetings. It was very cold, stormy, snowy and sleety weather, at one of the meetings which I had there on the said Cragg; but as there are several sides of it, where sheep may shelter from the wind and storm, so Friends commonly took the same advantage to meet on the calmest side. And truly several good and blessed meetings I had at the said Pardsay Cragg, without doors, both in the winter and summer times, and some within doors, since our friends got a meeting-house built there.

Likewise our friends of Strickland and Shapp, and that side of Westmoreland, kept their meetings for some years on the common, both winter and summer, until they got a meeting-house built at Great Strickland. Our friends in those northern counties were greatly enabled to bear the cold and all sorts of weather, when they had their meetings on the commons and mountainous places, for several years at first.

It rained most of the time at some meetings, and we have been very much wet; yet I do not remember that ever I got any hurt thereby, the Lord so preserved and defended us by his power; blessed be his name, who enabled me and many others, to stand and to bear various kinds of storms and winds.

I travelled the former part of the winter, 1657, in Westmoreland, and also into the county of Durham to Newcastle and Northumberland, and thoroughly visited the meetings of Friends in those parts, and at Berwick upon Tweed; and returned back to that called the Holy island, by the sea side. The wife of the governor of the garrison or fort there, was a Friend; Richard Wilson, a Friend of Sunderland, accompanying me to Berwick and back again. We were kindly received in that island, both by the governor, captain Phillips, as they called him, and his wife; and that evening I had a meeting in the castle, with the family, where the garrison was kept, and among the soldiers, who were civil to us.

We lodged there that night, being kindly entertained; and the next morning the governor sent his man to guide us over the sands; being then convinced of the truth, he did the more manifest his kindness to us, and became a Friend; and some time after, he and his wife removed into Oxfordshire, to Banbury side, and so far as I know both continued Friends to the end.

In our return through Northumberland I declared the truth, and warned the people in several towns to repentance and amendment of their lives. Particularly in one town where they had a piper playing, and people about him dancing, by a hay stack in a yard; I rode up to them, and in the dread of the Lord warned them to repentance. The piper ceased playing, and he and the people present heard me quietly till I had cleared my conscience, and then parted peaceably from them.

But few Friends or meetings were then in that county. As we travelled to Berwick and back again, it was hard for us to get lodgings in some places, particularly at Alnwick and one other place in our return; we had but a small meeting of Friends at Berwick.

Our loving friend John Dove, and his wife and family at Whittlesey, kindly received me at his house, and at Northshields and Tynemouth, I had a meeting in each place.

Great endeavors were used for us to have meetings in Newcastle upon Tyne, while I was in those parts; but the mayor of the town, influenced by the priests, would not allow us to keep any meeting within the liberty of the town; though in Gateside, being out of the mayor's liberty, our friends had settled a meeting at our beloved friend Richard Ubank's house.

The first meeting we then endeavored to have within the town of Newcastle, was in a large

room taken on purpose by some Friends; William Coatsworth of Southshields with other Friends, being zealously concerned for the same. The meeting was not fully gathered, when the mayor and his officers came, and by force turned us out of the meeting, and not only so, but out of the town also; for the mayor and his company commanded us, and went along with us as far as the bridge over the river Tyne, that separated Newcastle and Gateside; upon which bridge there is a blue stone, to which the mayor's liberty only extends; when we came to that stone the mayor gave his charge to each of us in these words: "I charge and command you in the name of his highness the lord Protector, that you come no more into Newcastle, to have any more meetings there, at your peril."

On a first-day after, we met again within the liberty of the town of Newcastle, without doors, near the river side, where the mayor's officers came again and haled us away out of the liberty, on the bridge as before; and in Gateside we could enjoy our meetings peaceably, for which we were thankful to God.

Being thus forcibly disappointed of keeping any meetings within the liberty of the town, some Friend or Friends, agreed with the man that kept the Guild-hall, or shire-house, to allow Friends to have a meeting therein, it being without the liberty of the town. Although the keeper of the hall had agreed for the price, the priest of the town interposed to prevent our meeting after it was appointed there, and persuaded the keeper to break his word and bargain made with our friends; and to keep them out of the house he had agreed they should meet in, the priest giving him half a crown to go back from his bargain—as we had account given us—for the said keeper was constrained to show the cause of the breach of his agreement, in keeping us out of doors.

Being thus disappointed of the house, after the meeting had been beforehand appointed and the time fixed, we were necessitated to keep the meeting without doors, on the side of the hill near the shire-house, being without the mayor's liberty.

It was so ordered of the Lord, by his over ruling power, that we had not only a large meeting of a great concourse of people besides our own friends, but it was also kept quiet, and the spirits of the people subjected and brought under by the power and prevalence of the truth and gospel testimony, which the Lord our God gave me strength to bear in that meeting, in power and authority, for a considerable time, I believe, for two or three hours together; and my voice was raised to that degree, that some said I was heard from the side of the castle hill over the river Tyne, into Gateside, which ascends opposite to the other.

And considering, that besides many people soberly inclined who resorted to the meeting, there was also a great concourse of loose, rude and ignorant people, it was by the great mercy and

providence of God the meeting was kept in such a quiet state, especially seeing the priests and the mayor were so much set against us, as not to allow us to have a meeting within the liberty of the town, nor without the liberty within doors, where a priest could fraudulently prevent, as in the case of the poor man who was persuaded and bribed to break his word and bargain.

The peaceable posture, order and end of the meeting were greatly to our comfort, who were concerned for the promotion of truth therein, and it was to Friends' great satisfaction.

I remember the care of some persons that were present, some of whom seemed to be in office, to go along with me, and see me secured out of the hands of the mob, when the meeting was ended, and as I went along through part of the town of Newcastle.

That day's work and service is to me very memorable, as it was remarkable; and the fresh remembrance of the goodness and power of the Lord, ray strength and help in his own work and service, is still matter of comfort to me; and the more, in that I have a living sense of the continuance of the same divine goodness, love and power of the Lord God with me still, that did assist and help me through deep sufferings, trials and weighty undertakings in his service, for his holy name and blessed truth sake. O my soul, bless you the Lord, and let all that is within me praise his holy name, for his mercy endures forever.

About the time when we were disappointed of having meetings in Newcastle, being turned out of the town by the mayor, as related, there fell out a sorrowful occasion and trouble to many Friends, as follows: The aforesaid William Coatsworth being zealous for procuring a meeting in Newcastle, and being disappointed, he let in too much grief and trouble of mind, insomuch that it did somewhat discompose him, so that in a hurry he took horse to ride to London in all haste, to speak to Oliver Cromwell, Protector, to complain and make his case known against the mayor of Newcastle, as was supposed: but when got to Durham, he was stopped at his father-in-law's, John Joplin.

Being seen to be in some discomposure where he was detained, and brought under the hands of physicians, they gave him physic several times, until he was near his end; some reported he had physic given him within an hour before he died, though he had before denied the use of such carnal means, as he termed them.

Before he died he was better composed, and became so sensible as to declare several things for the clearing of the truth, and taking the blame upon himself, wherein he had missed his way and committed error, confessing to the just judgments of God which had been upon him; telling his father-in-law and mother Joplin, "It is the just judgment of God to bring me here to lay my shame open among you. Father and mother, I feasted and rioted with you, and when you were

light I was light and when you laughed and talked, I did so; and so betrayed the simplicity of God in me; poor William Coatsworth! And though you were friends to me in the outward, you were enemies to the seed of God in me.” Poor man, he was made sensible he had not stood in the cross, nor been so watchful as he ought to have been. And it was no doubt a mercy to him that he was made so sensible before his end.

He spake several times of George Fox, and said he was tender over the simplicity of God in him; and that Richard Farnsworth bade him labor to be little—little in his own eyes; “But,” said he, “I could never get to be little, little in my own will.” These things I had from several Friends that were with him; he died in a few days after he stopped at Durham, on the 8th day of the eleventh month, 1657. His example may be a warning to others who are convinced of the truth, to be low in their minds, little in their own eyes, and watchful to dwell under the power of the cross, to their own wills and runnings.

I was truly sorry for his afflicted and distressed widow, and in Christian compassion visited her, and had a meeting at her house at Southshields, and for a little time visited other meetings in that county of Durham, as Sunderland and other places: When I found myself clear in spirit of those parts, I took my journey to York, and forward pretty directly toward the south, as the isle of Ely, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, where my service as well as sufferings, had chiefly been.

After great labor and travel in many parts of the nation, as before related, in the second month of the year 1658, I was taken sick of an ague and fever, which began in Essex.

I labored under it for some days, and had several meetings until I got into Norfolk, though in a low condition, insomuch that my weakness so increased, I was constrained to stay at a Friend's house at Dysse, for two or three weeks. The Lord was pleased to recover and restore me by degrees, to my health and strength, although I was brought so very low by that sickness, that my recovery appeared to be by a special providence of God, who has been pleased to lengthen out my days for his name and work's sake.

By his over-ruling power and merciful providence, he has afforded me such manifest preservations, as that neither furious tumults, stonings, beating, cruel confinements, severe stripes, manifold labors, travels, nor sickness, have been hitherto allowed to shorten my days; for the Lord has prolonged them even far beyond my own expectation, many years ago, as well as to the disappointment of my cruel persecutors' expectations and desires.

Let my heart and soul in true humility, bless the Lord our God for his manifold blessings and eminent preservations, both inward and outward. Let him have the glory and praise of all, who alone is worthy forever more.

On the 12th day of the fifth month, 1658, as I was riding through the town of Hoxon, in Suffolk, and meeting with Edward Willan, priest of the town, I exhorted him to fear God and cease from iniquity. We fell into some discourse, wherein the priest accused me with seducing his flock from the church.

Having had a meeting in the town the day before, I asked the priest concerning Hoxon steeple-house—we being near it—if that was the church he spake of? He affirmed that it was the church. I demanded of him to prove that such a house made of wood and stone was the church of Christ. He pretended to prove it was, from 1 Cor. xi. 22; “Or despise you the church of God'.” which no way proves the church of God to be such a house as is made up of wood and stone; for the apostle in the very same place distinguishes between their houses and the church of God; in saying, “What, have you not houses to eat and drink in? or despise you the church of God?”

I told the priest that the church of Christ was built up of living stones:—that he granted; yet stood to maintain the outward house or fabric, as Hoxon steeple-house, to be the church; though he acknowledged that house was not built of living stones, but alleged that when the apostle spake of the church, he spake of the thing containing, for the thing contained, wherein he wronged the apostle's words and sense; for when the apostle wrote to the church of Christ, or to the church of God, he wrote to them that were sanctified in Christ, called to be saints, etc. 1 Cor. i. 2. And to the church which is in God the Father, and in the Lord Jesus Christ. 1 Thes. i. 1. It was the sanctified people, the saints to whom he wrote, not to a house of wood and stone.

I having detected the priest's error, he grew angry, for he appeared both ignorant and envious, and could not fairly hold an argument with moderation. In our discourse, his envy and rage rose to that degree, that he took my horse by the bridle and forcibly held him, having some of his followers presently to assist him, who, together with the priest, forced me to go before one Anthony Barry, who was called a justice of peace, and was a member of an Independent congregation or church, at Silam, near Hoxon, where one Habergham was pastor, who was esteemed a noted minister among that people.

The said Edward Willan the priest, gave some invidious information to this justice Barry against me, for calling him persecutor and the like, which was after he had assaulted me in Ploxon street, and threatened to pull me off my horse; though it was made apparent to the said justice, what an ignorant, invidious person the priest was, and what small and groundless occasion he took against me, to persecute me; and what a breaker of the peace the priest himself was, in his assaulting me in the highway; yet to gratify the envy of the priest, the

pretended justice, Anthony Barry, made a warrant to commit me to the county jail in Ipswich, under pretense of having reviled the priest, though he could not prove any law transgressed by me in my discoursing with the priest, which was fairly and Christianly done on my part.

But justice Barry pretended a law he accused me with the breach of, which he told us was a late act of Parliament, made for the punishment of vagrants, idle, loose, dissolute persons, and fiddlers, etc.; which he said, was only for Quakers. But it could not be true; for it was made against idle, loose, and dissolute persons, who might properly be termed vagrants or vagabonds. As for the people called Quakers, I believe there then were, and still are, as sufficient responsible men among them as himself ever was, if not more responsible, and of better reputation every way. And therefore it was very unjust in him to term the Quakers vagabonds or vagrants, telling us that the said act of Parliament made against vagabonds, was only made for Quakers, and thereupon to take an unjust, as well as illegal occasion to commit me to prison. However, he would make a mittimus to send me to jail, and they were so hasty to convey me there, that they would not allow me to take one night's rest, but being laid down on a bench, the very same night after I was apprehended, I was hurried away on horseback, and guarded by some men of the town of Hoxon to Ipswich jail. We rode most of that night, and got there a little after sun-rising, it being, as I take it, above twenty miles.

When I was delivered up to the keeper, I found three of our friends then in the common jail, where they put felons; one was William Alexander of Needham, an honest young man, and two other honest Friends, who suffered for non-payment of tithes.

I was very well content to suffer with such good company in the common ward, where both the place and our lodgings were but mean, having no other beds to lie upon than pease straw, yet we had sheets and bed clothes upon the straw. John Story, the keeper of the jail, although he had dealt hardly by George Rose and some other Friends before, yet he was far more civil to me, and Friends with me, than Robert Newton, the jailer at Edmundsbury had been.

I was detained there until the next quarter sessions, and then had before the justices, where the priest, Edward Willan, and another invidious person, Thomas Yellop, appeared to prosecute me, who gave a false, partial, and aggravated information upon oath against me; that I had reviled the ministry of the Word of God at a meeting at Hoxon. Yet he confessed in court, that he did not hear me at the meeting, for he was not at it, but took an envious bailiff, one Thomas Yellop, for his witness, who swore to the same thing the priest had done against me. But neither of these prosecutors would discover the occasion Edward Willan had given against me, by assaulting me in the highway, only for exhorting him, and disputing against his erroneous doctrine about the church, and his demanding tithes or wages for praying for people, as he had

before confessed. He would not inform the Sessions of these things, being conscious of them himself; but complained of my charging him as a persecutor, and testifying against his envy and malice, which was Cain's way, and which his own violence and abuse against me did evince he was justly chargeable with. This he took as a great affront, and reviling him, having come so far as from Hoxon to Ipswich, to prosecute me upon oath, which he could scarcely do without trembling, like one under some consternation, guilt, and great envy and revenge. Whether to gratify or pacify him, Edmund Harvey and others of the justices, were pleased to show the priest so much favor as to fine me twenty shillings, when a jury of ignorant men had brought in their unjust verdict or sentence against me, according to what the priest had falsely sworn; though I did clear my conscience in testimony against their persecution and partial proceeding against the innocent.

Being returned back to prison, I was there detained for some weeks, until their lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell died, in whose name I was committed, fined, and detained prisoner, as many others of our friends were in his days, and his son Richard Cromwell was proclaimed Protector in his place. In a short time after, my dear friend Robert Duncon, making application to his uncle Duncon of Ipswich, and to justice Edgar, or some of the justices on my behalf, I was set at liberty from that imprisonment, in which I was confined about sixteen weeks in all, which I esteemed but a small suffering in comparison with what I had undergone before.

I would give a further hint of priest Willan's envy and ignorance, with observations thereupon. Threatening some persons who were none of his hearers, to get a warrant from justice Barry for tithes or wages he pretended they owed him, he was asked in the presence of the justice, if it was equal a man should receive wages of such as he does no work for!' The priest answered, "I pray for all within my parish, or that have heard me, whether they come to hear me or not."

The priest and justice agreed in envy against the Quakers, though not in profession of religion, the one being a Presbyterian parish priest, and the other a member of an Independent church, who pretended to be better reformed and more refined than those parish priests and their churches were; pretending to spiritual gifts, as having the spirit of Christ, and the other not to have that infallible spirit; the one for a parochial church, without exception; the other for a select church, better qualified to receive their communion; but in the spirit of persecution, the priest and the justice were agreed.

Where any minister of Christ demanded tithes or money of any people for praying for them, we lack Scripture proof; nor have we any precedent or example in Scripture, that any of Christ's ministers did sue men at law, or procure a warrant from any magistrate to force them to pay tithes or wages, either for preaching to them or praying for them; for they both preached and

prayed freely, as Christ commanded, by the spirit of Christ Jesus, which they had received of him.

But the said priest Willan confessed that he was not called by an infallible spirit, and disowned having an infallible spirit in himself.

Whereby he showed that his preaching and praying proceeded from his own fallible, erring spirit, and not from the spirit of Christ, which is an infallible and unerring Spirit; and the Lord is against those foolish prophets that follow their own spirits, and have seen nothing. And “He that has not the spirit of Christ, is none of his.”

Now in what a sad case is that people, and how miserable are they who are led by such blind guides as follow not the spirit of Christ, but their own spirits? and what good will the prayers of those who are none of Christ's, do for people? and what a poor bargain have they who are forced to pay tithes or money for their prayers? This trade must surely cease and come to an end where Christ comes to be king, priest, prophet, minister and bishop over the souls of people.

After I was released from my imprisonment in Ipswich, I had very good and comfortable service in the work of the gospel ministry, in several places in the country, particularly at Trembly and Waltonsides, in Suffolk, and at Harwich, Manningtree, Colchester, and other places in Essex, where we had quiet and comfortable meetings; things appearing then for a little space, pretty easy towards us and our meetings, upon this new change in government of the Protector, so called. Still the persecuting spirit secretly remained, and the enmity thereof, in a sort of professing people and their teachers, against us the people called Quakers, and our religious meetings.

They would not willingly allow any people liberty of conscience but themselves, wherein they did not exercise a conscience void of offense, either toward God or men. Their own self-wills had greater sway over them than any just, equal, or tender conscience; for that would have had some tender respect to that just, equal and divine precept of doing to all men as we would be done by; which these persecutors' consciences had not, as may appear in the following account.

A meeting of our friends with me, being desired in the town of Ipswich, some weeks after my release out of prison, and our honest friend, Timothy Grimble, ship master, and Mary his wife, being willing and desirous we should meet at their house; accordingly on the 6th day of the eleventh month, 1658, we had there a good and peaceable meeting for the worship and service of Almighty God, and manifestation of his blessed truth. Many sober, honest people met, and the Lord's presence was known among us, but our adversaries in that town being still possessed

with prejudice and envy against us and our innocent meetings, were uneasy thereat, and minded to stir up persecution in their new Protector's name, to make him culpable and guilty thereof, as the persecutors had done by their old one; for the mal-administration of inferior ministers, has often brought reproach upon their superiors in government, when they have acted in their names. In pursuance of those persecutors' invidious designs against us, to prevent Friends having more meetings in Ipswich, the following presentment was devised and made against our friend Timothy Grimble.

“Ipswich, Suffolk.—The jury for his highness, Richard, lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, upon their oaths do present, that Timothy Grimble, late of Ipswich, in the county aforesaid, mariner at Ipswich aforesaid, the 7th day of January, 1658, and continually after, until the day of the taking this inquisition, has received into his house, countenanced, harbored and supported many dissolute, idle, loose, lewd and suspected persons, disturbers of the public peace, to the jurors unknown, commonly called Quakers, of evil conduct; does also keep disorder, evil rule and government in his house, to the great nuisance of his neighbors and other people of this commonwealth, and against the peace.”

The names of the said jury:—John Mall, John Hamont, Thomas Wright, jr., John Donty, Robert Stebbing, Thomas Grigg, Charles Wright, John Gray, John Jolley, Samuel Humphrey, Edward Keen, Richard Humphrey, Joseph Haymor, Richard Clopton, Peter Cole, Robert Grows, Edmund Darby, Thomas Brook, Richard Thurston, William Goodale.

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*An abstract of an answer thai was given to the said 'presentment, by some Friends concerned.*

“Let all sober people observe, how envious these jurymen and inquisitors have appeared against Timothy Grimble and his innocent friends.

“1. Their presentment being grounded and made up of false accusations, gross lies and slanders. The meeting that we had at Timothy's house, which was on the 6th day of the eleventh month, 1658, was a peaceable meeting, for the service of God and his worship, and the holy truth therein held forth; and no cause thereby given for these jurors or any others, to be offended at such a meeting, which was both according to the law of God, and owned by him, and also tolerated by the government. What enmity and malignity therefore, appears in such a scandalous presentment, thus to defame an honest man for allowing a peaceable meeting, and

entertaining quiet, innocent people at his house, who ought by law to be protected, and not punished for the exercise of their religion, or conscience toward God.

“2. As for those called Quakers, whom Timothy Grimble received and harbored in his house, who they say are unknown to the jurors, some of their names are, Robert Duncon, Robert Grassingham, Joseph Scott, and George Whitehead; and they are well known to be no dissolute, no idle, no loose, no lewd or suspected persons, nor disturbers of the public peace, as they are unjustly defamed and reproached in the presentment given upon oath against them. But very well known to be sober, honest persons, and also responsible where they live.

“What a large conscience did appear in these jurors, who could swear against men unknown to them, and upon oath present them so highly criminal, as being no other than dissolute, idle, loose, lewd, and suspected persons, while unknown to these their accusers and swearers against them.

“3. We ask you jurors, wherein and when did we, called Quakers, whom you have sworn against, disturb the public peace? And what evil conduct can you charge or prove against us? If you cannot prove the matter of fact charged, and by you sworn against us, be ashamed thereof. Surely those magistrates, or that court, that have such a presentment as yours, ought not to trust your oath to the same, but to examine you of the particular crimes or accusations charged, you having grossly and very unjustly defamed Timothy Grimble and his friends called Quakers, for which you are accountable. Let the magistrates inquire of you, what suspected persons he has harbored continually, and try you upon what ground you have cast such aspersions upon sober, honest men. And what disorder, evil rule and government, does Timothy Grimble keep in his house? What sober, honest neighbors will say that they are annoyed or disturbed by disorder, evil rule or government, kept at Timothy Grimble's? Produce your proof for these accusations; or else like forsworn persons, forever stop your mouths, and let shame cover your lips. For have you herein acted either like rational men or Christians, or done as you would be done by? Would you take it well to be presented or indicted for entertaining your friends, as you have presented and grossly misrepresented Timothy Grimble for harboring his friends?

“4. Many can witness, that the meetings we had at Timothy Grimble's house in Ipswich, were peaceable and lawful. And those priests and professors who were offended at them, had done more honestly or discreetly if they had come to our faces in our meetings to have manifested openly, what lewdness or errors were practiced or held forth by any of us, if they could; rather than to go behind our backs, to instigate the magistrates against us, without any just cause. But the deceit of those who have thus acted in the dark against the innocent, is made manifest to their shame; and the more by grossly abusing innocent people, as the said jurors and their

abettors have done.

“5. To swear at all, is a transgression against Christ's doctrine. But to present lies and slanders upon oath, to cause the innocent to suffer, is a much greater offense, which these jurors have done against Timothy Grimble and his friends, called Quakers, who are witnesses against all idleness, disorder, looseness, lewdness, and evil government whatsoever; though thus the wicked have made lies their refuge, and like men mad with envy, have forged such slanders against honest men, as are contained in the said presentment. So that we may even say with the prophet; ' They that were mad against us, were sworn against us.'”

Thus I have abstracted the substance and greatest part of our original answer, which was signed by Robert Duncon, George Whitehead, and Robert Grassingham.

George Whitehead's letter to the inhabitants of Ipswich, both teachers and people.

Oh! the pride, high-mindedness and self-conceitedness which abound in this town of Ipswich! What feignedness, hypocrisy and will-worshipping are among the professors, who ignorantly worship an unknown God according to their own wills; who have gotten words of the saints, and of the Scriptures of truth, but the light which led the saints they are out of, and have grieved and quenched the spirit of it, when it has appeared in their own consciences to convince them of sin and evil. So that their sin remains in them, and the curse of God has power over them that live in pride, deceit, superstition and ungodly conduct.

There has been a zeal stirring for the Lord in several of them formerly, according to what they knew; but now much deadness, coldness, emptiness and barrenness is over their spirits, and unrighteousness has the pre-eminence among them. The teachers have gotten the saints' words to speak of, and are painted over with an empty profession, and a feigned humility, but inwardly are proud, covetous and rebellious—resisting the truth, and make a trade upon the Scriptures; teaching for hire, and divining for money.

Such the true prophets of God cried against; “For they are as women that sew pillows under people's arm holes, speaking peace to the wicked, where there is no peace. And they are as foxes in the deserts, that are greedy, waiting for their prey.” And much willfulness and slavery is in the proud and covetous priests, and in many of the professors, who will not bring their deeds to the light, neither dare they try all things, as the apostle commanded, but cry out against us called Quakers behind our backs, but would not be tried face to face, nor allow others to come and try us face to face; though for the truth's sake several of us have suffered among them in prison. Many of the

teachers incense the people against us and that which we profess, which is the truth; so are they kept in slavery and ignorance. And you professors in Ipswich, Christ may justly say to you; "I was a stranger and you took me not in. I was in prison among you, and you visited me not: inasmuch as you did it not to these little ones that believe in me, who have suffered among you, you did it not to me."

Yet this from the Lord I declare unto you, that the day of visitation and the kingdom of God is come nigh unto you; and woe unto them that still walk on in filthiness, resisting and hating the light, which is God's witness in their own consciences, which does convince them of sin and evil, and reproves them when they commit it. Take heed how you always resist the truth, since the Lord has warned you; lest you perish in your iniquities, and your blood be upon your own heads, and upon your teachers, who retain the wages of unrighteousness, and exercise lordship over you, to keep you in ignorance of the true light in yourselves, which Christ has enlightened you withal, which all must come to and follow, who ever come to be saved from the wrath of God, and from the curse which abides upon the children of disobedience.

Away with all your empty professions, and let such as name the name of Christ, depart from iniquity. Away with all your proud and covetous teachers who preach for hire, who make a trade upon the saints' words, which were spoken forth freely from the Spirit of truth. Away with all your pride, gaudy attire, and superfluity of naughtiness, the Lord is grieved with you because of these things; you are not come to the modest apparel outwardly, nor to the true adorning inwardly, which is not costly nor gaudy attire, but it is that of a meek and quiet spirit, which is of great price with the Lord. "How long shall the Lord wait to be gracious to you," and yet you resist his grace, which has appeared unto you, to teach you to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly and godly in this present evil world. How long shall the Lord warn you, and yet you repent not? How oft shall he call you, by his light in you, out of your filthiness, and yet you answer him not, nor hearken to his voice? How often shall the Lord knock at the door of your hearts, and yet you open not? Yet know that his spirit will not always strive with man: but it comes to pass, that they that will be filthy, must be filthy still. Therefore as you love your souls take warning.

From a friend to all that desire to know the Lord, and one who for the gospel's sake, has lately suffered fifteen weeks, or above, in Ipswich prison.

Suffolk, the 1st day of the Ninth month, 1658.

George Whitehead.

It was observable, that notwithstanding all the persecutions, reproaches and calumnies which we suffered under, and were multiplied against us, especially against such of us as did bear a public testimony for Christ Jesus and his truth, and against the corruptions of the world; yet the truth gained ground and prevailed, and our numbers and meetings increased in those days of the commonwealth, so termed. The covetous, proud priests were sorely offended and disturbed, that so many of their hearers and benefactors left them and resorted to our assemblies; and though we that were public preachers of righteousness, had some respite and ease from open persecution in the years 1658 and 1659, after Richard Cromwell was set up for Protector, yet in his short time, those priests ceased not their persecution, by grossly misrepresenting and reproaching us in their pulpits and congregations, to incense people against us, and to deter and affright them what they could from hearing us. But their pulpit noise against us made the indifferent, unprejudiced people the more inquisitive and willing to come to our assemblies to hear and see for themselves, and not to be so credulous and partial as to take all evil reports or reproaches upon trust against us, our doctrine or ministry, as too many have unjustly and injuriously done, to their own disgrace and shame.

When in various places I heard the priests thus busy in preaching against us, a weighty and conscientious concern fell upon me, to send to several of them, particularly to desire a meeting with them in their public places or parish churches, fairly to discourse matters of difference, or what they could object, before their hearers. By this method I obtained several meetings with them in public, whereof I may give some instances. A. D. 1659.

Some priests in the county of Kent being busy against us, especially in the east of Kent, about Sandwich and those parts, and particularly Thomas Danson, priest at Sandwich, agreed to have a public meeting with some of our friends, which we being given to understand at London, Richard Hubberthorn, Samuel Fisher and myself, agreed to meet those priests at Sandwich; and took our journey into Kent near the beginning of summer.

On the day appointed, we were at Sandwich the former part of the day; by that time we were come to their parish church, so called, it grew so thronged with the concourse of people, that it was something difficult to crowd in; however, they made way for us. The priests got up near the pulpit, and we into a pew opposite to them.

Thomas Danson chiefly appeared to manage their controversy against us and our Christian principles, of the universal light of Christ in men; perfection being attainable in this life, through the power of Christ within; justification through sanctification; and about the

Scriptures of truth and true use of them, by the help of divine illumination, as truly owned and professed on our parts.

Richard Hubberthorn and I, for some time, took our turns to answer the priests' objections and questions, according to plain Scripture, which I much endeavored to hold the priests to, and to use what plainness I could for the people's information and edification.

Whereupon Thomas Danson appeared very uneasy, and seemed desirous to be at his logical way of syllogizing, and endeavoring to put me by, called upon Samuel Fisher to undertake the dispute in his logical manner of syllogisms, calling out, "Mr. Fisher, Mr. Fisher, pray do you undertake the dispute, or answer me by syllogism." Samuel being unwilling to take it upon him, humbly signified to the people that the controversy being so well managed by his friends, i. e. Richard Hubberthorn and myself, he had rather be silent; telling them that these his friends, meaning us two, were heavier upon the priests' shoulders than he could be, disputing logically with them; for that would tend to keep things more hidden from the people's understandings, and thereby the priests would hide themselves the more out of their sight.

Howbeit, the priest making a noise, to prevent me calling out to Samuel Fisher, he at last condescended to answer him in a logical way, in mood and figure as they termed it, wherein they held the debate for a while, and Samuel put the priest hard to it, about good works, namely; about the works *of Christ* in man being meritorious, or deserving justification and salvation; not opposing the works or sufferings of Christ, without man, being meritorious.

Thus arguing, if evil works deserve damnation, then good works deserve justification; still intending Christ's works: but evil works deserve damnation: ergo.

Hereupon the priests would needs compare him to Bellarmine, though very unjustly; for Samuel only pleaded for such good works as were wrought by Christ, and which he is author of, as deserving, in order to man's salvation and peace with God, as knowing, "That by grace through faith we are saved; not of ourselves, it is the gift of God; not of works, lest any man should boast; for we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God has ordained that we should walk in them." And to be sure as saving grace is the gift of God, so is true faith and God's work by Christ, and it is a good work too; and also it is our duty and work to believe, when by the grace of God it is given us to believe; as when we receive that faith of the operation of God, and are really in the obedience of faith.

Their chief objection was, that sanctification or holiness wrought in man by Christ, is imperfect in this life, therefore not justifying. Which is still to invalidate Christ's work, and lessen his dignity, or worthiness and merits, who did not deserve to suffer, but to reign and rule. He did

not merit his sufferings, but his kingdom and glory therein; and his merits redound to our justification and salvation, both by his own obedience to the Father, and also by his work of righteousness and sanctification, which he perfects in us, if we “continue in the faith grounded and settled.”

The dispute between Samuel Fisher and the priest about good works, and the priests' undue reflections thereupon held for sometime longer.

In the meanwhile, by the crowd and pressure of the people the pews were much broken, and great damage done among their seats; insomuch that the next day a meeting was appointed in their school house, a pretty large room, where they could not do such damage, if any.

In the school house the priests got together again, Thomas Danson being foreman still. We entered upon the same subjects which we had in discourse the day before, about Christ and his light, and work of grace within, or in men, in order to their justification and salvation, who truly believe and obey him in his light given them.

While I was bearing my testimony to our Lord Jesus Christ, in order to open some weighty and essential matters relating to salvation, according to the holy Scriptures, that I might clear my conscience to the people, the priests in a short time appeared impatient to hear me out, and occasioned a great confused noise among their rude hearers, insomuch that I was constrained to raise my voice very loud, to be heard for a little time, greatly desiring I might have opportunity fairly to clear my conscience; but the opposite party were not so civil, neither did the priests quiet their hearers, as in point of civility they ought to have done.

But I have often observed in disputes with many of the priests, when they were put closely to it to keep to the point under debate, and they have been pinched, they have used that trick to raise a confused noise and clamor among their hearers, to prevent the truth from being heard, and to hide themselves from being detected; which treatment is but a poor piece of artifice and school craft, as persecutors use to send soldiers with their drums into our religious assemblies, therewith to make a hideous noise, that we might not be heard by the people, either in preaching the gospel, or in public and fervent prayer to Almighty God, in the name and spirit of his dear Son Jesus Christ. But, however, we knew that he has often heard us to our comfort and great encouragement, when opposed and encompassed by the greatest noises and tumults of our adversaries and persecutors; they could never stop the ear of the Almighty, which is always open to the prayers of the righteous. But to return to the account of our treatment at the said school house.

While the rude company made a noise to prevent my being heard, our friend Samuel Fisher

endeavored to procure silence, that he might be heard, using the words of Job, "Permit me that I may speak; and after that I have spoken, mock on." Sometimes he and the rest of us obtained some respites of silence and were heard, being sensible of the Lord's power and truth that was with us, and our sincere endeavors being for the discovery and advancement thereof, so that we were made the more easy and comforted in our spirits; though our adversaries, the priests, were left uneasy, retaining their prejudice and enmity against us, and our testimony for the truth in life and power. Thomas Danson afterwards published an envious book to reproach us, falsely styled, "The Quakers' folly made manifest to all men;" whereby he gave occasion to expose his own and his brethren's ignorance and envy, as they are clearly manifest and detected in our answers; one entitled, "The voice of wisdom uttered against antichrist's folly," etc. By George Whitehead, printed A. D. 1659; and more especially in Samuel Fisher's ample answer to Thomas Danson and others of his brethren, entitled, *Rusticus ad Academicos*, etc., first printed A. D. 1660, unto which I never heard of any answer or reply made or attempted by any of them.

Having notice that Henry Johnson, priest of Emneth in Norfolk, had preached or exclaimed publicly against the people called Quakers and their principles, I wrote a few lines, which I sent him by our friend Richard Sanders, for a public meeting with him in their parish church, so called, before his auditors, that we might have a fair dispute or examination of those points or matters wherein we differed.

To this he consented in a paper which he returned to me, to which he annexed seventeen questions to discourse upon, and which he supposed might, with my answers thereto, contain our opinion and persuasion—as his terms were—and to which he expected my answer, yes or no, to each question respectively, at the time of our public discourse.

Because we had not opportunity to discourse, or examine all his questions at that one meeting which we had, and he having enough of dispute at that time, I think convenient first to insert all his questions with particular answers, and then to give some account of the chief parts of our discourse. The questions and answers follow.

1. Whether Jesus Christ has a body glorified in the heavens, distant and distinct from the bodies of his saints here below? Answer. Yes, as a glorified body is distinct from natural or earthly bodies, and heaven from the earth.
2. Whether the blood that Jesus Christ shed at Jerusalem, is the blood that believers are justified by? or whether he dies in men for their justification? Answer. Both sanctification, forgiveness of sins, cleansing from sin and justification, are sometimes ascribed to the blood of Christ, and to the spirit of our God and our Lord Jesus Christ, which effects, works and manifests the same

in all true believers.

But here are two questions put for one; the first appears not a scriptural or proper question. Where does the Scripture use those words: “the blood that Jesus Christ shed?”

Seeing it was by wicked hands he was put to death, and his blood shed upon the cross? Yet as the blood of Jesus Christ is put for, or represents his life which he laid down, and even the offering and sacrifice of himself at Jerusalem, that was a most acceptable sacrifice and of a sweet smelling savor to God, for mankind, respecting his great dignity and obedience, who humbled himself even to the death of the cross, and gave himself a ransom for all men, for a testimony in due time.

And his sacrifice, mediation and intercession, has opened a door of mercy for mankind to enter in at, through true repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, which are wrought in man, that obeys his call thereto, only by his grace and good spirit, unto sanctification and justification, in the name and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, who of God is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption, God's great love toward mankind was manifest in his dear Son Jesus Christ; “And God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.”

The latter question of the second, is groundless and perverse. “We know neither Scripture nor minister among us that asserts Christ's dying in men for their justification, but that once he died, i. e. for our sins, and rose again for our justification, and that he ever lives to make intercession, and death has no more dominion over him. Christ Jesus lives and reigns forever in the power and glory of the Father, although some are said to crucify to themselves the Lord of life afresh, and to tread under foot the Son of God, which cannot be taken properly in a literal sense; but by their contempt of truth, and doing despite to his spirit of grace, as some malicious apostates have done, not to their justification, but condemnation.

What any of us, or among us, have spoken or written of the seed or word which the Son of man, Jesus Christ, sows in men's hearts; and of the same being oppressed, or suffering in some, or as being choked with worldly cares and the love of riches in others, these and many such like expressions may have been used, according to the parables and similitudes which Christ Jesus himself spake, relating to the kingdom of heaven, the Word or Seed of life and grace, sown by him in men's hearts; and likewise of grieving, vexing and quenching his spirit in them, by their disobedience; and yet by all these, never to intend or mean, that Christ himself properly dies in men for their justification, although his spirit be both grieved and quenched in many; and many do lose the true sense of his living Word in themselves, by allowing their soul's enemy to draw out their minds from that seed, that word, that light, that spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ in them,

which, in itself, in its own being, never dies. The immortal Seed, the immortal Word, is of an immortal Being, though many be dead thereunto, in their trespasses and sins.

3. Whether this individual body of ours shall be raised at the last day? Answer. This appears an unscriptural, as well as an unlearned and dubious question, if not anti-scriptural. If he means this our natural, numerical body of flesh, blood and bones, the testimony of the apostle Paul may both answer and refute his question, the resurrection body being not natural, but spiritual, not flesh and blood, for they cannot inherit the kingdom of God. 1 Cor. xv.

And how is this earthly body of ours individual, if it may be divided and parted into pieces and small particles, or dissolved into dust, or in the earth, or in the sea, or in the fire into smoke or air. Nevertheless God gives a body as it pleases him, and to every seed his own body; yes, to every soul its own proper body.

4. Whether any saints before death are sinless? Answer. Yes, those saints whom Christ sanctifies and cleanses from all sin, as he does all true and constant saints.

5. Whether the Father, Son and Holy Ghost be three distinct persons or substances? Answer. We do not find them so termed in holy Scripture, i. e. three distinct persons, but rather three witnesses, or three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and Holy Spirit, and these three are one. 1 John v.

6. Whether water baptism be a gospel ordinance? Answer. No, it was typical, and rather legal, as it was John Baptist's ministration, than a gospel ordinance, though sometimes condescended unto in the church's infancy. But if by water baptism be meant sprinkling infants, that is no real baptism, nor gospel ordinance, but rather rantism, and a tradition of the Romish church, than any gospel ordinance.

7. Whether the Scriptures be the rule of your faith and life, or the Spirit? Answer. We do not find that the Scriptures call themselves the rule of faith and life, but refer us to the Holy Spirit to be our guide into all truth; and they testifying of Christ, as he is the way to the Father, even the Way, the Truth, and the Life; we do therefore truly esteem the holy Scriptures as a subordinate rule or directory, directing us to Him who is the principal or chief guide, way, or rule of faith and life; and we do sincerely own that the holy Scriptures contain many divine rules, precepts and doctrines, relating to our most holy faith and life.

8. Whether children of darkness have the light of Christ within them? Answer. They have some degree of light from Christ in them, though it shines in darkness, as a light shining in a dark place, otherwise they could not come, nor be translated out of darkness; they must believe in

the light, in order to become children of the light; and therefore Christ exhorted, “Believe in the light, that you may be children of the light.”

9. Whether that act be sin in a saint, which is a sin in a wicked man? Answer. The act of sin and every transgression of the law of Christ, is sin in fact, in whomsoever it is; but the saints, or sanctified in Christ, who dwell in him, do not allow or allow sin to dwell in them, nor themselves to commit it; “he that abides in Christ sins not.”

10. Whether there be any moral difference in days under the gospel? Answer. No, not as was under the law in the observation of sabbaths, which were a shadow or sign to Israel, and are ended in Christ, in whom is the faithful soul's everlasting rest or sabbath. Yet there is, and may be a religious or an occasional difference made in days under the gospel, as where a day is or may be regarded unto the Lord; especially in religious assemblies, and particularly as was and is practiced on the first-day of the week among Christians.

The apostle Paul was tender in this case, about one man entertaining and regarding one day above another, and another man's esteeming every day alike, and about meats, so as not to judge one another; “But let every man, said he, be fully persuaded in his own mind;” yet condemns the Jewish and superstitious observation of days, meats and drinks, etc.

11. Whether it be a duty for Christians to celebrate the Lord's supper with bread and wine? Answer. In this question, the man begs the question—imposing and taking for granted their bread and wine, as ministered by the priest, to be the Lord's supper—which I must deny until proved by Scripture. For that which was properly the Lord's supper, was when he and his disciples eat the passover; Luke xxii. 15. There is no necessity now for Christians to celebrate that supper, for that was both celebrated and fulfilled by Christ himself. And the passover and outward bread and wine, or cup, were typical and shadows fulfilled by Christ Jesus, and in him, unto his true spiritual believers and followers, who are spiritually partakers of Christ the substance, being come to receive him to sup with them, and they with him; Rev. iii.

12. Whether an outward mission, by imposition of hands, with fasting and prayer, by men so ordained themselves to the work of the ministry, be according to gospel order? Answer. An outward mission by these, without an inward divine call, is not sufficient to authorize any one to be Christ's minister or ambassador; neither have they any divine authority to commissionate ministers by their imposition of hands, fasting or prayer, who themselves have no divine call nor authority given them by Christ thereunto; but who rather conclude that his immediate call, ministry and prophecy are long since ceased.

13. Whether the Scriptures be the ordinary means to beget faith in men's hearts? Answer. No; 1.

Not without the help of the holy Spirit and light thereof, to give the true understanding of them. 2. Not the ordinary means to beget faith in men's hearts in a limited or universal sense, as if none might believe without them, for God may make, and has made, use of other means than the Scriptures, as by preaching the gospel in spirit and power. 3. By his works in the creation. 4. Chiefly by the word of faith in men's hearts, which is the efficient cause of begetting and working faith in them, being the faith of the operation of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, the author and finisher of our faith. 5. Nevertheless the holy Scriptures being opened and applied by the Spirit, are often made instrumental to beget faith in many men's hearts.

14. Whether the Scriptures need any interpretation and reconciliation? Answer. Yes, to the first part; many Scriptures are mysterious, allegorical, parabolical and prophetic, and need to be interpreted and opened by the Spirit from which they came, but not by man's human or fleshly wisdom, or private interpretation; for the natural man perceives not, nor can he know the things of the Spirit of God, they being spiritually discerned. Neither need the holy Scriptures reconciliation in themselves; for they are harmonious, and do agree, and the Scripture cannot be broken.

15. Whether the divine nature of Jesus Christ be united to the bodies of believers, as it was to his own personal body in Judea? Answer. No; although true believers who are Christ's members, are spiritually united unto him, and members of his body, and made partakers of his divine nature; yet not in the same fulness as it is in Him who is the Head, in whom it has pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell.

16. Whether the pope of Rome be antichrist, and papacy anti-christian? Answer. Yes, to both.

17. Whether George Whitehead will take the oath of abjuration, and renounce the pope? Answer. George Whitehead has not a renunciation or denial of the pope or popery now to make, having never owned either, but always utterly denied and disowned both: although George Whitehead may not swear to such renunciation, because for conscience sake he may not swear at all; either by that oath of abjuration, i. e. to renounce the pope, etc., or by any other oath, lest he should fall into condemnation; Mat. v. James v.

Thus I have conscientiously answered the foregoing questions, some of them more largely, for the information of others, than they deserved, and more particularly than we could have time then to dispute, for we could go through but a few of them; and Henry Johnson had enough of disputing upon those which we did discourse.

*A brief account of our discourse on some of the foregoing questions follows.*

Being met in their parish church, as it is called, the 2nd day of the first month, 1659, and a great auditory present, among which were many of our friends called Quakers, the said Henry Johnson being minded to enter upon his interrogations or questions, before cited and answered, I gave a direct answer to his first question; For the glorious body of Christ is in heaven, according to the answer herein given thereunto.

But he not getting any advantage against us by my direct and plain answer, being according to Scripture, took occasion to accuse our friend Richard Sanders, with affirming that Christ has no body; when the contrary was manifestly proved, namely; that Richard Sanders confessed that Christ has a glorious body, i. e. peculiar and proper to Christ himself, according to Scripture language; but he questioned Henry Johnson's words about Christ's body in heaven being a human body, consisting of flesh and bones. It was the word human, as applied to Christ's glorious body in heaven, that was most questioned by Richard Sanders and others, as not being a Scripture term in this case; and though it be applied to mankind, yet it is made relative to man; in relation to the earthy part, as humanus relates to humus, the ground or earth, out of which man, the first Adam, was taken and formed. And therefore that term was thought too low to ascribe to the second Adam, or his glorious body, who is the Lord from heaven; not an earthly man, but a heavenly man, both morally and essentially. Howbeit, could we have had Scripture proof to ascribe human to the heavenly man, Christ Jesus, in his glorified state, it had decided the question; but that we could not have from our antagonist when it was desired, though he promised to prove it by Scripture. But instead thereof, he rather imposed his own assertion and repetition of the same thing or term in question, instead of Scripture proof. And when that course would not do, then he fell to his logic with his syllogisms. Using such expressions as these: Christ is in heaven in our human nature he took upon him, of our flesh and blood, etc.

Question. But is he in heaven now in the self same manner as he was on earth in the days of his flesh, when he took upon him the form of a servant, and was made like unto us in ail things, sin only excepted? This question he added for further consideration.

I suppose no real Christian will presume to affirm, that Christ as he is now in heaven and glory, is still like unto us in all things, both in his glorious body, matter, manner, and form thereof, sin only excepted.

For if any should thus affirm, it would from there follow, that they might as well say we are now so like unto Christ Jesus in his glorified state in heaven, and our bodies now on earth, are so like unto his glorious body in heaven, that they need not be changed or fashioned like unto

his glorious body; Phil, iii. 21; for that they are already, if he be still like unto us in all things, sin only excepted; Heb. ii. 17, and iv. 15.

Surely no true Christian here on earth can entertain any such high thoughts of himself, and of his low earthy body, as that he is so very like Christ and his glorious body. But rather let us all be humble and self-denying, and little in our own eyes, and exalt Christ above ourselves, and let him have the glory and pre-eminence in all things; to whom be glory and dominion, forever and ever. And let us all who profess Christ and Christianity, labor to be truly conformable to his example of humility, innocency and truth when on earth, that we may be with him, where he is, and see his glory in heaven.

I have somewhat enlarged and argued here upon this point, more than was required in our said discourse, or was then necessary: for the first question was not much insisted on by either side, being fairly answered at first; although the parson was willing to show us some of his skill in logic, when he argued thus:

Argument. If Christ had a human body of flesh and bones when he was upon earth then he has a human body in heaven, consisting of flesh and bones; but Christ had such a body upon earth, ergo.

The first proposition, or major part of the argument being general, is liable to just exception; taking it for granted, that whatever Christ had when he was upon earth, he must needs have the same now in heaven; and then he must have natural food, meat, drink and clothing in heaven, such as he had upon earth; and sometimes suffer hunger in heaven as he did upon earth; but these we have no reason to believe concerning him, now in his glorified condition. He is far above all these human necessities, weaknesses and suffering state. And this our opposer's logic aforesaid, being still short of Scripture proof, was the less taken notice of.

Upon his fourth question he showed his opinion and doctrine, which was. That none of the saints are freed from sin while upon earth; yet that they were freed from the guilt of sin.

Answer. This doctrine is expressly contrary to the apostle's doctrine; "But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, you have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life." And it is very inconsistent to teach that men may be free from the guilt of sin, when they either continue in sin or do commit sin; or to tell them they cannot be free from sin during life, and yet not guilty of sinning; which is no better doctrine than to tell them, a man that is addicted to stealing, or often steals his neighbor's goods is not guilty of theft, or is no thief, though he actually steals. What miserable stuff were this? And what untempered mortar is it, thus to daub and soothe up sinners in their sins, and to strengthen the hands of evil doers—as

false prophets did—that they may not repent and forsake their sins? The priest also, in opposition to my answer for freedom from sin, said that the believers mentioned in Heb. xii. 22, 23, the being come unto mount Zion, etc., and to the general assembly and church of the first born, etc., and to the spirits of just men made perfect, was not while upon earth, but in heaven and at the resurrection. As if Paul wrote to the believing Hebrews when they were dead, or not upon earth, but after their departure into heaven; but herein the priest was out, and beside the text.

And further, to oppose the doctrine of perfection, of sanctification, or freedom from sin in this life, the priest objected, that our preaching that men may attain to perfection before death, renders the mediatorship of Christ useless.

But in this he was mistaken also; for Christ Jesus, by his mediation and intercession, has in great love and mercy undertaken to be our advocate with the Father, to reconcile us to God; and to obtain mercy, reconciliation and peace for mankind, he made intercession as well as suffered for the transgressors; and also he appears in the presence of God for us, making intercession for the saints, according to the will of God, and that is for their preservation and help, that they may be preserved and kept from the evil of the world; and also if any man sin, or be overtaken with a fault, and not willfully, we have this our advocate with the Father, “even Jesus Christ the righteous.” And as he said unto Peter, “I have prayed for you, that your faith fail not.” Therefore that true believers in Christ may attain to perfect sanctification and freedom from sin, by his power, help and assistance, even in this life, is so far from rendering his mediatorship useless, that it renders the same very useful, for their safety and help, against the temptations of satan and sin.

The eighth question was chiefly insisted upon, and controverted about the light within, or in man, upon which question Henry Johnson affirmed, that the children of darkness, or wicked men, as drunkards, swearers, etc., have no spiritual light in them; quoting Isa. viii. 20.

In answer whereunto, I insisted on John i. 9, That was the true light, which enlightens every man that comes into the world; which is spoken and predicated of Christ the eternal Word, the Son of God, as being that true light. And also verse 4; In him was life, and the life was the light of men; which life and light therefore is not natural, but spiritual and divine. It was the life that was in him, which was the light of men.

To which the priest replied, that Christ enlightens every man, as in John i. 9; but it is not with the light of grace, but with a natural light: and that the life of Christ, or which was in him, which is the light of men, is not the light of grace, but a natural light.

Another priest then present to help him, in like manner imposed his opinion, which was, that the wicked have the light of conscience, but not any saving, spiritual light in them.

Thus far both these ministers, then esteemed priests, imposed their own opinions against the light, and contrary to holy Scripture testimony also; and instead of Scripture proof, that the light in every man is but natural, a light of conscience, and not spiritual, nor the light of grace, etc. The said Henry Johnson again fell to his logic, and thus syllogized from Isa. Viii. 20 as follows:

Argument. If there be some men or persons in whom there is no light, then there are some men who have no spiritual light in them; but there are some men in whom there is no light, ergo.

I inverted his argument against himself, thus; If there be some men in whom there is no light, then there are some men in whom there is no natural light; which is a plain contradiction to what he has asserted, namely: that there is a natural light in every man; and his advocate, the other priest, confessing that the wicked have the light of conscience in them. Therefore by their own confession, there is some light in every man; so that the argument drawn from having no light in them, falls to the ground by their contrary confession. And as to that in Isa, viii. 20; To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them. This appears not according to the Hebrew text, as I told them they might see in the margin of many Bibles; Heb. No morning, instead of No light; wherein there is a manifest difference between no light and no morning; and they would not affirm that there is no light before morning, or in the night time in the creation: and to apply the matter to a spiritual sense, respecting the divine Word or Light in man, the same appears and shines gradually until the darkness be dispelled and past. The same Word shines as a light in a dark place, even in men's hearts, until the day dawn and the day star arise in them. It is the just man's path, who obeys and walks in the light, and shines more and more until the perfect day.

David esteemed this divine Word, the Light, to be as a lantern to his feet, and a light unto his path; and surely the use of a lantern is before the morning, chiefly in the night time.

After I had fairly evinced the priest's contradiction, from his logic or argument, before cited, and insisted upon the Hebrew note on Isa. viii. 20, No morning, etc., the said Henry Johnson and his assistant soon ceased disputing and withdrew, the assembly continuing peaceable, and generally serious and attentive to the conclusion; insomuch that I had a good opportunity to demonstrate the truth among them, the Lord standing by me and assisting me with his divine power and presence, and his gospel testimony; glory to his worthy and excellent name forever. Thus we, i. e. I and our friends, and the assembly quietly parted, without any reflection or words of contempt against us, or any of us, or our principles, that I can remember.

Although those of the Presbyterian or Independent priesthood were gotten so high in those days, especially the parish priests, that they would scarcely allow any of us to bear testimony for the truth, or to preach the gospel of Christ, according to our gifts, in their public assemblies, or places termed parish churches, without either imprisonment or being violently haled or pushed out of doors, as we have been often so uncivilly treated, and hardly used through their instigations, and incensing people against us, though we have patiently heard them out, and stayed until they had ended sermon and prayer; yet some of them, even of their priests, have many times come into our meetings, and without cause made opposition and disturbance, as persons envying our liberty of meeting religiously together to worship God, according to our conscientious persuasions, wherein they did not by us as they would be done by themselves. Howbeit we would not allow any violence to be done to any of them in our assemblies, but civilly treated them, and soberly answered their objections, and with meekness endeavored to inform their understandings and rectify their mistakes concerning us and our principles; finding that many of them were ignorant thereof, and had taken up reproaches against us from reports of others, which were false and malicious.

I had a meeting at Stephen Hart's, by the palace yard at Westminster, which was thronged with more than the room could well contain, of our friends and other people of various sorts and ranks. The meeting continued quiet until near the end, and the people appeared generally well satisfied with the clear and plain testimony the Lord enabled me to bear.

At last a priest, one Thomas Smith of Cambridge, keeper of the University Library, stood up and made opposition, with a charge against the Quakers, as being heretics, such as bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them; applying and perverting that Scripture, 2 Pet. ii. 1. But he could not produce any proof, or color of proof against the Quakers, or any of us, of any such heresy or denial of the Lord that bought us—who gave himself a ransom for us, and for all men—either by our doctrine or conduct. Contrariwise we were, and still are deeply obliged to confess him both in doctrine and practice, for his great love in giving himself for us, to redeem us from all iniquity, and for his light and grace given us for that end, that we might receive and experience that redemption through his blood, which he obtained for us: therefore, blessed be his glorious name, we are far from denying the Lord that bought us.

The said priest being more confident and loud in his charge than proof, and there being a denial of Christ the Lord in practice, as well as in doctrine, I turned the same Scripture, 2 Pet. ii, upon the priest, which he brought against me and my friends called Quakers, reading to the people several verses of the same Scripture, to show what teachers they were who denied the Lord that bought them, whose ways were pernicious, verse 2; and many shall follow their pernicious

ways by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of; verse 3, And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you: whose judgment now of a long time lingers not, and their damnation slumbers not. And verse 14, Having eyes full of adultery, and that cannot cease from sin; beguiling unstable souls: a heart they have exercised with covetous practices; cursed children; verse 15, Which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam the son of Bosor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness.

Upon my urging these Scriptures, 2 Pet. ii. against the covetous priests' practices, which are against Christ and his doctrine, and consequently a denying of him; as also against their doctrine, whereby they teach, that no man can be freed from sin in this life, so that they cannot cease from sin while they believe they cannot or may not be freed from it in this life; hereby they also deny the Lord that bought them, in their denying the end and purpose of his purchasing or redeeming mankind, and of his being made manifest to destroy the works of the devil, and to redeem us from all iniquity, for which end he gave himself for us. See 1 John iii. Titus ii.

I say, upon my urging the Scriptures cited before, against the covetous practices of priests, and their not ceasing from sin, but rather arguing for it in this life, our dispute at that time soon came to an end,—the priest had enough of it, for his unjustly charging the Quakers with damnable heresies; even as unjustly as the persecuting Papists were wont to brand the martyrs with being heretics when they were minded to murder or destroy them.

But the controversy did not end here; the said library keeper some time after, had a mind to try his strength and skill further against us.

The same summer, A. D. 1659, the Lord laid it upon me to visit Friends' meetings in Cambridgeshire and the parts adjacent; at Cambridge I had several meetings, both on first and other days, where, to one meeting on a week-day, the library keeper came and made some opposition, his design still being to prove me a heretic, but with no better success than he had before at Westminster. He made poor work of it; and yet seemed willing to have another public meeting, on purpose to dispute the point with me, which I readily granted, and he soon withdrew out of our meeting for that time.

I and another Friend went to the mayor of Cambridge, to desire liberty to have our meeting for the dispute at the guild-hall, suspecting Friends' meeting house would not contain the people. The mayor being a moderate man, and his wife a friend of ours, after some consideration signified to us, that he dared not let us have the guild-hall, for fear the scholars would do some mischief when a great number of them were gathered together; but he told us, that if we met at

our own meeting-house, which was over against Sidney college, he would send his officers to keep the peace, or to see the peace kept; which accordingly he did.

On the day of our meeting to dispute, came our learned antagonist, Thomas Smith, attended with a great company of scholars of several degrees, bachelors and masters of art, etc.

He again resumed his old charge against us of being heretics, having had time to study some new arguments for proof, and then proceeded with his logic and syllogisms, and I did not at all go about to prevent his essay that way, being willing to watch him, and see what he would make of it; and thus he attempted it: He that is a Papist is a heretic: But you are Papists, i. e. the Quakers. Ergo, you are heretics.

George Whitehead: I deny the minor, or second part of the argument; that is, I deny that we are Papists.

Priest: He that refuses to take the oath of abjuration is a Papist: but you refuse to take the oath of abjuration, ergo, you are Papists.

G. Whitehead: I except against the major, or first part of the argument, and the consequence deduced therefrom, for the following reasons: Christ has commanded us, Not to swear at all, etc. Mat. v. 34. And his apostle James likewise forbids all swearing; saying, "Above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by earth, neither by any other oath: but let your yes be yes; and your no, no; lest you fall into condemnation."

Now suppose the apostle James were here present, to maintain this doctrine against all swearing, or taking any oath, he must refuse the oath of abjuration, because it is an oath; he must obey the doctrine of his Lord and Master, Jesus Christ. Then by this person's way of arguing against me and the Quakers, he would be charged with being a Papist and heretic; for by refusing to swear at all, or to take any oath, he must refuse to take the oath of abjuration. And thus the argument consequently unjustly charges or reflects upon Christ and his holy apostles; to which the priest could make no reply, to clear himself from the absurdity and fallacy of his argument and false charge.

For their doctrine of the trinity, to prove three separate persons in the deity, about which he questioned us, he argued thus: That when Christ was baptized, one person, i. e. God, was in heaven; another person, i. e. his Son, was in the water, and the Holy Ghost descending upon him like a dove, ergo, etc. Another argument was. If they are three he's, then they are three persons; but they are three he's, ergo. What rare logic was this! What absurdities may not be drawn from this logic? But when he failed in his arguments so that he was detected, some of

the scholars who stood by would say to him, "Take that off;" by which I understood they meant, drop that argument, or let it fall, or evade it, and slide off to some other point or argument, for so he did. And this I have found to be the shift and subterfuge of many adversaries, to evade a fair disquisition of the question or point in hand; insomuch as I have often called out upon them, to keep to the point in hand, and not to evade nor use shifting.

This is a brief account of the discourse at that meeting, though much short of what passed; the matter in question, and several points being answered more fully in print, in two books, the one entitled. Truth defending the Quakers and their principles; wherein fifty-five queries or questions, put forth by the said Thomas Smith, who was esteemed the author, are answered. The truth of it is, he appeared so ignorant of our principles, that it seemed necessary for him to make such large inquiry into them, more for his own better information, than for our confutation.

The other book of ours in reply to him, is entitled. The Key of Knowledge, not found in the University Library of Cambridge. The said Thomas Smith pretended to great learning or reading in some oriental tongues, and as I remember, I have seen in print some boast of that kind.

Our dispute was managed in such moderation, that the meeting was continued pretty quiet to the end, the scholars being generally civil. And we being sensible the truth gained ground at that meeting, we came off very easy and comforted in our spirits; i. e. George Fox, junior and the rest of Friends and friendly people, who were present with me at that time.

In the town of Cambridge, I had in those days many good meetings, and effectual service for the truth, and the meetings generally were peaceable, while I was concerned in them, the scholars being more civil towards me than we could expect, for many of them would stand to hear the truth quietly, with great attention, and I often felt the Lord's power over their spirits in our meetings.

Some time after I left them, I heard that Friends met with disturbance, and some of them with hard usage at their meetings, from the scholars, which I was sorry to hear, it being partly occasioned by some striving with them, not in the wisdom of God, as I understood, by several circumstances related by Friends, whereby it plainly appeared, that the devil, or evil spirit, might be more easily raised and let loose than subdued or bound.

I have observed, that when I and other public brethren have, in a meeting in that place, met with opposition, if it was by any person of understanding or learning that would deport himself soberly, we could have some fair and quiet discourse, tending to information and edification,

and the scholars present would demean themselves with attention, as persons willing to receive instruction.

But if a vain, irreligious person came into a meeting to scoff, deride, or laugh at us, or show contempt against our Christian testimony, such a one, as a base and wicked instrument of satan, would raise levity or laughter in some of the loose scholars, to their hurt and shame.

One time an old priest, who was naturally blind, as they said he had been from a child, and some company with him, came into our meeting, and behaved themselves pretty civilly; the priest seemed to be a learned person, and would undertake to question me about the trinity, as to my belief therein. I answered him in terms of holy Scriptures: "That I really own, and believe the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are the three which bear record in heaven; the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one," according to the doctrine of John the evangelist; 1 John v. 7.

But this answer would not please the priest, and I would give him no other. I would not enter into a dispute about three distinct "persons," which the priest would have drawn me into; I not being free in point of conscience to give other names or appellations to the one true God, than what are given in holy Scripture.

I did not esteem it safe to use unscriptural, or metaphysical, or school terms, in such a sacred point as that of the deity, but to keep to plain Scripture terms and language.

Whereupon the priest being disappointed of an answer in his own terms, replied, "You say there are three; three what?" said he.

I answered again. The Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. The priest still unsatisfied, repeats his question again; "Three what?" quoth he. I answered again. What the Scripture terms them, namely: the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one, as before. Nothing would satisfy the priest but to say three "persons." If to his reiterated question, "Three what?" I had answered witnesses, that would not have done, though more Scriptural than the other; for God is witness, Christ the faithful witness; his Spirit bears witness, being the three that bear record, or witness, in heaven, the Father, the Word, and Holy Ghost. This was an answer safe and sufficient, from which I therefore would not be moved, but insisted upon in Scripture terms; whereupon that dispute quickly and quietly broke off.

There was a people termed Manifestarians, Universalists, or Free-willers, and Mooreans by some, at Lynn Regis, in the county of Norfolk, and some other places adjacent, about the Fenn country. They had that name, Mooreans, given them from one Thomas Moor, their chief

minister or leader, who proselyted and gathered a congregation to himself, and ruled over them while they were under his ministry. Among them I have been very credibly informed, there were several persons who had living desires and stirrings in them after the Lord and his power, insomuch that some of them were drawn at times to meet together somewhat privately, to wait upon the Lord God, to feel his power and spirit to move in them, to pray and to utter words for edification, and exciting one another to an inward and spiritual worship or devotion toward God. Of this some of them accordingly came, in measure, to have some touches and sense inwardly, which brought fear and trembling over them; and Thomas Moor coming to take notice thereof, endeavored to discourage and quench those motions and effects of the Spirit which appeared in them, as a very tender hearted, ancient Friend, who had been one of them, gave me a large, substantial, as well as circumstantial account, from certain knowledge and observation. Upon being thus discouraged, and their good motions and desires opposed, some turned into a loose spirit and corrupt notions; from which several were reclaimed afterward, when truth was demonstrated to them in the spirit and power of Christ, and their minds thereby turned to his light in them, to wait for an inward sense of his power.

After some time, Thomas Moor, jr., son of the said Thomas Moor, became a preacher among them; also John Horn, who had acquired some more school craft and cunning than the other two. He was set up and promoted as a parish priest at Lynn, but as destitute of the knowledge of the light and mystery of Christ, and of his power, as the other; for they are all joined in bitter opposition thereto, as held forth by our friends, especially when several deserted them and left their communion. John Horn became very invidious, and made it much of his business with his brethren, the two Thomas Moors, to revile, asperse, and calumniate the people called Quakers, by words and writings.

They made a great noise against us in and about the town of Lynn, to stir up enmity in the people against the Quakers, rendering them deceivers, antichrists, heretics, accursed, etc. And when some of us have been at Lynn to visit our friends' meetings there, John Horn has set up papers in the market, or some public place near it, against us, to represent us as odious as he could; thereby showing as bitter envy and malice, as some of the popes by their bulls have expressed against the protestant martyrs, condemning them as heretics, etc.

Our friends perceiving John Horn's and Thomas Moor's great bitterness against us, and how implacably envious they showed themselves, it was thought fitting that some of us should endeavor a public meeting with them at a certain time, when George Fox the younger was with me at Lynn, which was the 15th day of the seventh month, 1659, and which accordingly we endeavored for and obtained.

We met in John Plorn's parish steeple-house at South Lynn in Norfolk, where he and Thomas Moor, jr., joined in the controversy with us and our principles, relating to a sinless perfection of saints and true believers in Christ, in this life attainable. This was opposed by them, but affirmed and vindicated by us, according to holy Scripture, in behalf of Christ and his manifestation and work, which is to destroy the works of the devil, and to restore and save man from sin and condemnation.

In opposition to which they pleaded and affirmed, that sin is a natural heritage in believers, while they live, or so long as they are here upon earth; contrary to the state of the new birth, or of him who is born of God, in whom his seed remains; 1 John iii.

A perfection of sincerity toward God, they would seem to own, but not without sin; alledging Asa king of Judah, that his heart was perfect with the Lord all his days; 1 Kings XV. 14. And yet Asa was reprov'd by the prophet Hanani, for not relying on the Lord his God, but on the king of Syria; 2 Chron. xvi. 7. Our opposers argued from all his days, wherein his heart was perfect with the Lord, to include all the days he lived when he was king; when it is plain Hanani the seer, shows him his imperfection in his reproof; "The eyes of the Lord run to and fro throughout the whole earth, to show himself strong in the behalf of them whose heart is perfect towards him. Herein you have done foolishly; therefore, from henceforth you shall have wars. Then Asa was wroth with the seer, and put him in a prison house," etc.

Herein Asa's imperfections appeared; and not only in these, but also when he was greatly diseas'd in his feet,—he sought not to the Lord, but to the physicians; verse 12. It is clear then, that all his days, wherein his heart was perfect with the Lord his God, were those days wherein he relied on the Lord, prospered and prevailed over his enemies, and had real dominion given of the Lord, so long as he relied on him; for after he declined, so as not to rely on the Lord, nor seek unto him, thenceforth the judgment of wars must follow and attend him; then all his days, i. e. his good and prosperous days were over. It is plain the seer's reproof has in it such an exception, that as though in one part of the history it is said, "Asa's heart was perfect with the Lord all his days," the other part is excepted, "When he relied not on the Lord, and was reprov'd by the seer, the honest prophet."

By this our opposers aforesaid, urging Asa's perfection of heart with the Lord all his days, it was easily perceived what sort of perfection they owned; not a perfection of sanctification or holiness, but such a perfection wherein sin must be their natural heritage during, life; or wherein they may do foolishly, commit sin, decline from the Lord, and not rely upon him, nor seek to him in a day of distress or affliction.

But this was their great imperfection, far short of that perfect sanctification, by the spirit and

power of Christ, and perseverance in his grace, and abiding in Christ, which we believe and plead for; the grace of God in and through Christ Jesus, being sufficient for those blessed attainments, and that good end aimed at and pursued by all the faithful in Christ Jesus.

But these our opposers and adversaries, would not be persuaded to quit possession of their natural heritage during life, but rather would accuse and vilify us, for our Christian testimony to the power and work of Christ within, to regenerate and redeem us out of the sinful nature, and fit and prepare us by a perfect sanctification of the Spirit, for a better inheritance than that of sin and iniquity.

No, these men who pleaded for sin being their natural inheritance, and remaining even in believers while they are here, though they confessed their nature to be a filthy nature, yet as filthy as it was they flatter themselves it is restored in Christ. But how is it restored in Christ, if it remain filthy all their days, or while in this life? What fellowship has righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion has light with darkness? To prove sin a natural inheritance in believers so long as they are here, they quoted Rom. vii. 17, "It is no more I that do it, but sin that dwells in me." Which proves not that to be Paul's state all his life time, much less that sin was his natural heritage so long as he lived, for he knew deliverance; "he was made free from sin and condemnation, and more than a conqueror through Christ that loved him."

"The light wherewith Christ enlightens every man that comes into the world," they would not confess to be spiritual, as immediately shining from Christ the divine Word. But Thomas Moor said, "It is both natural and spiritual;" though they never could make that out, of that light spoken of John i. 4, 9.

It being the life which was in the Word, which was and is the light of men from the beginning, and which is therefore divine and spiritual, and not man's natural reason; which in one sense they esteemed spiritual, as opposed to the natural body; but in another sense natural, as opposed to divine light, though the Word be divine.

I perceived, that though these men and their followers would be esteemed above many others of the parish priests and church people in matters of faith and religion, yet they were as carnal in their notions and faith, and as ignorant of the true light and eternal Word, as other literal professors, who were strangers to the mystery of Christ in spirit, and of the true, living faith in Christ. They were as much addicted to plead and argue for sin in believers for term of life, and also as envious against us, for our preaching up the gospel Urim and Thummim, i. e. light and perfection, the light of Christ in man; and perfection of sanctification, as any other of our invidious adversaries; and as ready to pervert and misconstrue our words, and to draw false inferences and implications as any of them, especially John Horn, to beget or raise prejudice

and hard thoughts in people against us.

Many persons, by vain imaginations and high thoughts, intruding into things not seen, and matters too high for them, and their human wisdom and carnal reason, do thereby darken themselves, and cloud their understandings from the true sanctifying and saving knowledge of God, and mystery of Christ Jesus, and his power and spirit; who is mighty and powerful in himself, and in his saints and members, who being spiritually united to him, and thereby made members of his body, are one body in him; so that there is one body and one spirit: Ephes. iv. 4.

There are other persons who in their singular opinions, strange or new notions, exalt themselves in their own conceits above all others, and thereby cause contention, strife, and divisions, many times either about words, critical distinctions, or things not essential to salvation, or to the saving knowledge of the true God, or his son Jesus Christ; and thereby such endeavor to make divisions and parties to themselves, that they may be exalted as sect masters. But the judgment of Truth has gone forth against all such, and will stand over that exalted, arrogant spirit forever.

“Without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.” Now this mystery of godliness being a great mystery, without controversy, it is best for professors of Christianity to keep out of controversies as much as they can, and shun perverse disputes of men of corrupt minds, with all their unlearned and unprofitable questions; and rather to turn in their minds to the light of Christ,—retire to the simplicity in him, and watch therein to understand this great mystery of godliness, both with respect to God manifest in the flesh, and justified in spirit.

The manifestation and power of Christ in the flesh was excellent in him, and therein by his most precious precepts and doctrine, his wonderful works and miracles, his blessed example and sufferings, he declared and showed forth the holy design of Christianity. To be truly sensible of his being justified in spirit, is very precious, and arises from a true, spiritual, living knowledge and experience of Christ in spirit, and as known after the spirit, and not after the flesh, or any fleshly knowledge of him; for as wisdom is justified, commended and praised of her children, by the fruits thereof in them, so Christ is justified and exalted in spirit, in his faithful followers, his holy generation and children.

God and his great power was wonderfully manifest in Christ in the days of his flesh, in many respects, and he showed various signal tokens and signs of his power in those days, as in his wonderful miracles, laying down his life and taking it up again; transfiguration in the mount, so as his face did shine as the sun, etc. Mat. 17. In his appearing in various forms after he arose

from the dead, Mark. Xvi. 12. and at sundry times showing himself, and appearing in the midst of his disciples, the door being shut, John xx. 19, 26. And also when he sat at meat with them, and in such a familiar manner manifested himself, that their eyes were opened, that they knew him, he vanished out of their sight; Luke xxiv. 30, 31. Such wonderful power he showed after he was risen from the dead, to manifest himself and confirm his disciples in the faith, knowledge and testimony of his resurrection, as well as in his ascension.

After I had travelled and labored some time in the work of the gospel, in Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, the isle of Ely, and some parts of Lincolnshire, as that called Holland, etc., also in some parts of Northamptonshire, I was much pressed in spirit to endeavor for a meeting in the city of Peterborough, though I heard of no Friends there to receive me or our friends. But upon inquiry, there was found a sober, honest minded man, of reputation and quality, who was willing to have a meeting at his house, which accordingly was appointed to be on a first-day of the week; I know not whether it was in the first or second month, in the year 1660. It was in the spring time, and many Friends' from adjacent parts resorted to it, out of the Fens, and some out of Rutlandshire.

In the week before the meeting, I had a great weight and sense upon my spirit that we should have some trial and exercise, by suffering at that meeting, being sensible of the great darkness and wickedness that was in that city, though but a little one; and so it came to pass. When our friends and I had begun to meet in the house, the mob and rude people gathered about it, and in the yard, in such a rude and turbulent manner, as if they were minded to pull down the house, so that we thought it best to remove the meeting into the court yard adjoining, being unwilling the honest man's house should be any ways damaged by that rude crew. I was resigned in the will of Lord, rather to be given into their hands, than that the family where we met, should suffer on account of the meeting being there.

After we had removed into the yard, I was moved to stand up on a stool, and in the name of the Lord to preach the truth for some time, near an hour. The Lord stood by me and strengthened me, so that I was enabled livingly to declare the truth, with a free resignation also to suffer what violence or evil he should permit the wicked to do, or inflict upon me; for I had often before that time resigned life and liberty for the gospel's sake.

While I was declaring the truth, a tall man, who they said was an innkeeper, with a rude company after him, rushing violently and furiously, came into the meeting, aiming chiefly to pull me down. The meeting being somewhat crowded, and several Friends in his way, he could not readily get at me; in the mean time, others threw dirt and eggs, thought to be rotten, at me, by which my head and face were greatly daubed, yet I went on declaring the truth. The furious

man still striving to come at me, took up a stool by the feet, and heaving it up to strike such as were in his way, a Friend standing by, caught hold of the stool as he was making his blow, to prevent it; yet he gave an ancient woman, a friend of ours, a blow with the edge of the stool, on the side of her head, which made such a cut and wound on her temple, near her eye, that it was thought if his blow had fallen directly on her head, it might have beaten out her brains; but the Lord providentially prevented that.

The man's fury and rage seemed to be chiefly against me, and his struggle to get at me; and rather than he should do more mischief, I desired the meeting to make way, that he might come to me, for I was above the fear of any hurt he or they could do to me. Then he and his company came and violently pulled me down, and when I was in their hands I felt much ease in my spirit, being sensible the Lord, who stood by me, was secretly pleading my cause with them, so that their fury was immediately abated, and their spirits down, and they were restrained from doing me harm.

They haled me out of the meeting, through part of their cathedral church, so termed, there being a passage open near one end, and then they quickly let me go.

There were some soldiers, as it was said, of Lambert's, or the old army, then quartered in Peterborough, who were spectators, and beheld how I and others of us were treated and abused at the said meeting. Some of them took compassion, and had us to one of their quarters, where I got to the pump, and washed the dirt off my face, but could not then wash my head, to get my hair clean.

Some Friends with me, were then directed into an upper room in the inn, where we sat together, waiting upon the Lord for some time, I think near two hours, and the Lord comforted and refreshed our spirits, and he put it into my heart to return again to the same house, from which I had been haled away out of the meeting. Several sober people were gathered there in the afternoon, and I had a good meeting and service for the Lord, in bearing testimony for his blessed truth among them; and we held the meeting quietly, and parted peaceably, without molestation.

That evening, after the meeting was over, I left Peterborough, and some other Friends with me, much comforted and refreshed in the Lord my God; having felt his living power and presence with me and my friends, to our preservation and deliverance out of the hands of unreasonable men. Though they had so much shown their fury and madness against us that day, they were not allowed to do us much harm, except the ancient woman Friend being wounded in her head; but so far as I know, she got well again in a short time.

The same evening we rode a few miles to an honest Friend's house, I think his name was John Mason, who had left the army, received the truth, and became a serviceable Friend.

Next morning Isabel Hacker, the wife of Col. Hacker, who had been at the said meeting, bestowed some labor to get out of my hair, the dirt which was thrown at me the day before, at the said meeting. After that, I rode with her and company to Oucom, to her house in Rutlandshire, where the priest of the town came the next day, with whom I had some discourse in the presence of Col. Hacker.

The priest being high and proud, was apt to get in a passion, which made him incapable of holding any fair discourse. I told him of it, which he would not acknowledge, but told me I was in anger, because I spake somewhat earnestly to him. I told him he could not provoke me to anger if he should rail against me from morning till evening; so our discourse quickly broke off, and I did not perceive that Col. Hacker, or any one present, could excuse the angry priest.

When Presbyterian and Independent ministers had the design to reform from corruptions, immoralities, profaneness and superstitions, which were increased and spread under Episcopacy, there appeared some sincerity and zeal, in their way, for the practice of religion and piety; and their preaching was against drunkenness, sabbath breaking, swearing, lying, envy, pride, covetousness, idolatry, superstition, etc. What care and caution did they show toward their hearers, to prepare them to be worthy communicants, that they might not eat and drink unworthily, nor damnation nor judgment to themselves, as those that discern not the Lord's body; though that discerning has been long lacking, since the apostasy from the substance.

In those early days of the designed reformation from Episcopacy, some of those reformers, in their zeal, believed the Lord was with them, and that his presence attended their ministry. And while there was a zeal in any of them against vice, and for promoting virtue, no doubt a secret presence of the Lord, in measure, attended the ministry of such, which had some good effect toward a reformation.

But when the teachers and leaders of several sorts and societies, got to be parish priests, and into pride and covetousness, into high places, great livings, to preach for hire, forced maintenance, tithes, oblations, obventions, revenues, etc., being favored therein by the revolutions of the government, their zeal grew cold, corruption and covetousness increased, their ministry and preaching became dead and barren, and many well disposed people began to see their declension and corruptions, and grew weary of them.

Then the gospel harvest drew near and came on, for many to be gathered to the life of the

Christian religion, and the power of godliness; from darkness to the true light; from the flesh to the spirit; from dead forms to the living power; from shadows to Christ the substance; from dead ways and false worships, into the living way and worship of God in spirit and truth. For this end and purpose God was graciously pleased, in an acceptable time, to raise up living and faithful witnesses and ministers of the everlasting gospel, to open the eyes and understandings of the people, To turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; that thereby truly repenting, they might receive remission of sins, and an inheritance among the sanctified, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, the true light. And the ministry of these faithful witnesses was very acceptable and effectual to many, whose hearts God had prepared and opened to receive the love of the truth, as it is in Christ Jesus.

Then were the proud and covetous priests, and mercenary preachers of all sorts, greatly disturbed. The very report of a people risen in the north of England, called Quakers, and of their increase and spreading, and the prevalence of their testimony, caused a fear and consternation to seize upon the spirits of many of those preachers, when their trade was in danger, and their gain lay at stake, as Christ's free gospel ministry took effect and place in people's hearts. Then rung the pulpits; lectures were promoted and conferences; complaints and petitions were exhibited to magistrates against the Quakers, under the unjust and false pretenses of their being antichrists, come in the last days; deceivers, seducers; dangerous to church and state. Some of them being conscious of their decaying ministry, and that they were declining and going downward in the eyes and esteem of the people, their hearers, they became the more afraid and jealous of their standing; especially knowing partly their own corruptions, that whatever good words they could use, yet that they lived bad lives.

They thus pleaded with their hearers, to excuse themselves, "You must do as we say, and not as we do;" thereby rendering themselves but in the state of the scribes and pharisees, who sat in Moses' seat. And as therein they represented Moses' law being then in force, they bid people observe the same, which was what they were then to observe and do; but said Christ, Do not you after their works; for they say and do not: Mat. xxiii. 3.

See the whole chapter, how sharply and zealously our Lord testified against those hypocrites, with various woes to them; so far was Christ from owning them for his ministers.

I very well remember some of the heads of a remarkable conference, among some of those called Independent ministers or pastors, which it appears occurred when they were declining from the sincerity and zeal that had been formerly moving among and in some of them. I had the account from our dear, ancient, and faithful friend, Robert Ludgater, senior, of Great Coggeshall, in Essex, in effect following: That several Independent ministers or priests, at a

meeting at Coggeshall, had a conference, which was chiefly on a question first put by one Samuel Crosman, pastor of a church at Sudbury in Suffolk.

The question was this: “What is the reason why the presence of God does not attend or accompany our ministry now, as it did at first, or in the beginning?”

To which—he that put the question — first answered; “At first we had respect to good lives and conduct—to be good examples therein; and then we sought the good of the people's souls; we coveted them, not theirs; we then preached in the simplicity of the gospel, in plainness and sincerity, without affected high strains of eloquence, or words of men's wisdom; for it is a great pity any man should stand up in a pulpit to preach, and not preach the plainness and simplicity of the gospel.

“But now the case is altered with us; though we speak good words, we live had lives; we are not good examples to our hearers. We covet theirs more than them. We now affect flourishing eloquence, rhetoric, philosophy, or school learning, more than the plainness and simplicity of the gospel, in our preaching; for these reasons the presence of God does not go along with us in our ministry now, as at first, or formerly.”

Another of the company, the minister or parish priest of Coggeshall, repeated the question, “What is the reason why the presence of God does not go along with our ministry now, as it did in the beginning”?

And then proceeded, “I would add this question; What was that presence of God that did accompany our ministry in the beginning?”

To which he answered, “It was an enlightening presence; it was an enlivening or quickening presence; it was a strengthening and confirming presence; and all this is now lacking in our ministry,”

Another professing minister of the company, repeated the question, but varied in his answer, from his two brethren before, saying: “What is the reason why the presence of God does not now go along with our ministry, as it did at first?”

Which he answered to this effect; “Our ministry is God's ordinance, and we may not suppose God will forsake his own ordinance; but there are many persons or people turned against us, who deny the ordinances and tell us. Your ordinances are barren ordinances; they are wilderness ordinances; your ministry is a barren ministry; it is a fruitless ministry, a dead ministry; and therefore, to such it must needs appear ineffectual and barren.”

But he concluded to this effect; “Although our ministry or ordinances appear to you to be but as barren ordinances, wilderness ordinances; yet you should continue, or persist, in the observation thereof.”

Another of the company, esteemed a great pastor among them, at last repeating the question, “What is the reason why the presence of God does not attend our ministry? I answered to this purpose, in contradiction to the two first; “God has not forsaken our ministry, he has not withdrawn his presence from his own ordinances, though it does not now appear so effectual as at first, or not to have the like effect. That is because our ministry has had its effect upon the elect, for their conversion, who were ordained to eternal life or salvation; but for those who are otherwise predestinated to damnation, it is not to be expected that our ministry should take effect upon them, for their conversion or salvation.”

The first and second answers to the foregoing question, were ingenuous and honest, but the two last cloudy and prejudicial, especially the last, relating to the predestinarian notion, which is repugnant to the free and universal grace and love of God in Christ Jesus, to mankind; and to the free proffers thereof, conditionally, in his gospel preached universally unto all.

Great notice was taken of the said Samuel Crosman, who first put the question, as to his further declension from his former zeal, sincerity, and professed reformation, independency, and dissent from Episcopacy. After king Charles the second came to the throne, and suffering by persecution began upon the most conscientious dissenters, and conformity was required and imposed, Samuel Crosman fled the cross, evaded his dissent and independency, conformed and temporized, left his congregation and people at Sudbury, and removed to the city of Bristol, and there showing himself a zealous conformist, got preferment under the bishop, and became a parish priest in that city.

At a certain time being at Bristol, and visiting Bersha Speed, widow, Samuel Crosman came into her parlor, where I was sitting, and demanded Easter reckonings of the widow, which I argued against, as unreasonable, as well as unscriptural, to demand that of her, who was none of his hearers or communicants.

And I took occasion to relate to him the fame I had heard and understood concerning him; as what an eminent minister he had been among the Independents at Sudbury, questioning how he could now be such a Conformist, after all his high profession of reformation to the contrary; or how he could quiet his conscience therein.

He gave me a smooth, but evasive answer, no ways satisfactory or sincere, making it but as a matter of indifference to conform to the church of England; and the ceremonies thereof but

indifferent things, that might be dispensed with, provided he might preach the gospel. Such like allegations have many of the temporizing priests used to excuse themselves in the like case.

Having the opportunity, I reminded him of the passage before mentioned, and repeated his question and answer to himself, according as Robert Ludgater had related them to me.

I was the more particular with the said Samuel Crosman, he being the person immediately concerned; to see if he could deny any part of the matter related upon his question, "What is the reason why the presence of God does not attend our ministry now, as it did in the beginning?" This, together with his answer, I reminded him of, and he did not deny any part of it; whereby the truth of Robert Ludgater's account was the more confirmed to my satisfaction.

In humility and thankfulness to our great and most merciful Lord God, I must confess to his power and goodness, yes, and his special providence in helping me hitherto, and strengthening me in his work and service, and in preserving and delivering me, through many trials, sufferings and persecutions, that I have not been delivered to the will of my enemies and persecutors, who sought my destruction; not only breathing out cruelty against me, and others of the servants of Christ, in our early days; but, to their power, have acted maliciously and cruelly against us; but the remainder of their wrath has the Lord so far restrained, as not to allow them to execute the utmost thereof against us; the Lord having reserved for me more service in my day, as well as trials, suffering, and exercises of various kinds. The persecutions and hardships which I had undergone, were not allowed to put an end to my days, or service in the gospel of Jesus Christ, but to make the same more observable and effectual, through the Lord's power and tender mercy unto me and his people; and for the sake of many poor souls.

The hard imprisonments, confinements, tumults, cruel stripes, beatings, stonings, bruising, and evil treatments, of various sorts, I say, were not allowed to put a period to my days, but the Lord's power sustained and preserved my spirit, in faith and patience, in all those afflictions and jeopardies, to obey and serve him with sincere resolution in the gospel and work thereof. Let my soul forever bless and praise the worthy name and power of the Lord my God.

I proceed now to some account of my further progress and exercises for the blessed truth.

In the year 1660, the commonwealth government, under which many of us had suffered persecution, being nearly expired, preparation was made for the return and reception of king Charles the second, upon his declaration, in substance as follows: In king Charles the second's letter from Breda, that was sent to the house of peers, and read in the house, May the 1st, 1660, and ordered by the lords in Parliament assembled, that the same should be forthwith printed and published, for the service of the house, and satisfaction of the kingdom, it is declared; "And

because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed or better understood, we do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion, in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and, that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence.”

This declaration and promise made way for the king's more easy and free reception at his return and restoration; many dissenters having a hope and expectation of the performance thereof.

But in a few months after his coming to the crown, it so fell out, that a few, about the number of thirty-five persons, called Fifth Monarchy men, made an insurrection and disturbance in the city of London, against the government, pretending for the monarchy and government of king Jesus; and thereupon being confident that one should chase a thousand, misapplying the Scripture, they made their attempt with great fury and violence, until suppressed and apprehended.

From which insurrection occasion was taken by the king, to issue out a proclamation; some of the heads whereof follow: “Prohibiting all unlawful and seditious meetings and conventicles, under pretense of religious worship, etc.; giving for a reason thereof. That some evil effects have already ensued, to the disturbance of the public peace, by insurrection and murder, by reason of the meetings of Anabaptists and Quakers, and Fifth-Monarchy men, and such like appellation.

“And to the intent, that none of these persons who have presumed to make so ill a use of our indulgence, may be strengthened in such their proceedings, etc., no meeting whatsoever, of the persons aforesaid, under pretense of worshipping God, shall at any time hereafter be permitted and allowed, unless it be in some parochial church or chapel in this realm, or in private houses, by the persons there inhabiting; and that all meetings and assemblies whatsoever, in order to any spiritual worship and serving of God, by the persons aforesaid, unless in the places aforesaid, shall be esteemed, and are hereby declared to be unlawful assemblies, and shall be prosecuted accordingly; and the persons therein assembled, shall be proceeded against, as riotously and unlawfully assembled.

“And we do will and command our justices, that they cause the oath of allegiance to be tendered to every person so brought before them,” etc.

Hereupon the most irreligious and profane sort of people were animated, and took occasion

against our religious and peaceable meetings, eagerly to endeavor to suppress them, being encouraged by the new justices and magistrates then got into commission. The most vile and profane, as drunkards, swearers, cursors, and the most wicked of all sorts, being exalted in their spirits upon the restoration of the king, and his accession to the crown, were then triumphant and insulting against all religious dissenters; and especially threatening the Quakers and their meetings with ruin. Seeing; what a great flood of wickedness and debauchery was broken forth, and religion and virtue despised, we expected no other but severe and hard treatment from our persecutors, whose hearts were set to ruin us, or to root us out of the land; dark clouds then appearing and threatening a great storm.

At a certain time, when I was traveling alone on the highway, and in earnest supplication to the Lord, and spreading our case and my complaint before him, in deep humility and contrition of spirit, I said in my heart and in expression, O Lord, this wicked, persecuting spirit that has got up and is let loose, will seek to lay waste and root your heritage and people out of the land. O Lord, plead our cause; plead the cause of your people, your seed and heritage. Whereupon the Lord revealed and gave me this answer. The wicked shall not have their evil designs accomplished against my people; I will frustrate their wicked purposes; they shall not root my heritage out of the land, though they be allowed for a time to persecute and try my people; I will stand by and defend, and in due time deliver them. Yes, and to this purpose, and much more of the same tendency, has the Lord often livingly signified and revealed to me by his Holy Spirit, even in times of deep suffering and trials, that under any of them I might not faint, or be discouraged; but still to believe to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living, where praises ever live to him.

After the insurrection, and the offenders were brought to punishment, and the proclamation was issued, persecution, outrage and violence quickly broke out in the land. Then the roaring, raging, busy persecutors bestirred themselves to hunt up and down after religious meetings, assemblies and congregations, which they unjustly termed seditious conventicles, to break up and disperse them, and cause many to be imprisoned in filthy jails, where great numbers of innocent persons suffered, in most counties of England and Wales, especially of the people called Quakers, whose meetings were most open and easily come at.

Friends did not fail to plead and make known their innocent cause, to the king and government, both by word and writing; and to show how clear their religious meetings were, as they always have been, from any sedition, plots, conspiracies, or contriving of insurrections against the government or nation, and consequently they are no such meetings as are by law deemed conventicles, unlawful or riotous meetings. So that those persecutions inflicted upon us, because of other men's crimes, who are a people wholly innocent, appeared to be no small

perversion of justice, as well as injury, done to many hundreds of honest, industrious families, whose innocent cause the Lord in his own time, pleaded in those days; and since has not failed to stand by and help his faithful people in their times of need, I proceed to give some account of my own share of suffering and exercise in those days, and of the manner thereof.

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*A brief account of my commitment to Norwich castle, with other Friends, the 20th day of the Eleventh month, 1660.*

George Whitehead, John Lawrence, Joseph Lawrence, and William Barber, with many more of our friends, being peaceably met together in the worship and service of God, at a meeting at Pulham-Mary, Norfolk,—while we were calling upon the Lord in prayer, one in the office of chief constable, with a company of horsemen and footmen, without warrant from any justice, came with halberts, pistols, swords, pitchforks, clubs and hedge stakes, and haled us and others of our friends out of the meeting. The next day we were carried on horseback several miles, and had before Thomas Talbot, justice of peace, near Wymondham, or Windham, who committed us to prison, upon information which the constable gave him in writing, touching the meeting; wherein we were falsely accused of being unlawfully met together. There appeared none to prove the charge against us, nevertheless we were next day sent to Norwich castle; persecution being then generally stirred up against our friends especially, throughout the nation, and most prisons were filled with them, because of their religious meetings.

To this jail of the castle of Norwich many of them were committed, and their meetings disturbed and broken up, from one end of the county to the other, and likewise in the city of Norwich, which is a county distinct. We were so crowded in the castle, that we had not convenient room for lodging, thirty or above, being crowded in that old, nasty jail; and there being a hole in a corner of the castle wall, called the vice, we four Friends betook ourselves to that place to lodge in, though a narrow hole, without any chimney in it; yet there we got up two little beds, and lodged two in each. It was a very incommodious habitation and lodging room, for lack of a chimney; and having an old decayed stone arch over it, the rain came so much in upon us, that we could not well keep it off our beds, though we set basons to catch what we could. In the cold weather we burnt a little charcoal in the evenings, which we found somewhat injurious and suffocating, having no chimney to vent the smoke or steam; and in the day time we endeavored often to keep ourselves warm by walking upon the castle hill, and under the wall, being within the liberty of the prison; though it was but a cold bleak place in winter, yet we were glad that we had that benefit of the air.

Although the hole in the wall was so incommodious, we chose it for our lodging, partly for the

relief of our friends, who were too much crowded in a better room below, within the castle walls. Here we had many good and comfortable meetings together, without disturbance, several friendly persons being let into prison, met with us, on first-days especially; so that at that time the prison became a sanctuary to us, as prisons and jails were to many of our poor, innocent, suffering friends, when persecution was hot, and persecutors raging and roaring abroad; and we praying and praising the Lord our God, in prisons, jails, and holes.

Our friends William Barber and John Lawrence, having been men of note, and captains in the commonwealth's day, it appeared in them a piece of great self-denial and subjection to the cross of Christ, patiently so to suffer for his name and truth sake, in such a poor, incommodious lodging. I remember one morning when we were in bed, Joseph Lawrence, after his pleasant manner, said to his brother John; "O captain Lawrence, I have seen the day that you would not have lain here;" that is, in such a contemptible place, or mean lodging as that was; for both brothers, and William Barber, were well accommodated at their own houses in all respects; though then partakers of the sufferings of Christ's followers.

In the time of that imprisonment in Norwich castle, near the latter end of winter, or about the beginning of the first month, 1661, I was taken sick of an ague and fever, which brought me so low and weak, that some friends who came to visit me, were ready to take their last leave of me, thinking I should die in that prison. Elizabeth, the wife of John Lawrence, being one day at my bedside, said, "Ah! poor, dear George, I fear we must part with him; his traveling among us is near at an end." But in a few days, it pleased the Lord that I had some recovery and strength given me; yet each other day a very sick fit of the ague and fever continued for a little time. One night after I was in bed, I was sorely affected with the smoke of a little charcoal fire in the room, and earnestly called to have it put out presently, otherwise I questioned whether I should live till next morning; so it was immediately put out, and I was quickly eased.

The time for our appearing at the spring assizes at Thetford drawing near, I believed I should be enabled to ride there; for we were all to appear there, who were prisoners for our religious meetings; and in order to my going to the assizes, my horse was brought to the prison door three days before the assizes began. I rode with John Lawrence to his house at Wrampingham, on the seventh-day of the week, being five or six miles on my way toward Thetford, and stayed there the next day and night following. That day I had again a very sick fit of the ague, but grew better before the next day, and then we took horse for Thetford, being about twenty miles from Norwich. The weather being cold, a hail shower overtook us, and I was again taken with a fit of the ague on the road, before we got to Thetford, yet with the Lord's help I held on, and grew better by the time we came to Thetford; and that afternoon could readily walk up to the top of the noted mount or hill which is by the town. We met the rest of our friends, who came

from Norwich castle, at Thetford prison, where we were in the day time, after the assizes began; but at night had liberty to lodge at our friends' houses in or near the town.

Judge Hale and judge Windham, i. e. Wadham Windham, were the two justices who served at the same assizes, and judge Windham sat on the crown side. In his charge he terribly threatened dissenters, and such as would not go to the parish church and conform, or that kept conventicles or unlawful meetings; giving the country notice of several ancient severe penal laws made against such, and causing some of them to be read in court.

An ancient Friend, Elizabeth Hawes, then living at Snare Hill near Thetford, gave me a full account with tears, after she had heard the said charge; being very sorrowful to see how they were bent to persecution. To encourage her, I signified the Lord would plead our cause and stand by us, and I would have no Friends discouraged, but be faithful to the Lord, and valiant for the truth upon earth; as I had often exhorted Friends.

Friends were several times called into court before the assizes were over; I was called four times, and particularly questioned for what cause I came into that county from my own; to which I gave the judges a sober and conscientious account, that I was called of the Lord to preach repentance, and to bear testimony to the truth, against hypocrisy, sin and wickedness.

Being required to take the oath of allegiance, I told the judges, that Christ has commanded us not to swear at all, and his apostle James, who well knew the mind of Christ, exhorted, "Above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath: but let your yes be yes; and your no, no; lest you fall into condemnation." From which I inferred, if we may not swear by any other oath, then not by the oath of allegiance. Therefore I cannot swear at all, nor take any oath, either that of allegiance or any other; the judges did not dispute the point or the argument.

But seeing that I and the rest of our friends then prisoners, were all of a mind in that case, that we all refused to swear, choosing rather to suffer for conscience, we were remanded to the prison in Thetford.

Before the assizes was ended, some of us were again called into court, and an indictment read against me and some others of us, stuffed with false and bitter accusations and invectives, because we refused to take the oath of allegiance; that being the snare generally laid against us, for which we were charged with obstinacy and contempt against the king, his crown and dignity, and such like injurious charges. Being required to plead guilty or not guilty, I began to distinguish upon the indictment, that some part of it was true, that we refused to take the oath, but it was not out of obstinacy or any contempt against the king or government, but for

conscience sake, in obedience to Christ's command.

Judge Windham urging us to plead guilty or not guilty, to prevent me from opening our case, I waved pleading in those terms, unless he would allow me to plead specially, with distinction, on the several parts of the charge, in order to manifest the inconsistency thereof, and our clearness and innocence, who were the sufferers. The judge then grew offended, because I was not willing to be confined only to plead guilty or not guilty, and he was for having me taken away and remanded to prison; whereupon I returned him this answer, that Paul when a prisoner, was permitted to plead and speak for himself before King Agrippa; Acts xxvi., and before the Roman or heathen magistrates and rulers.

It is therefore a hard case, that we may not be allowed to speak or plead for ourselves before you, who profess yourselves to be Christian magistrates. The judge appeared angry and disturbed; I was quickly removed out of the court. Take him away jailer, was such a knocking argument in those days, that it must not be disputed; yet judge Hale behaved himself more mildly and gently toward us.

It was observed that when several of us, the prisoners, were called into court together, some of the country justices on the bench, particularly one of them, would be accusing us to judge Windham, to incense him against us, and especially against John Hubbard senior, of Stoak ferry in Norfolk, and others for receiving and entertaining the Quakers and their preachers at their houses. Our loving, honest friend John Hubbard, seeing the envy of those persecutors, who would make him an offender for entertaining strangers, as the apostle taught, was stirred up with zeal to answer his accuser, and plead a good conscience toward God and man, as being known to be an honest man, fearing God.

Testifying with zeal and courage, it gave a check, at that time, to his accusations against innocent prisoners. But it was no unusual thing in those days, for ill-natured, persecuting justices, to be both accusers and judges upon the bench, against our friends; and like invidious informers, endeavor to incense the judges against us, by unjust insinuations and accusations, with the intent to induce hard usage against us, and often to prejudge our case, before judicially heard or tried.

Although in the time of the assizes at Thetford, the persecuting spirit was eagerly at work in our adversaries, I daily felt the Lord's power over all, whereby I and my fellow prisoners were supported, strengthened and preserved in innocency and great peace, to the praise of our most gracious God. Although I could expect no other but that our persecutors would be allowed to strengthen and prolong our bonds, at least against some of us, whom they designed to make terrifying examples, yet I was not at all discouraged nor dejected in spirit, under that

persecution; but returned cheerfully to prison to Norwich castle, and was better every way as to my health and strength, than when I came out from there, to go to the assizes at Thetford.

It was to me a very remarkable and memorable token of the merciful Providence and love of God, that although I had been very weak and sick in prison in the said castle but a few days before, and rode to Thetford assizes in a weak condition, yet while I was attending upon the assizes, I quickly recovered my health, so that my ague and fever were quite removed, and I had not the return of one fit all the time of that imprisonment, but was restored to perfect health, which continued for several years after.

Six of us, to whom the oath was tendered, and who were indicted, were, with some others, remanded to the castle; and the rest were released, being mostly laboring men, farmers and tradesmen; our persecutors having picked out such to send back to prison as they esteemed to be the most noted among the Quakers, as John Lawrence, Joseph Lawrence, William Barber, Henry Kettle, senior and junior, John Hubbard and several others, because of their love and kindness to their friends, and entertaining meetings at their houses. The time we were detained prisoners in Norwich castle, in the years 1660 and 1661, was about sixteen weeks, from the eleventh to the third month.

Our release was obtained by the king's proclamation of grace, as it was termed, wherein, notwithstanding his grace or favor expressed towards the Quakers, it was not without a menace or threat, i. e. not intending their impunity, if they should offend in future in like manner as they had done. This was chiefly their religious meetings, intended only for the worship of the living God, according to their consciences and persuasions; and for this cause our impunity or lack of punishment was not intended, as afterward in a short time it more fully appeared.

One thing I may not omit some account of, when we were together in Thetford prison, in order to appear at the assizes, I met with Henry Kettle the elder, a prisoner there, who was an ancient man, and had been mayor of the town and a justice of peace, before he was in communion with us. After he had received our friends and had meetings at his house, having a love to truth and us, he was committed to prison; where he and I walking together in the prison yard, he opened his condition and exercise to me; how he was beset with relations, and pressed to take the oath of allegiance, otherwise they feared that he and his family would be ruined; whereupon the trial came the harder on him, considering his own weakness. However, he tenderly told me, he had considered Christ's words, He that puts his hand to the plough, and looks back, is not fit for the kingdom of God; concluding therefore he must not look back; he must not draw back, or decline from the truth.

I was very glad to hear him voluntarily give such an honest account, both of his trial and good

resolution, having well understood his weakness, how he had been wavering and halting in his mind; and how hard it was for him, being a person of great note, to give up to the cross of Christ, so as to endure reproach and persecution for Christ Jesus and his truth. Yet now when he was given up to suffer for Christ, by him he was assisted and strengthened, rather to suffer with the rest of us, than to lose his inward peace, by declining Truth's testimony; so that because he could not submit to the will of his persecutors, he was, contrary to law, removed from Thetford, the corporation where his residence was, to the county jail in Norwich castle, where his son Henry was detained prisoner with the rest of us.

At the ensuing quarter-sessions held at Norwich castle, for the county of Norfolk, Henry Kettle the elder, was called into the court of sessions, where, to ensnare him, it was required of him to take the oath of allegiance, with endeavors to impose it upon him. But he stood it out, and would not be imposed on, telling the justices, that he was removed out of his own respective corporation, to which he belonged, contrary to law, and therefore was unduly brought before them in that court. It was a breach of his and the corporation's privilege, to remove him from there to that quarter-sessions, to be prosecuted or tried; and expressly contrary to Magna Charta, whereby the liberties and privileges of corporations are to be upheld and maintained, and not violated.

I and another fellow-prisoner being then on the Castle-hill, heard him plead after this manner, and hold them closely to the point; but instead of answering him legally, or vindicating their proceeding by law, they still obtruded and imposed upon him, saying. It is no matter; it is no matter how you came here, that is not our business to inquire after: now you are here, we have power to tender you the oath. Mr. Kettle, will you take the oath of allegiance, ay or no? He answered. Let me be returned back to my own corporation, the town of Thetford, and there I may answer. Rut otherwise he esteemed himself not bound to answer in that court of sessions, held for the county of Norfolk, being unduly removed there out of his own.

This is the substance of their procedure against Henry Kettle, sen., at that time, so near as occurs to my remembrance; and I gave serious attention to the discourse between him and the justices, who when they could not by persuasion or menaces, prevail with him to take the oath, returned him to the castle jail, to remain prisoner with the rest of us.

I was glad and comforted, that he stood that trial as well as he did, and that the Lord supported him so as not to fall into the snare laid for him; but to avoid swearing, and evade their striving to impose an oath upon him, contrary to his conscience. I was sensible he thereby gained more strength in the Truth, and his prosecutors were not allowed to bring him under the penalty of a premunire, no more than the rest of us, who were prosecuted in order thereto, but all discharged

by the proclamation aforesaid.

I was sensible the Lord had regard to Henry Kettle, sen., and his family; for they retained their love to the Truth and Friends; as did in particular his son Henry, and daughter Anne, who was a sober virtuous maid, though she lived not many years after she received the Truth; but her brother Henry lived to old age. And their mother, an ancient woman, had so much love to Friends, that she not only kindly entertained them, but when her son Henry was prisoner with us in Norwich castle, she came on foot from Thetford, to visit him and us in prison, manifesting her love and kindness thereby to us; and so far as I understood, she bore his suffering patiently, as well as she did her husband's afterward, beyond expectation, considering her weak condition. One cause of her coming on foot to visit us in prison, I suppose was, her age and weakness, not being able to endure riding so far on horseback.

The Lord showed mercy to that family, as he did to many others in those days, who since are gone to rest from their labors and sufferings.

*A copy of John Lawrence's letter to Justice Talbot, after we were committed prisoners to Norwich castle, which I thought fitting to insert in this place.*

Friend,

I could not have believed that any magistrate would have acted so unjustly as you have done toward us, in sending us to prison, when no witness did appear against us, to prove us transgressors. Surely the magistrate that desires to do uprightly, and as he would be done unto, would not have sent men to prison upon so slight an information as you had against us.

And whereas you did accuse us for meeting in contempt of the king's proclamation;—I answer, that our meeting was not in contempt of the king, but in obedience to the Lord, whose presence is enjoyed among us in our meetings, and from whose presence you can not separate us, although you have sent us into a noisome prison. For know assuredly, that we have much peace in our sufferings, and are not afraid what man can do unto us; for our trust is in the living God, who made heaven and earth, and will plead the cause of the innocent; and will not let persecutors go free.

There are also three men who were haled out of a peaceable meeting, and were sent to prison by you. Two of them are poor men, and have great charges of children to maintain only by their labors; and if they be long detained prisoners, their children may famish for lack, and your oppressing will become your own burden; but your rage and

envy is such, that it is likely you do but little regard either old or young, if they be contrary to your principles. And it is likely if these men had been taken drinking, or drunk, in an ale-house, they had been let alone, and not punished; for how does wickedness abound in that town? Are there none to punish or imprison, but those who meet in the service and worship of God? When those that feared the Lord often met together, the Lord hearkened and heard; and a book of remembrance was written before him for them; as you may read, Mal. iii.

Our sufferings are for righteousness and conscience-sake; and although we should suffer the loss of all outward things we enjoy, and of our lives also, yet, neither you, nor any other, can take our peace from us.

It is not long before you must give account for all your unrighteous actings; therefore, while you have time, prize it; and slight not the day of your visitation, but mind God's witness in your conscience, which shows you sin and evil, and that will bring to your remembrance all that ever you have done, and will let you see how you have spent your time, and how unprofitably you have walked before the God of heaven all your days. If you will return at God's reproof, and forsake the evil of your doings, you will find mercy; but if you do persist and go on, provoking the Lord, then woe and misery will assuredly be your portion.

Written in love to you, by a sufferer for the testimony of a good conscience, who am a friend to your soul.

John Lawrence.

Norwich Castle, the 25th of the Eleventh month, called January, 1660.

*The substance of a letter to the Mayor of the city of Norwich, when he was busy in persecuting and imprisoning our friends there, A. D. 1660.*

Friend, Do you not own yourself to be a Christian magistrate? But have you acted like one in sending the servants of Christ to prison in this city; separating poor men from their wives and children, who can hardly subsist for lack of them. And for what cause, but for meeting together to worship God in spirit and in truth, as the primitive Christians and saints of old did; or for not swearing the oath of allegiance, which in conscience to Jesus Christ and his doctrine, they could not take, nor any other oath; Matt. v. James v.

How have you acted like a Christian magistrate, in causing our friends to suffer imprisonment, because they could not in conscience, transgress the doctrine and commandment of Christ and his apostle, which forbids all swearing? What malice and envy have you shown, in sending for poor harmless men, on purpose to ensnare and imprison them, upon the oath of allegiance being required of them; and for conscience sake refused by them.

How do you herein act like a Christian magistrate? What compassion do you show to the needy? Or how do you break off your iniquities, by showing mercy to the poor? May you not justly expect, that the cries of the poor and needy, whom you have thus oppressed, will be heard of the Lord against you, and his judgments fall heavy upon you, if you do not speedily break off your sins by true repentance, and your iniquity, by showing mercy to the poor and needy, and setting the oppressed free? For had you any more against those our friends, whom you have imprisoned for meeting, than you might have had against the apostles and primitive Christians for the like practice, had you been in their days? And might you not as well have persecuted and imprisoned them upon the same account, as you have imprisoned these? We knowing that our justification is with the Lord in our meeting together, which is to wait upon and worship him, can challenge you, and the whole nation, to prove any evil against us therein; or any thing done by us contrary to the Scriptures of Truth, or the doctrine of Christ or his apostles, whose divine law against swearing at all, is to us, and to all true Christians, of more weight than all contrary laws of men, for swearing.

The oaths of allegiance and supremacy were never intended to ensnare and imprison poor harmless men, and Protestants; nor is our refusing to swear for conscience-sake to Christ, any proof of our being papists—for they can swear; and our averseness to Popery is well known, more than theirs who do swear, and are ready to tender oaths to others upon every turn; and also our innocency in patiently suffering under the several sorts of rulers or governments, manifests our clearness from wicked plots and insurrections.

Your lying in wait to ensnare our friends with the oath, manifests that it is more out of envy than justice, and will bring no honor to you, but shame and disgrace, and in the end misery, woe and confusion of face, if you do not speedily repent, and return to the light of Christ, which calls for humility, moderation, equity, and love toward all men; and to do to all men as you would be done by. Let not the sun go down upon your wrath, lest you give place to the devil, and the day forever become dark over you.

This letter is given out of tender affection and love which I bear to your soul, and not from any contempt or prejudice against your person.

From a friend to your soul, who am a sufferer for obeying Christ.

George Whitehead.

1660, in the Eleventh month.

*The substance of a letter, in answer to the Mayor of Norwich, when our friends were prisoners there.*

Friend,

Whereas in answer to my letter, you have sent the late proclamation of the king, prohibiting all unlawful and seditious meetings and conventicles, under pretense of religious worship, etc., this will be no warrant in the sight of God for what you have done against our friends. Seeing you own yourself to be a Christian magistrate, you should have acted according to Christ's law, and done as you would be done by. Would you be so hardly dealt with for your religion and worship, as you have done by our friends? You have not proved our friends' meetings, which you have broken up, either unlawful or seditious, or contrary to the meetings of the primitive Christians. Neither have you acted according to this proclamation, which you own as your rule, especially in imprisoning our friend Robert Turner, of Lynn, who was not taken by warrant out of a meeting, but sent for to you, he being come to visit us and our friends in prison. And we know no warrant whereby he was taken according to the king's latter proclamation, which we have also seen; and since that came forth, our friends have had meetings in peace at London; so it does not appear that you have acted according to either of these proclamations, especially against Robert Turner.

Yet if you should say or think, he was at an unlawful meeting, in his being amongst •us in prison, when he was sent for to come to you, then it would from there follow, that those magistrates who have imprisoned so many of us together, have caused unlawful meetings in prisons; for instead of breaking up or dissolving our meetings, under pretense of being unlawful, they have crowded so many of us in prison, that we can scarcely get room to lodge.

Surely the Lord takes notice of this grievous oppression and persecution, under which the innocent suffer; and to him we commit our cause, who in his own time will plead it.

Take heed how you go on persecuting the innocent; for there is that witness of God in you, which will trouble and judge you for it.

Consider it while you have time.

From a friend to your soul, George Whitehead.

During our imprisonment we not only faithfully warned our persecutors against their hard proceedings, with information of the innocency and righteousness of our cause, so that they were left inexcusable; but also the king was acquainted therewith, and the general sufferings of our friends laid before him, and their innocency pleaded, as a peaceable people, not having forfeited their interest in his promise of liberty to tender consciences in matters of religion. Some of our friends at London, reminded him thereof, and by solicitation and frequent complaints of our persecutions and hardships, he was induced to issue the proclamation of grace for our release out of the prisons. It also contained a threat, that impunity was not intended us, if we continued to practice, as we had done, upon the score of religion.

So it came to pass that it was but a short time after we were set at liberty, that we could enjoy our religious meetings quietly; the irreligious, persecuting spirit, being at work in the nation among priests and magistrates, who would have all compelled to go to church, and conform. The pretense was, for all to be of one religion; when there was but little of the life, substance, or purity of religion designed in the case; but rather empty form, ceremony, and an outward show and pretense, to palliate covetousness, pride, looseness of conduct, manifold corruptions, and fleshly liberty, then abounding, and more and more manifest. The libertines of those days boastingly told us, You must all go to church, or else you must lose your estates; or you must be hanged or banished; with many such threats and cruel mockings; yet still it was a stay to us, and sure ground of faith and hope, that we knew Him, in whom we livingly believed and hoped for salvation and strength.

So precipitant was the persecuting spirit, and eager to be at work, and that too under some color of law, that in the first parliament chosen after the king's restoration, they soon contrived a bill for suppressing our meetings; and many of the persons chosen to be members of that parliament, being known to be persecutors, they swayed and carried it by vote, so that the bill was committed, and at last passed into an Act, which is entitled,

*An Act for preventing mischiefs and dangers, that may arise by certain persons called Quakers, and others refusing to take lawful oaths.*

“Whereas, of late times, certain persons under the name of Quakers, and other names of

separation, have taken up and maintained sundry dangerous opinions and tenets, and among others, that the taking of an oath in any case whatsoever, although before a lawful magistrate, is altogether unlawful and contrary to the Word of God; and the said persons do daily refuse to take an oath, though lawfully tendered, whereby it often happens that truth is wholly suppressed, and the administration of justice much obstructed.

“And whereas the said persons, under a pretense of religious worship, do often assemble themselves in great numbers, in several parts of this realm, to the great endangering of the public peace and safety, and to the terror of the people, by maintaining a secret and strict correspondence among themselves, and in the mean time separating and dividing themselves from the rest of his majesty's good and loyal subjects, and from the public congregations and usual places of divine worship. [It was therefore enacted,] “That if five or more Quakers, of sixteen years of age, or upward, assemble under pretense of joining in religious worship, not authorized by law, the party offending, being convicted by verdict, confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, shall forfeit for the first offense, the sum imposed, not exceeding five pounds: and for the second, the sum imposed, not exceeding ten pounds, to be levied by distress and sale of the goods: and for lack thereof, or non-payment, within a week after conviction, shall be committed to the jail or house of correction; for the first offense, three months; for the second, six months; to be kept at hard labor. And if after two convictions, they offend the third time, and are convicted, they shall abjure the realm, or the king may order them to be transported in any ship, to any of his plantations.”

This Act was leveled against the people called Quakers, when nothing was justly chargeable against them, nor could any matter of fact be proved, but what concerned religion, and worship toward Almighty God, according to their conscientious persuasions; therefore it was purely for serving and worshipping him according to our consciences, that we suffered greatly by this Act for a time.

Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, and myself, having notice, and understanding the matter contained therein, when it was formed into a bill, attended the parliament, and solicited against the same, that it might not be passed into an Act; discoursing with many of the members, and showing them how unreasonable and injurious it would be, to pass such an Act against us, an innocent people; our religious assemblies being peaceable, and only intended for the worship of Almighty God, according to our consciences, and in no wise tending to the terror of the public, in appearance or action.

When the said bill was committed, we sundry times attended the committee, on the 10th and

13th days of the fifth month, and each of us were permitted to appear, and our reasons to be heard before the same, concerning the bill, why it should not pass against us.

What I declared to the committee, I kept this account as follows: the first time I signified, “That our meetings are in and for the worship of God, which really is a matter of conscience and of great weight to us, and that which in tenderness of conscience to Christ's command, we practice, for no other end but singly for the worship and service of God, according to the example and practice of the primitive saints and Christians; and that we behave ourselves peaceably towards all men; therefore we ought therein to have the liberty of our consciences, according to the king's promises of liberty to fender consciences in matters of religion.

“And that if we suffer for our peaceable harmless meetings, which are only for the worship of God, according to the saints' practice, who met often together for that end, we suffer for the cause of God, and shall commit our cause to him, and know that he will plead and avenge it against our persecutors, or to the same effect, exhorting them to act in the fear of God, etc. With other words of concernment to them.

“The second time we were before the said committee, I told them as concerning our meetings, which their intended law chiefly was against, that we met together in the name and fear of the Lord God, and in obedience to him, as the saints of old did; so that they might as well go about to make a law, that we should not pray in the name of Christ Jesus, as to make one to hinder or suppress our meetings, which are in his name, and from which we may no more refrain, than Daniel could forbear praying to the true God, though it was contrary to king Darius' decree.”

One called Sir John Goodrich being one of the committee, stood up, and most busily inveighed against us, accusing our meetings, calling them unlawful, and contrary to law, tending to seduce people from the church, and to seduce such as are orthodox, and the like.

To which I answered, “That if our meetings be contrary to law, then that implies there is some law, they are contrary to. If so, it seems superfluous and needless for you to go about to make another, if there be some law already in force against them. But no such thing, we hope can be proved against us, as that our meetings are unlawful in themselves, being in obedience to the Lord our God, only for his worship, and agreeable to the practice of the primitive Christians, recorded in the Scriptures of truth. Such meetings are not unlawful, and such are ours, as we can prove, and therefore not unlawful.

“If your intended law come to be put in execution against us, for our peaceable meetings, it may produce sad sufferings upon thousands of innocent people in the nation, and endanger the ruin of many families; and the loss of some lives,—and so it did—by persecution and

imprisonments. Of what a bad report will this be, that an innocent people should thus be oppressed for their consciences, when no matter of fact, or crime, worthy of suffering for, can be proved against them, or to that purpose.

“And further, if this intended law be effected against us, it will elevate and strengthen wicked, malicious and lawless persons, to take occasion to persecute us beyond the law,—to exceed the severity thereof, as they have lately done—as for instance, when great numbers of us were imprisoned upon the king's Proclamation, for meeting together, some of our friends were taken out of their beds, by rude fellows, and committed to prison; some poor men were taken from their callings, and from their poor families, whom they were to maintain, and sent to prison; and others were taken traveling on the king's high-way, about their lawful occasions and committed to prison, contrary to law, and which the king's Proclamation did not warrant them to do. Now if you make a law to cause us to suffer for our peaceable meetings, how much more will rude and lawless persons, take encouragement thereby, to act their cruelty and persecution against us, both beyond and contrary to what the law requires; and it is not your intended law that will satisfy that malicious spirit.

“Therefore seriously consider and weigh our cause; these things I leave to your serious consideration.”

Not having a particular or full account in writing, what my friends Edward Burrough and Richard Hubberthorn declared to that committee, I cannot insert the same with mine, otherwise I would have done it; but I remember the last time we were before the committee, Edward Burrough told them to this purpose, that if they made a law against our religious meetings, he should esteem it his duty to exhort our friends to keep their meetings diligently.

Notwithstanding what is before related, and more also that was urged by us before the said committee against the bill, they went forward, being intent upon it, in order to make their report to the whole house; and we being given to understand what day the bill was to be read in the house, were concerned to attend that day; and to endeavor to obtain leave to be heard in the house, before it was passed into an Act.

The day appointed, being the 19th of the fifth month, called July, A. D. 1661, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn and myself, with Edward Pyott of Bristol, who had been a captain, went up to the Parliament House, and spake to some of the members, whom we knew were friendly to us, to move for our admittance to be heard in the house, before the bill was passed, for which we gave them in writing, a proposal to this purpose: — “That we desired to have the liberty that criminals are allowed, that is, if they have any thing to say, or offer in court, why sentence should not pass against them, they may be heard; so we desire that we may

be heard, what we have to say, why the said bill ought not to pass against us.”

Whereupon a motion being made in the house, and leave given that we might be called in, and heard; accordingly we were forthwith called in before the bar of the House of Commons, there being a full house, and all in a quiet posture, ready to hear what we had to offer.

As Edward Burrough began to plead in vindication of the Quakers' meetings, on occasion of the bill before them, and against the same, some of the members said to him, “You must direct your speech to Mr. Speaker:” he told them he would. The point he chiefly insisted upon was,, That our meetings were no ways to the terror of people, as was suggested in the preamble of the bill, but peaceable innocent meetings, only for the worship and service of Almighty God, and as we are required by the law of God, placed in our hearts and consciences, which they ought not to make any law against. No human law ought to be made contrary to the law of God, enjoining us to worship him, for if they did make any such law, it would not be binding to us, to disobey the law of God: for which he mentioned and quoted to them that ancient law book. Doctor and Student, which he had then in his hand: where, treating of the law of God, the law of reason, etc., written in the heart of man, it is said, “Because it is written in the heart, it may not be put away, neither is it ever changeable by diversity of place or time; and therefore against this law, prescription, statute or custom may not prevail; and if any be brought in against it, they be not prescriptions, statutes, or customs, but things void and against justice.”

Wherefore Edward Burrough told them, that if they made such a law against our meetings, which are appointed for the worship of God, it would be contrary to the law of God, and void, or ought to be void, ipso facto.

I remember this was the import of what Edward Burrrough pleaded to the house at that time.

And what Richard Hubberthorn argued, was upon this point: “It being suggested that we were numerous, and holding a close or strict correspondence among ourselves, our meetings might be the more dangerous, to contrive and cause insurrections, etc., as is implied in the preamble of the bill.”

To which Richard Hubberthorn gave a fair and ingenuous answer, That there could be no such danger in our meetings as the contrivance of insurrections or plots against the government; for our meetings being public, where all sorts of people may resort, and come to hear and see what is said or done, it is not likely or probable we should plot or contrive insurrections in them, in the sight of the whole world. And if our meetings should be reduced to such a small number as but four or five persons, besides those of the family, it could not break our correspondence, but we should have more opportunity privately to correspond, and to plot and contrive insurrection

or mischief, if we were a people of such bad principles, or so evilly principled; which we are not. Therefore it is most reasonable to allow our meetings to be public, as they are, and not to punish us on causeless suspicion of danger, when there appears no reason for the same; nor to make a law to limit them to small numbers; or to this import.

After Edward Burrough and Richard Hubberthorn had spoken against the bill, which was chiefly designed against our religious meetings, George Whitehead began thus: "I have a few words to offer to you, relating to what has been said, and I desire I may be heard, for I shall use as much brevity as I can."

Speaker: Then offer them, and do not reiterate.

George Whitehead: We desire you in the fear of the Lord, to consider us, as we are an innocent and suffering people, and have been so under the several governments since we were a people, as our patience and innocency towards our persecutors in all our sufferings, have plainly manifested. For both under Oliver Cromwell and since his days, have we endured much hard suffering, persecution and imprisonment for our conscience; and yet we have not rebelled or sought revenge against our persecutors; but in all our undeserved sufferings, have committed our cause to the Lord. And therefore what an unreasonable thing is it, that a law should particularly be made against us, when we have done no evil, nor any injury against any man's person; nor could any such thing be proved against us, in respect to our meetings, that ever we were found guilty of. So that for you to make a law against us, tending to our ruin, and to go about to trample us under foot, when we are innocent and peaceable in the nation, and no matter of fact worthy of suffering proved against us, will neither be to the honor of the king, nor add any thing to your security. No, what a hard thing is it, for you to make a law to add afflictions and sad sufferings upon us, when there are several laws already, whereby we are liable to suffer, as those for tithes, oaths, and others; so that to make another law to afflict us, when nothing worthy of suffering is proved, seems to us very hard and unreasonable.

And moreover, we have neither forfeited our liberties, nor abused the king's indulgence, in any thing acted by us. And the king having promised liberty to tender consciences, on condition that they do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and we not having forfeited our interest therein, ought not, therefore, to be hindered of our liberty in matters of worship and conscience towards God. We can prove that our practice of assembling ourselves together, and our principles also, are grounded upon the righteous law of God, and agreeable to Christ's doctrine; and we are willing to vindicate and demonstrate them according to truth, if we might have liberty here; and that for the satisfaction of such as oppose or scruple them.

In the fear of the Lord consider what you are doing, and seek not further to add affliction to us,

lest you oppress the innocent.

However, if we suffer for our conscience, in obeying Christ, we shall commit our cause to the Lord our God, who will, no doubt, plead it against our oppressors.

After Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn and George Whitehead had declared to the House of Commons as related, Edward Pyott was also permitted to speak a few words to them, which he did very weightily, on this subject; reminding them of that golden rule which Jesus Christ has laid down, and requires us all to observe; which is, To do to all men as we would be willing they should do unto us; thereupon cautioning them, that as they would not be persecuted, oppressed or made to suffer for their religion or conscience, or have a law made for that purpose against them, no more ought they to make a law against us, to punish us for worshipping God according to our consciences or inward persuasions. This Edward Pyott pressingly urged upon them.

As we were withdrawing out of the house, some of the members near the door gently pulled me by my coat sleeve; I turned and asked them what they would have with me? They said, "Nothing, but to look upon you." I being but a young man about twenty-four years of age.

We appeared and declared what was upon our minds, in great simplicity and sincerity; and the Lord's power and presence were with us, and helped us in our endeavors; and I saw clearly that what we declared innocently to them, had some effect upon, and reached the consciences of several of the members, who appeared serious and sober in their carriage toward us. I had an intimation afterwards, that some of the members confessed that, what we had declared was very reasonable; and if they had feared God, or regarded his counsel, and allowed Him to rule among them, they would not have made that act against us.

But we had only a very few in that Parliament who appeared openly to be our friends, or friends for liberty to tender consciences, in those days; namely, Edmund Waller, senior, Esq., who was termed Witt Waller; he was principled against persecution, and for liberty of conscience, and always kind to us; and one Michael Mallett, Esq.; who afterward was convinced of the truth, and frequented our meetings, even in suffering times, when our meetings were kept out of doors in the streets, in Westminster and London. And sir John Vaughan, then a young man, appeared also for us, and afterward was convinced of the truth, and went to our meetings when we were persecuted upon the conventicle act, and was imprisoned in Newgate with our friends, for a little time, being taken at a meeting at Mile-end. He continued afterward among our friends, and visited us in prison; and though at length some of his relations drew him aside, to his great prejudice, yet he retained a kindness, even when he came to be earl of Carberry, and continued friendly to us when he was an old man, and until his

latter end; not wholly forgetting what conviction and knowledge of the truth he received when among us.

There were also some few more of the members of that Parliament, friendly toward us at that time when we appeared before them; but the majority being resolved and bent to persecution, they passed the bill into an act.

Upon which great persecution and imprisonments followed.

In the year 1662, our meetings in and about London were broken up with force and violence, by the trained bands and officers, especially on the first-days of the week; which though professed to be their Christian sabbath, no holiness was observed, but rending and tearing innocent people out of their religious assemblies, and haling them to prison. Such furious work of persecution they commonly wrought on that day, which they pretend to be their Christian sabbath and the Lord's day, and to be kept holy, as Israel was required to observe and keep the seventh-day for the sabbath, according to the fourth commandment.

Yet these our persecutors made no conscience of violating and profaning their professed sabbath, by their works of violence and persecution. Even after an act of Parliament was made for the better observation of the Lord's day, as it was termed, those self-condemned, pretended Christians, in many places furiously went on in their persecution and cruelty, against their fellow creatures and honest neighbors, without regard to God or religious worship, on any day; to the great reproach and scandal of the profession of Christianity.

Pursuant to the aforesaid act, as was pretended, my beloved brethren, Richard Hubberthorn, Edward Burrough and myself, with many more of our faithful friends, were haled out of meetings and imprisoned in Newgate, London; where so many of us were crowded together, both in that called justice-hall side, and in the chapel side of the prison, that we were hard put to it for lodging room.

The chapel was on the top of Newgate, where many Friends lay crowded in hammocks; and Richard Hubberthorn and I lay on a small pallet bed, in a little hole or closet behind the chapel, and opening into it, so that the breath and steam of those that lay next to us, in the chapel, came much upon us.

We chose to lodge on the chapel side for the encouragement of many of the poorer sort of Friends who were there, and that they might not be offended or troubled, as we thought they might, if we had taken up our lodging among the richer sort of our friends, on justice-hall side. We had many good meetings in the chapel, and the Lord was with us, to our great comfort and

encouragement in his name and power, for whose sake we suffered patiently.

It being in summer time, and a hot season, when we were thus crowded in prison, some of our friends who were prisoners too, fell sick of a violent fever, whereof some died; and were viewed by the coroner's inquest. And when some were removed out of prison on account of sickness, they quickly ended their days, after their close confinement.

In those days of hot persecution, one called sir Richard Brown, was chief persecutor in London, and gloried much in his persecuting and imprisoning our friends, insulting over them. I remember one time when several of us were called into the court of sessions in the old Bailey, one Friend was moved to testify against their persecuting and oppressing the righteous seed and people of God, calling out to the magistrates on the bench, "How long will you oppress the righteous seed," etc., with other words on the same subject. While he was so speaking, the said sir Richard Brown in derision, began to sing, "Ha you any kitchen stuff maids? Ha you any kitchen stuff maids? Hey, Wall fleet oysters, will you buy any Wall fleet oysters? Will you buy any Wall fleet oysters," etc.

And he tuned it out much like the women that cry kitchen stuff, and Wall fleet oysters, up and down the streets in London. I thought it very strange, indecent behavior for a justice of peace and alderman of London, thus anticly to show himself upon the bench, in a court of judicature, in the presence of the lord mayor and the rest of the magistrates, many people being present in court. But it showed how, in this persecuting spirit, a principal persecutor triumphed in his own iniquity, and gloried in his shame.

Many of us were committed for three months imprisonment in Newgate, being our first commitment upon the aforesaid act. Before the time of that imprisonment was expired, my dear friend and brother, Richard Hubberthorn, was taken sick and died; and our dear brother, Edward Burrough, who was detained prisoner after I was released, was also taken sick of a fever and died. Thus the Lord was pleased by death to release both these my dear brethren, companions and fellow laborers in the gospel of Christ Jesus; whose death was lamented by many tender friends, respecting the great service which they had in their day.

And though I had a full share in suffering with my friends and brethren in those days of hot persecution, and was carried through such imprisonments and sufferings as ended the days of several, yet my days have been lengthened much beyond my expectation; so that I have been ready humbly to inquire, Lord Tor what end am I so long spared alive, and my days prolonged, when so many of your faithful servants are removed? Whereupon he has showed me that my trials and service in his church, and for his people, were not yet finished; and he has often made me sensible of his merciful providence in my preservation through many trials and exercises,

being supported by the word of faith and of his patience, in the kingdom and patience of our blessed Lord and Savior Jesus Christ; to whom be glory and dominion forever and ever. O my soul, praise you the Lord, my life, my strength, and my salvation, and let all that is within me bless his holy name.

In those days of hot persecution it was observable, how furious some of the judges were against our friends, when brought prisoners into court, and they lacked evidence of matter of fact against them upon trial, and some of our friends would not answer interrogatories to accuse themselves, but asked for their accusers, or where are our accusers.

Some of the judges would use the words, “Sirrah, sirrah, you are an impudent fellow, leave your canting;” threatening them, with severe menaces, and frowning on them; much unbecoming a justice or judge, who ought to be impartial, to do equal justice and right, without premeditation or partiality against any person.

The act against Quakers, to fine, imprison, and transport them out of the land for not swearing, or for their religious meetings, did not satisfy those rigid persecutors, when they had made trial of it. The process of three months and six months imprisonment, before it came to transportation or banishment, was too slow a procedure to answer their invidious designs. They could not thereby so expeditiously rid the land of us as they would, though many suffered hard imprisonments; and therefore in a short time they procured another engine to shorten their work against us, namely; an act entitled an act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles; of which act, and the administration thereof, some account may be given hereafter.

A relation of my imprisonment with other Friends, in the White Lion prison in Southwark, near London, for assembling together in the worship and service of Almighty God, and of our treatment in prison, will show the manner how our friends, being often apprehended, were treated in those days, for our innocent, religious meetings.

Upon the 3rd day of the fifth month, 1664, being the first-day of the week, our friends were peaceably met together at their usual meeting place at Horsleydown, according to their wonted manner, waiting upon the Lord in his fear. And after some time, George Whitehead spake to the assembly by way of exhortation, in truth and righteousness. In the interim, a company of soldiers with muskets and lighted matches in their hands, rushed in, and before they came to the inner door, one of them fired a musket; and two of them violently pulled George Whitehead down, and haled him and some others out of the meeting, and carried themselves very rudely, pushing and threatening our friends, forcing many out of the meeting, and raging at and pushing women when they came near their husbands, whom they had taken into custody. George Whitehead asking them to show their warrant for what they did, a soldier held up his

musket over his head, and said that was his warrant.

Then they whose names are mentioned in the mittimus hereafter, with several more, some of whom they took near the meetinghouse door, and others in the street, were had to the main guard on Margaret's hill; where they kept them for some time, until those called justices came, who asked our friends whether they were at the meeting aforesaid I To which answer was made, that they desired to hear what evidence came against them; for some were taken in the street, and not all in the meeting; but they put it upon George Whitehead to confess, if he was not present at the meeting; to which he answered. What evidence have you against me, and I shall answer further? Whereupon some of the soldiers were called to give evidence concerning him, and the rest with him; they witnessed, that he was taken in the meeting-house speaking to the people; which was all the evidence that was given against him.

George Whitehead excepted against the soldiers, as being incompetent witnesses; for they came, said he, in a rude and inhuman manner, with force and arms, and so apprehended us illegally, without any justice present, or warrant for what they did, but one holding up his musket, said that was his warrant, when they took us. They came in a terrifying manner among a peaceable people; which was both contrary to the late act, upon which they pretended to proceed, contrary to the king's proclamation, which prohibits the seizing of subjects by soldiers, unless in time of actual insurrection, according as was told them. By the said act the deputy lieutenants and militia officers and forces are not required to be assisting in suppressing meetings, unless upon a certificate under hand and seal of a justice of peace, that he, with his assistants, are not able to suppress them. It was also told them, that no dwelling house of any peer or other person whatsoever, shall be entered into, by virtue of the said act, but in the presence of one justice of peace. But there was no justice of the peace present when they were taken, neither was their meeting seditious or tumultuous, as those are which the militia officers are required to be assistant to suppress. The words of the act were mentioned to them, and George Whitehead required justice against those who had so illegally apprehended them, and broken the peace thereby.

Friends also complained against one of the soldiers for firing his musket near the meeting door in the entry, and shooting a bullet through two or three ceilings and a dwelling room, which bullet was found near a child's cradle, where the child used to be laid; and one present had the same to show them, as it was bruised.

George Moor, one of the justices, answered, that it was done accidentally, and not intentionally; but how it could be that it was not intentionally done, does not appear; seeing the rest of the soldiers held their matches apart from their muskets. If accidentally done, consider whether

such a man who had no more discretion or care, was a fit person or officer, to come in that manner with a musket charged, among a peaceable, harmless people, assembled to worship God? But George Moor excused their having their muskets loaded. And to George Whitehead's saying that there was no justice present when they were apprehended, George Moor answered, that he was present; George Whitehead told him, they did not see him there; and the soldiers being asked if he were present among them, they said no; but he said he was present, for he was near the meeting, or but a little way off. And when George Whitehead required justice against those soldiers that had broken the peace, and desiring that they would correct or stop such proceedings for the future, for, said he, if any hurt be done by the soldiers, it will be required at your hands; answer was made by some present, that our friends might take their course, and have the benefit of the law, if they would swear the peace against them.

As to the charge against George Whitehead, that he was at an unlawful assembly, and there was taken speaking; he answered, that it must be some unlawful act done by the persons met that could make the meeting unlawful; and therefore desired to know what unlawful act they had committed in their meeting. He told them that it was neither simply the meeting, nor the number met, whether five or five hundred, that could reasonably be judged unlawful, if the act or occasion met about was lawful; but it is an unlawful act that makes an unlawful meeting.

As to the act of Parliament, which is named, An act to prevent Seditious Conventicles, the name should signify its nature and intent, and the preamble the reason or cause of it, and that is against such as under pretense of tender consciences, do contrive insurrections at their meetings. The preambles of laws are esteemed the keys of laws. One of the justices said, he did not know but that our meetings were to that intent. George Whitehead told him, whatsoever he or any other might suspect against them proves nothing. Suspicion proves no fact; we are an innocent people, fearing God.

Some of the justices alleged upon the evidence, that George Whitehead was at the meeting, and taken speaking, and the meeting was above the number of five. To which George Whitehead said, That proves nothing of the breach of the law against him, unless they could prove some unlawful act done or met about; for it is not the number makes the transgression, but the fact, if it be unlawful; and if three be met about an unlawful act, it is an unlawful meeting, or a riot; which Friends urged several times, that it must be an unlawful act that must make a meeting unlawful. Thereupon they excepted against the evidence as insufficient for conviction, or passing sentence of imprisonment upon them, in order to banishment. And it was urged as a matter of weight, which concerned them to consider of.

Whereupon George Moor with some others, commanded the people to depart, and caused the

soldiers to disperse those who stood civilly by, to hear and see what became of our friends—that they might not hear their trial, and would have had George Whitehead taken away. George Whitehead being several times accused for speaking in the meeting, desired the justices to ask the witness what he spake in the meeting; but they would not ask the question, neither could the witnesses answer to it when it was propounded by our friends; so that no breach of the law was proved against them. One Friend told them. We suppose you will not account it a transgression to speak, where nothing can be proved against what is spoken, unless you would have us dumb, and not speak at all.

And then as to meeting to the number of five or above, under color or pretense of religious exercise not allowed by the liturgy, which incurs the penalty of the act, George Whitehead questioned what manner of religious exercise the liturgy did disallow of; and granted that he was at the meeting, and there did speak, having a word of exhortation to the people; but that still they fell short in their proof, either that the meeting was seditious or tumultuous, or that the exercise of religion or worship that we practiced was disallowed by the liturgy. For, said he, the liturgy allows what the holy Scriptures allow of; and if I had a word of exhortation to speak according to the gift of God received, this is allowed by the Scriptures, therefore not disallowed by the liturgy, so that you have not proved the transgression of the law against me. To which they gave no answer. The clerk said it was a dilemma. Some Friends they let go, because the soldiers could not testify whether they took them in the street or in the meeting.

But seeing they resolved to proceed against some of our friends, George Whitehead told them that if they had so much moderation in them, they needed not, neither were they enjoined, to proceed to the rigor of the law, so as to imprison them for three months, seeing the law allowed any time not exceeding three months. But if they would imprison them to the utmost, George Whitehead demanded that they might have sufficient prison room, and not be stifled and destroyed by many being crowded together, as several were before in the same prison; for if they were, he told them, it would be required at their hands, and God would plead their cause, and call them to account for what they had done against them.

After several passages between them, more than are here mentioned. Friends refusing to pay five pounds fine each, were committed to jail without bail or mainprize. While the justices were committing them, there was exceedingly great thunder, lightning and rain, and the water was so high in the street that the soldiers could not get them to prison, but kept them in the street in the rain, and afterwards had them back to a house until the water was fallen; and then they were had late to prison very wet.

The two keepers, Stephen Harris and Joseph Hall, after a little space demanded of each of

them, 3s. 6d. a week for lodging, or 2s. apiece for the bare room, the best whereof overflowed with water. But they could not yield to the jailer's oppression, or pay him down ten shillings, which he required for that first night, but desired to be left to their liberty; and if they received any courtesy or accommodation from him, they should consider him as they found cause; but could neither pay for a prison, nor uphold oppression in it.

Stephen Harris threatened them with the common ward, where the felons lie, and commanded them to go into it, which they refused, as a place not fit for true men to be in; yet he turned them into the common ward among the said felons. Friends warned him not to allow them to be abused, but they made light of it, saying, "It is your own faults," and seemed to encourage the felons against our friends.

Soon after the keepers had turned their backs the felons demanded half a crown apiece, swearing what they would do to them; and because Friends could not answer their unjust demands, they fell upon them, searched their pockets, and took what money they found from several of them. When they had so done the keeper came to the window, and the felons confidently told him what they had done and how much they had taken, and that they must have more from them, for which he did not at all reprove them. They said they hoped he would stand by them in what they did; he made them return the cloak they had taken from one Friend, after they had taken his money; and laughed upon them when they threatened Friends, and swore and cursed; the keepers also swore at them, and threatened to make them bow; whereupon the felons gave a shout, crying, God a mercy, boys, we'll be upon them again.

Besides these abuses which our friends met with from the jailers and prisoners, the ward was such a nasty, stinking hole, and so crowded with those felons, and several women lying among them, which some called their wives, that our friends had not whereon to lay their heads to rest, nor a stool to sit down upon; but when they were weary, were made to sit down on the floor, among the vermin, in a stinking place. Of which gross abuses, complaint being made to some of the justices that committed them, the next night the jailer was made to let Friends have room to lodge apart from the felons.

A copy of the mittimus follows.

Surrey, ss. To the keeper of his majesty's jail for the county aforesaid.

Forasmuch as George Whitehead, George Patteson, Joseph Dunsdale, Gilbert Hutton, George Rawlins, Edward Pattison, Timothy England, were this day taken at a seditious assembly or conventicle, and are convict for the same before us; wherefore, according to the said act, we have fined them at the sum of five pounds apiece, which they do

refuse to pay down unto us. Therefore in his majesty's name, we command you to receive their bodies into your said jail, and them safely to keep without bail or mainprize, for the space of three months from this present day.

And hereof see that you in no wise fail, under the pains and penalties in the said act mentioned.

Dated the 3rd day of July, 1664.

John Bkomfield, John Lenthal, George Moor.

A few days after my commitment to White Lion prison, another trial befell me. I was had out of the prison, before John Lenthal, about the plot in the north of England, A. D.

1663, being unjustly accused by a Yorkshire man, a sort of an attorney, or lawyer, to have been concerned in that plot, because I was a Westmoreland man born; and though he could not make out any proof against me, yet he persisted in his own evil jealousy and surmise, that I was such a person, whom he named, and said was in the plot; affirming that my name was not Whitehead, but another name. I was then carried in a boat to White-hall, guarded with musketeers, and the jailer also with us, and there had into a room near the secretary's office, where the jailer waited with me. The lawyer, who had falsely suggested the crime against me, went in, and after some time a person was sent out to examine me and my accuser with him. Then I was questioned about my name, the examiner, looking in a list of names which he had in his hand. I gave him a just account of my name and clearness, yet my accuser would confidently contradict me, saying, "Your name is not Whitehead, but Marshden," or such a like name. I told him surely I knew my own name, as I had declared it. Presently stepped in one who seemed to be an ancient gentleman, hearing my accuser tell me my name was not Whitehead, and contradicted him; saying, "Yes his name is Whitehead; he has written several books, to which his name is in print;" which gave a check to him, and prevented further examination.

This busy, false accuser and prosecutor, went in again to the secretary's office, and in a little time came out and warned the jailer not to discharge me until he had order from the secretary. Whether he had order so to caution the jailer was questionable, for the man appeared very busy against me without cause, or any previous knowledge of me, or I of him. But seeing he was so confident in his unjust prosecution, I questioned in my thoughts whether he might not be suborned to prosecute me, or did it to get himself a name or some reward for a pretended discovery.

However, I esteemed it best and safest for me to trust in the Lord my God for preservation, and to be resigned to his will; and I desired if he allowed me to be prosecuted and tried for my life, I might have opportunity to vindicate and clear our holy profession and friends, and my own innocency also, from all such works of darkness, as plots and conspiracies against the king or government. And this I thought to do, if brought to a place of execution; nevertheless I wrote a letter from prison to the lord Arlington, then Secretary of State, to clear my own innocency from those false suggestions and insinuations which were made against me, about the plot before mentioned, which was delivered to him, and I heard no more of it, but was released out of prison with the rest, when the three months were expired, for which we had been committed.

On the 16th day of the eighth month, 1664, being the first-day of the week, our friends were met together in the fear of the Lord, according to their usual manner, in their meeting place at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate, London, and George Whitehead being there, declared the truth in the power and dread of the Lord God. After some time a great company of men with halberts came into the meeting, and a little after shut the meeting-house door, and kept out many people that would have come in. The halberteers stood and heard quietly for near an hour, as it was thought; only one rude fellow attempted to pull George Whitehead down, but did not. Afterward came the lord mayor and a company with him, and Richard Brown followed.

In a little time after the mayor came in, a rude fellow violently pulled George Whitehead down from speaking, and haled him near the door; the mayor asked him his name, which he told him.

Richard Brown came somewhat rudely into the meeting, reviling and deriding our friends; whereupon one of them giving testimony for the presence of the Lord in our meeting after this manner: "The Lord brought us here; and the presence of the Lord is among us; and this is my testimony." Richard Brown answered, "The devil brought you here; and the devil is among you, and this is my testimony;" laughing, and swinging his arms. To his words. The devil is among you, our friends presently replied, "It is since you earnest then among us." He threatened some to send them to Bridewell, but George Whitehead exhorted the said Richard Brown and the mayor to moderation and civility towards us; Richard Brown answered, "If you will be civil to us, we will be civil to you." George Whitehead desired the mayor to produce the law they had broken, and that they might have a fair trial. Richard Brown answered, "Yes you shall have a fair trial at the sessions tomorrow," it not being then ended. Then some of the halbert men had George Whitehead and some of his friends into the street, and after they had kept them some time, they sent them in companies to Newgate, without sending warrants with them, being fined one shilling each, or six days imprisonment.

At the same time a particular warrant was sent to the jailer, from the mayor and Richard Brown, to detain William Smith, James Carter, William Parker, Elizabeth Chapman, and Jane Boadle, prisoners, for a pretended third offense, until delivered by due course of law.

In such manner both our men and women friends were frequently imprisoned, and jails filled with them in those days; for their persecutors were in great heat and haste to get them banished upon the second act of Parliament made for that end.

If they could bring them under conviction for a third offense, as they termed our meeting to worship the only living and true God; which if any one among us did but confess, it was enough to make him or her an offender, and to be convicted presently thereupon, either for a first, second, or third offense. The shortness of our last imprisonment, as well as the smallness of the fines of one shilling apiece, seemed designed to despatch us the sooner out of the land by banishment, after conviction for three pretended offenses.

Now it may not be improper to give some account of the contents of the second act of Parliament, designed not only for our imprisonment, but also for our banishment out of the land of our nativity; and that with more expedition than could be effected by the first act, though the Lord our God would not allow that design of banishment to take any such general effect against us, as was desired by our invidious persecutors; for by his judgments in a great measure he frustrated our adversaries.

Howbeit many of our innocent friends were sentenced for banishment, yet but few in comparison, actually shipped or banished out of the land.

The preamble and penalties of the said act follow, 16 Car. 2, ch. iv.

It is styled, An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles. In the preamble, the 25th Eliz. ch. i. is declared to be in force: and also for providing of further and more speedy remedy against the growing and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries, and other disloyal persons, who under pretense of tender consciences, do at their meetings continue insurrections, as late experience has showed.

Thus far the preamble and reason given for the act.

Thereupon it is enacted, that if any person of the age of sixteen years and upwards, being a subject, etc., shall be present at any assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under color or pretense of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy of the church of England, every such person being convicted before two justices of the peace, to be committed to the jail or House of Correction, there to remain without

bail or mainprize, for any time not exceeding three months, unless such person pay down to the said justices such sum of money not exceeding five pounds, as they might fine the offender at.

And for the second offense, the person convicted incurred the penalty of imprisonment for any time not exceeding six months, without bail or mainprize, unless the person convicted pay down such sum of money, not exceeding ten pounds, as the justices would fine him.

The penalty for the third offense, was imprisonment without bail or mainprize, until the next general quarter sessions, assizes, jail delivery, etc., there to be indicted, arraigned, etc., and when convicted, judgment to be entered, that such offender should be transported beyond the seas, to any of his majesty's foreign plantations—Virginia and New England only excepted—there to remain seven years.

And the said respective courts were also empowered to give out warrants to the several constables, etc., where the estate, real or personal, of such offender so to be transported, should be; commanding them to seize into their hands the profits of the lands, and to distrain and sell the goods of the person to be transported, for the reimbursing the sheriffs charges for conveying and embarking the person to be transported.

And it is also enacted, that in case the offender convicted for the third offense, shall pay one hundred pounds in court, he shall be discharged from imprisonment, transportation and judgment for the same.

And it is further enacted, that the like imprisonment, judgment, arraignment, and proceedings, shall be against every such offender as often as he shall again offend after such third offense; nevertheless is dischargeable and discharged by payment of the like sum as was payed for his or her said offense, next before committed, together with the additional and increased sum of one hundred pounds more upon every new offense committed.

But this severe act was made temporary, being to continue in force for three years only after the end of that session, and to the end of the next session of Parliament, after the end of the three years, and no longer.

And indeed it was time that persecuting, cruel law should expire; for the execution thereof tended to the great oppression and ruin of many of the king's innocent, peaceable subjects and

families, especially of the people called Quakers, of whom the persecutors, in that three years time, while the said act was in force, furiously endeavored to rid the nation, by banishment, or to force them to conform to that church whereof those persecutors were members. By their frequent imprisonments in order to banishment, they brought no great honor to their church, priesthood, or profession; but made many widows and fatherless, as well as poor, even of honest, industrious families, by their persecutions, cruelties, imprisonments, fines, and many times spoil of their goods. Our religious assemblies have been often disturbed and broken up by the persecuting agents, officers and soldiers, many of us apprehended and brought before the magistrates, witnesses called and examined, and no matter of evil fact proved against any of us, either of any breach of the public peace or sedition, much less of any contrivance of insurrection, or of any other dangerous practice whatsoever.

If the meeting was taken altogether in silence, the persecuting justices would endeavor to make it a seditious conventicle, when they could have no proof of any sedition or unlawful act, or color of evidence thereof against it, or any of our meetings whatsoever.

The manner of their proceeding to conviction against many of us, has been thus; when apprehended and convened before the magistrates, and the officers or witnesses called, they declare they took such persons in a conventicle or meeting. The magistrate asks.

What did they do there? If the witness answers he took such a one preaching or teaching, or praying, and he be asked, What did he say? Commonly the witness or witnesses cannot remember one sentence, preached or prayed. However, the persecuting magistrate takes it for granted it was a seditious conventicle, though he has no proof of any sedition preached, taught, or uttered in prayer, nor any evidence or knowledge what was said, yet presently he passes judgment, enters conviction, and imprisons the persons convened.

If any of the persons taken confess they were met to worship God in spirit and in truth, or to wait upon God, the persecuting magistrates presently lay hold of this and say. That is enough, or they have confessed enough to convict them of a conventicle or unlawful assembly.

If the witnesses or informers, have no evidence to give of any overt act, or religious exercise done in the meeting; but only that all was in silence, as many times has been, yet the persecuting magistrates or justices would either make a riot or unlawful assembly of such a silent meeting, when there was not the least appearance of a riot, force or violence, nor any thing acted or spoken in terrorem or injury of any one's person or property, whatsoever.

When a persecuting justice with a constable and others, comes huffing and stamping into the assembly, whether all be in silence, or one preaching, and either commands the people to be

pulled out of the meeting, or the doors to be shut, to keep them in, and their names to be taken, the officers and other rude persons either pull and hale people out till they are tired, or take names until they are weary, according as they have command. The justice then either imprisons or fines many of the persons who are most noted, though he saw no act committed of any evil tendency.

Persecuting justices would easily receive information against our religious meetings, how ignorant and impertinent soever they were. If an envious informer told the justice the Quakers were met under color of religious exercise, contrary to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, the informer or witness presumes to be judge both of law and fact; when probably he does not understand what the word liturgy means, nor can explain the practice of the church of England, which is not limited to reading the common prayer only; and if the witness declares there was preaching or praying in such a meeting, yet remembers not one word or sentence expressed in either, as it has often happened, nevertheless such silly, ignorant, and impertinent evidence has been often accepted for conviction.

It was observable as well as memorable, that as the rulers in those days were often warned of the impending judgments of God, if they would not leave off their persecution, so when they were making haste to have us banished out of the land, and especially out of the city of London and the suburbs, in the years 1664 and 1665, and for that end the jails were often crowded, whereby many innocent persons suffered death; God was pleased even then, in the year 1665, to hasten his heavy judgment and sad calamity of the great plague or raging pestilence upon the city, and some other places in the land, whereby many thousands of the inhabitants died; sometimes above six thousand in a week, of all sorts, both of good and evil men and women, besides innocent children. The calamity being common, the righteous and the good were taken away from the evil to come, though it went ill with the wicked, who for all this would not return to the Lord; neither would the cruel persecutors repent of their abominable cruelties; but persisted therein what they could, disturbing our meetings and imprisoning, until they were frightened with the plague. Even during its prevalence many of our innocent friends were confined in jails; which seemed no small piece of barbarity and inhumanity, especially when the contagion so greatly prevailed in the city. I have told some persons in authority of this cruelty, to manifest what mercy their church then showed us, and that men of moderation or any compassion would be ashamed thereof I well remember, that having some times of respite between my imprisonments before the sickness in London, I travelled to visit our friends in the country, and sometimes into the northern counties, and near the beginning of that summer, A. D. 1665, when the pestilence was begun in London, I was in the county of Surrey, and having a meeting at John Smith's house at Worplesdon, his brother Stephen Smith and his wife came to the meeting; where Stephen and his wife were convinced of the truth, which the Lord enabled

me to declare, and livingly to demonstrate at that time, as at many others. And the Lord having laid upon me to come to London, as I signified to some friends present, after the meeting, Stephen questioned how I could venture to come to London, seeing the plague was then broken out there. I gave account of my submission to the will of God, and of my faith and trust in him for preservation; upon which Stephen appeared more satisfied and confirmed in the belief of the truth, borne testimony to among us at that meeting.

I soon came to London, and my lodging was at the house of William Travers, tobacconist in Watling street, who with his wife Rebecca, kindly received and entertained me, as did also her sister Mary Booth, who lived with her, and the whole family were loving to me and friends. And the Lord preserved that family, that none of them were infected with the pestilence, though it greatly increased, and the mortality thereby, so that in a few weeks great numbers quickly died.

It was a time of great calamity, sorrow and heaviness, to many thousands of all sorts; and that which added to our friends' affliction, was the hardness of our persecutors' hearts, their cruelty and barbarity in imprisoning and detaining many of them in prison, both in Newgate, London, and the White Lion prison in Southwark, after the plague was greatly broken forth, and many people swept away by it.

I had not then freedom, satisfaction, or peace to leave the city, or friends in and about London, in that time of great and general calamity, no, not when the mortality was at the height; but was concerned and given up in spirit to stay among them to attend friends' meetings; to visit friends in prison, and at their houses; even when many of them lay sick of the contagion, both in prison, and their habitations. And in all that time the Lord preserved me by his power, through faith, from the infectious distemper which mercy I esteemed great and wonderful, and hope ever thankfully to remember, in a living sense of the divine hand which upheld and preserved me.

Although it was judged the prisons were then infected and poisoned with the contagion, I was freely given up to suffer imprisonment; and on first-days took my night cap in my pocket when I went to meeting, not knowing but I might be apprehended at some meeting, and committed to prison. The Lord gave me faith to be resigned to his will, either to live, or to die for his name and truth sake; and through all those dangers and difficulties, to bear my testimony in faithfulness to his blessed power and life of righteousness, and thereby sustained and wonderfully preserved my life, when the cry and sound of mortality was round about us, from one end and side of the city to another.

As the contagion and sickness increased, many of our persecutors were so terrified, that their

hands were for sometime weakened. Still many of them were so hardened, that they were resolved to proceed against us to banishment, as when Pharaoh saw there was respite, he hardened his heart. So did our persecutors, when the calamity did not come upon themselves, though they saw how it was abroad, greatly destroying the inhabitants; for it was observed in the weekly bill, that when the plague was most hot and violent in and about London, seven thousand one hundred and sixty-five died thereof in one week; and in that year, 1665, of the same distemper, sixty-eight thousand five hundred and ninety-six, according to the yearly bill.

One evening after I had been visiting Friends in some places in the city, I was taken sick in my stomach and head, and was concerned, lest any of the family where I lodged should be frightened, so as to fear the sickness had taken hold upon me, and I spake to my friend Rebecca Travers, to desire her sister, Mary Booth, not to be afraid on my account; for said I to her, I shall be well tomorrow, wishing her to tell her sister so.

And through the Lord's mercy I was very well next morning, though I had been very sick over night.

I was then deeply concerned to visit our friends who were sick in prison, and out of prison, even when some of them were very near death, being often in great suffering and travail of spirit, with earnest prayer and fervent supplications to God for them, who were sufferers by imprisonment and that visitation, that God would appear for them, and plead their innocent cause, and afford them speedy help and deliverance. Being then a witness of that love which casts out fear, through the great mercy and love of my heavenly Father, manifest in his dear Son, I was not afraid to visit my friends when sick and in infected prisons.

The Lord bore up my spirit in living faith, above the fear of death, or the contagious distemper; and my life was resigned in the will of him who gave it, for my friends and brethren, for whose sake true Christian love would engage us to lay down our lives to save theirs, if required of the Lord so to manifest our unfeigned love one for another. For it is not only in words and outward appearance that true love is really manifest, but in deed and in truth. But many who profess Christian love and charity, light and truth, in these days of liberty, have not had their love tried, as the love of our friends and brethren was in those days of sore persecution and great calamity; wherein the Lord, notwithstanding, gave us great consolation, comfort and courage—having received certain testimony and evidence in our hearts of the love of God, which we did partake of in Christ Jesus, from which we believed no wrath of man, no persecutions, calamities or distresses, should separate us. In those times of severe trial, the questions and answers given by the apostle, were often remembered; Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is

written. For your sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. No, in all these things we are more than conquerors, through him that loved us. For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord: Rom. viii. 35, 36, 37, 38, 39.

Further to show my exercise and concern for our friends in that time, the two following epistles are next inserted.

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*A few seasonable words to all the tender hearted, whose spirits are saddened and cast down at the trials of the present time.*

O dear friends,

You that have received the testimony of God's love and salvation, and have tasted of the power of an endless life, look not out, nor be discouraged at the deep suffering and trial of the present time, though many have a deep sense thereof upon their spirits, and the hearts of many be saddened to see how universal this calamity and overflowing scourge is, in this day of sweeping, sifting and trying; wherein the faith of many must be thoroughly tried, and their patience proved, to the resignation of life and all unto the will of the Father, in whose hands we are, who knows what is best for his children. His ways are not to be measured nor found out by the wisdom of man; for his works and proceedings are in a cross to all carnal reason and expectation, and to the confounding thereof. But they who in the faith and patience of the elect seed, give up in his will, as those that live by faith in him, and whose hope and refuge the Lord is, shall never be confounded nor afraid, though the earth be removed; nor yet discouraged or unsettled, because of the wicked, who make a great flourish like a green bay tree, when he is in great power; for he passes away and shall not be found. And he that enters into the sanctuary of the Lord, and there abides, shall see the end of his enemies and persecutors, who stand in slippery places, though for a time they have seemed to prosper in the world.

And dear friends and tender hearts, who have a sense of the sufferings of the righteous Seed, which bears the afflictions, sorrows and sufferings of God's people through all, and has been bruised and wounded under the weight and burden of people's iniquities, though He has been deemed as one plagued or smitten of God; all of you keep in the

sense of the power, by which you all may feel your preservation through faith in Him, that is given for a covenant of life and light. All retire to Him that is manifest for a sure hiding place to the upright, in the day of calamity and hour of temptation; and in Him you will witness plenteous redemption and refreshments of his life, over all the troubles and sufferings of the present time, and over all fears and doubtings, which would beset any of you, to weaken you either inwardly or outwardly. And none are to let in unbelief, or hard thoughts, or to be shaken in mind, because of the deep sufferings of many of the dear servants of the Lord at this day, who are as killed and crucified, and all the day long accounted as sheep for the slaughter; nor at the great calamity and mortality in this fading city, which extends to the upright and innocent, in several places, as well as to the unrighteous, to both infants and others; and to many of the sufferers for truth in their confinements, who have not contributed to the cause of God's displeasure herein, but are taken away in mercy, as to them, and from the evil to come. They are delivered and set in safety, from the future cruelties and wicked designs of their oppressors and cruel minded persecutors, who have hunted for the blood of the innocent; and may not only be charged with not visiting Christ when he was sick and in prison, but also with killing and murdering him in prison; inasmuch as it is done to any of his little ones, by their cruel confinement in pestilential or poisonous places.

But we know that for the faithful, there assuredly remain victory, triumph, and everlasting safety, though it be through death to many of them, who know that it is neither tribulation nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor death, nor life, that shall be able to separate them from the love of Christ. And hereof we have a sure evidence and living confidence, in the name and power of the Lord our God, to whom be glory and praises forever.

So dear and tender hearts, think not the trials strange that attend us at this day, nor be discouraged thereat, as if the Lord had either forsaken his heritage, or left his people desolate; for his love and fatherly care are known to his own, both in giving and taking away, as he pleases; and he is not to be limited, nor the creature to point him out his way or manner of taking away, or removing any of his own. But he is in freeness of spirit to be submitted unto in all things, that no flesh may glory or boast before him, seeing all flesh is grass, and the glory of man as the flower that fades. Nor are any to retain a self-confidence, but live in the pure fear of his name, and wait upon the Lord in singleness of mind, even in the light in which God dwells, and wherein the secret place of the Most High, and shadow of the Almighty are known; where his own seed, his offspring dwells with him, in whom our safety and dwelling place is, above that which

is elementary, earthly, corruptible, or fading, and above the fears and terrors which are in the darkness, 'and deeply seize upon the children of the night, whose habitation is not in the light. They know not where to go or run for a habitation, the terror and fear of death does so surprise them, because of the plague in their own hearts; and the pestilence that walks in darkness lies nearer than that of the outward sickness or bodily distemper. For it is the guilt of sin and fear of death, which make that the more dreadful to them that are in bondage therein, which is not the effect it has upon the innocent and blessed of the Lord, whom he will strengthen upon the bed of languishing, and whose bed he will make or turn in sickness.

Thus they whose eyes are towards God, do see what contrary effects the same common calamities, outward afflictions, or distresses, have on the minds and spirits of persons, as they differ in nature and spirit. Though the trials of the innocent this day are a stumbling block to them who have shut their eyes against the light; and some whose minds are out of the patience, stumble at the outward afflictions and deep sufferings of such as are innocent, as they did who, instead of comforting Job in his affliction, upbraided him because thereof, as one not upright or innocent.

Howbeit, the righteous shall go on in his way, and the upright shall grow strong in the Lord, by whose love and mercy all their trials are sanctified to them; and all you that trust in him shall be in safety, and it shall go well with you. Therefore be not dismayed, nor any of you disconsolated, whose hearts are tender towards God, nor let your souls be cast down by the enemy, but live in the innocent life of Christ Jesus, the incorruptible seed, in whom redemption, out of the world's corruptions, stands. For though this be a day of deep trial and desolation to many, the Lord will yet show forth a signal manifestation of his power and love for his own seed's sake, and in the prosperity of that righteous testimony, for which many have suffered and given up liberty and life, as we have done, whose generation and testimony shall never be extinguished or abolished. So that as the chosen and faithful who dwell with the Lord, and inherit his blessing, you may be preserved in the faith and patience of his own seed, as constant followers of the Lamb, to whom the victory and everlasting dominion belong, is the travail and desire of our souls, who are your dear friends,

George Whitehead, Alexander Parker.

London, the 19th of the Sixth month, 1665.

In the year 1665, that very summer in which the plague and mortality were so great, the

persecutors in London were busy to send away our friends whom they had sentenced for banishment, and closely detained in prison for that purpose; they accordingly began early in the year to force our friends on ship-board.

The first Friends they shipped were, Edward Brush, Robert Hayes, and James Harding, who, on the 24th day of the first month, 1665, early in the morning, without any timely warning given them, were hurried down from Newgate to Black Friars' stairs, by some of Newgate turnkeys, and from there to Gravesend, and there forced on ship-board.

Edward Brush, a very aged man, and a citizen of good repute among his neighbors and many persons of quality, was thus sent away and banished from his dear wife and child.

But a more lamentable instance of the persecutors' cruelty in this undertaking, was, that Robert Hayes being taken fasting out of prison, and weak in body, having been under a course of physic, was carried forth upon the water to Gravesend, the season being very cold, and having no outward refreshment or relief afforded him by the way on the water, within a very short time after he was put on ship-board he died there, and his body was brought up to London and buried in our friends' burying place.

I knew this Robert Hayes; he was a very innocent, loving man, a goodly person, had a fresh, comely countenance, seemed healthy, and in his prime and strength when first imprisoned. I was very sorrowfully affected when I heard how quickly he was despatched out of the world, by that shameful cruelty and inhuman usage inflicted upon him by those merciless persecutors.

On the 18th of the second month, 1665, seven more of our friends were taken out of Newgate, and carried to Gravesend, and there put on ship-board for banishment, as the others were before.

It was remarkable, that not many days after those Friends were embarked, Judge Hyde, one of the grand persecutors, was suddenly cut off by death; and who, it is said, was seen well at Westminster in the morning, and died in his closet about noon.

About this time the plague began to increase more and more, and the first that was known to die thereof in the city, was within a few doors of Edward Brush's house, who was one of the first that was sent away, and banished as before related. The plague increased, until of that and other distempers, there died eight thousand in a week, in and about the city of London. Oh! the hardheartedness, cruelty and presumption of our persecutors, who in that time of the great calamity and mortality, in the fifth month, 1665, took fifty-five, men and women, of our friends out of Newgate, and forced them on board the ship called the Black Eagle, which lay some time

at Buggby's Hole, where they were so crowded, and the sickness being in Newgate, from where they were carried out to the ship, wherein also the distemper broke out among them, that the most of them were infected; insomuch that about twenty-seven of them soon died on ship-board, some at Buggby's Hole, and the rest beyond Gravesend-.

I visited these Friends, and had a meeting with them when on ship-board; and the Lord my God preserved me both from the distemper and from banishment, wherein I do humbly confess his power and special providence, to his own praise and glory alone.

The second epistle, printed in the year 1665, after the heat of the contagion was over, entitled, An epistle for the remnant of Friends and chosen of God, whom he has yet preserved to bear their testimony, in and about the city of London. To whom this is a testimony of the dear love and tender care which flows forth, and is extended toward them, and all tender hearts who are concerned in the like sufferings, temptations and trials.

From their faithful friend and servant in the Lord, George Whitehead.

My dearly beloved friends, brethren and sisters, among whom my soul has travailed, and suffered for the afflicted's sake, whose burdens and trials are still with me in spirit, as also the love, tenderness, care and freeness of spirit, that have appeared among you towards the afflicted and harmless sufferers, who have been led and driven as sheep to the slaughter, for the witness of Jesus and of a good conscience.

Dear hearts, I feel towards you all, in the spirit and unity of true love in the elect seed, wherein life and dominion are felt by all that wait patiently upon the Lord, in true subjection to his eternal power and counsel, in all the exercises, trials and hardships, that the righteous seed is beset withal; that being thoroughly tried, you may come forth as gold thoroughly refined, and the righteous through all these things may go on in their way, and the innocent and clean in heart may grow stronger and stronger in the Lord, that truth and righteousness may forever shine forth among you, and all his elect, to the praise of his name. He beholds, feels and bears the sufferings of his people, in his long-suffering and patience, wherein the spirits of his chosen ones are exercised, and by which they shall overcome, and be more than conquerors, where neither calamities, distresses, life nor death, shall ever be able to separate from that love, virtue, life and glory, revealed in the faithful in Christ.

My dear hearts, the glory and weight of God's righteous testimony of life and salvation, being in his light truly and evidently manifested in and among you, you have great cause forever to prize his love and glorify his name, and stick close to him therein,

whatever perils, trials, oppositions, sufferings or temptations, you meet withal. Be of a constant spirit and upright mind, in the unchangeable truth to the Lord God of life, in whom your preservation and safety stand; knowing that no weight of affliction or suffering here, is comparable to the weight of eternal life and salvation in Christ Jesus, which you are called unto, through the glorious appearance of God's power and gospel of peace and salvation; for the true sense and enjoyment thereof, does certainly out-balance and far exceed, all the sufferings and trials of the present time, though they are very many and deep.

Let none of you be discouraged or shaken in mind at things of this nature, nor because of the seeming advantage or occasion, that the wicked and rebellious and envious spirits, or such as are in prejudice, do take against us, because of that common calamity and late mortality, which has befallen many of the righteous, as well as the unrighteous, as to the outward man, in the city of London.

For God's testimony and glory shine, and will shine and break through all these clouds of afflictions, sufferings and reproaches, with which the habitation of the righteous has been, and is encompassed. Yet the faithfulness and uprightness of many innocent lambs of Christ, in and about that city, are never to be forgotten, which so greatly did appear and shine forth in standing to their testimony, and keeping to the truth in tenderness of conscience and sincerity towards God; who has called us to meet together in his fear, and in his everlasting name and power, with a real respect to his glory and righteous cause, which is concerned in the obedience of his people, both in that and all other duties and acts required by him. Their obedience and spiritual worship, many have not denied or declined, neither under the trials which have proceeded from men, nor under those which came from God; but whether they have been liable to fall into the hands of God or men, for the proof of their faith, they have not departed from Him who makes up his jewels through trials and tribulations. In all these his fatherly care is felt, and his tender mercy and compassion is seen towards his own, as to his peculiar offspring, tender babes, sons, and faithful servants, whom he loves, and therefore chastises and tries, not in anger and fury, but in love, fatherly care and pity; so that those whose eyes are open in the true light, and in a right mind and spirit, have thoroughly weighed the state of the suffering seed among us, which is in the faith of Abraham, brought forth by the immortal power of an endless life; considering the faithfulness and godly sincerity of a remnant, whose life has testified for God herein, both in doing good, and suffering for well-doing. Such who have thus weighed this suffering state, do plainly see, that neither satan nor his instruments, have any real advantage against any of the remnant of

this seed, through any of these trials or sufferings, either from the hands of God or men. Many have kept their integrity to the last, and have embraced their trials and afflictions in God's tender love, and have had such unity therewith, that they have been far from either blaspheming or cursing God, as the wicked many times have done and will do, when plagues, woes, torments and pains seize upon them. Neither satan nor his instruments have their evil designs answered therein, as the devil would have had against Job under his affliction, when he sought to make him curse God to his face. The truth of our God, and the innocency of his people, who know the redemption of the soul, which is precious, shall stand over both men and devils, inasmuch as the truth is over the devil himself— who has the power of death and darkness— even to the confounding and stopping their mouths, that all who are actuated by the power and spirit of enmity and darkness, may be convicted, confounded, and left without excuse before the Lord our God, who will be known to be clear when he judges.

Yes, blessed forever be the name of our God, who has given us strength and courage to stand in an evil day, over hell and death and the devil, with all his fiery darts 'and fierce assaults against the righteous. The Lord has spared and will spare a remnant, to bear his mark and name upon earth, and to hold forth a living testimony for his glory and praise amongst the sons of men, for which many have not loved their lives unto death, but have offered up their lives, as many manifestly did in that city of London, the last summer, when such a sore visitation was upon it.

Many offered up life and all for the truth, and their afflicted brethren and sisters; for whose sakes my soul has been often greatly bowed down and afflicted, and my bowels yearned for them, and I was so moved with compassion and brokenness of spirit, that neither life itself, nor any outward privilege, did seem too dear to me to resign for their sakes.

And though the sickness was so hot in the city and prisons, some of the persecutors at that time appeared cruel and wicked against the innocent, to destroy them in these pestilential places of confinement, in which and also on ship-board—wherein so many were confined for banishment—many laid down their lives for the witness of a good conscience.

Although the wicked may for a time be lifted up in their wickedness, and insult over us, because of our deep trials, and the death of so many innocent persons, yet their being so elevated and hardened against us—who are the people of the Lord—does but the more make for their own destruction and misery, as I have often said, and been sensible of.

Their torment, which slumbers not, is greater than that of many who have died of the pestilence, by which many, both of good and bad have been removed. To those that are yet alive and remain in their sins, without taking warning thereby, it will prove the greatest plague and judgment, who are the least considerate, being insensible of the hand of the Lord in it, or of their states and conditions.

As to this particular calamity or sickness, it is in itself not the worst of judgments which God has in store for a sinful, provoking, rebellious people or nation; and God's controversy is not yet ended in this nation, nor the vials of his displeasure emptied upon his enemies and the persecutors of his seed.

What a sure and heavy judgment is it, and what misery does it presage to many in this nation, that so many innocent or righteous persons in it should be taken away, as those of whom the world is not worthy; but such are taken away from the evil to come, and from future calamities, and set in safety forever, from them that have puffed at them, and made a prey of them in their life time.

And as for us that yet remain, who fear the Lord and stick close to him always, eyeing and setting him before us, in the greatest of our perils and sufferings, we know his goodness endures forever, though the mighty and exalted of the earth boast and insult for a time over us; but the more the suffering is, the greater will be the consolation and glory to them that continue faithful to the end.

And whatever conclusions are brought forth against us, either by wicked men, or any who in prejudice turn against us, and take occasion from the mortality which has come upon so many Friends in the time of this great calamity, as if it were in God's wrath, indignation, or fury against the body of Friends, or any of us who are come to the communion of the body of Christ, which we are members of; or if any that profess the name of the Lord be so clouded, biassed and prejudiced in their minds, as to conclude this is a fulfilling of some such prophecies of wrath and indignation against Friends; such spirits and evil tidings are plainly seen, and they to be presumptuous, and no prophets sent of the Lord; and therefore cannot make us afraid, who confide in the name of our God, and in that living faith wherein our unity and victory stand. Our innocent life stands over them in true judgment, against all that, which among some has crept in at unawares, to create divisions and enmity against the faithful servants or people of God, where it is received in any unstable or brittle spirits; and therefore my soul says, the Lord rebuke you satan, who envies the heritage of God. Why do you subtly present yourself amongst the sons of God, to trouble the innocent, endeavoring,

with your fiery darts and temptations of this nature to turn them against their Maker? Why do you give make use of instruments in this your wicked work, to effect your treacherous designs? The Lord will rebuke you by his mighty power; for we are sure that where God's faithful witness in the conscience is owned, which ought to be judge in the case, and must decide the controversy, it does bear witness with us and for us, and to the justification of all the faithful amongst us, who are really of us, and belong to the seed of election; and therefore will not go out from us, who abide in the truth of God which changes not, being of the seed of Jacob after the spirit, which is beyond revolting Israel after the flesh. For herein are we heirs of promise, and then who shall condemn or prophesy wrath, where God justifies, and not bring condemnation on themselves? For God's love was felt by many under that trial and visitation, of which they died about that city, and many were sensible of God's love and favor to the very last.

And the life, peace, satisfaction and comfort that many innocent Friends felt, and that some expressed and signified on their death beds, I am a living witness of, for them; having sometimes, as the Lord has drawn me in his love, been present with many of them when they were very low in the outward man, and with several when upon their death beds, in that destructive prison of Newgate, and some other places. Yes, when sorrow and sadness have seized upon my spirit, and my heart and soul have been pierced and wounded when I have seen the sad sufferings of so many harmless lambs, on their sick beds in these noisome holes and prisons; yet at the same time having a deep sense and knowledge of the Lord's love and care to them in that condition, and truly felt his life and power stirring amongst them; this, on the other hand, has refreshed and revived my spirit, knowing that Christ their salvation and redemption was manifest to and in them, though in that suffering state, as they have followed and obeyed him through sufferings and tribulations. With such, to live, was Christ in that state, and to die was gain; it being through death that the Lord had appointed the final deliverance of many, from the cruelties and rod of their oppressors, and from the miseries and evils to come.

The faithfulness, uprightness, and innocency of many of those that were taken away, their constancy of spirit to the Lord and his living truth, their unfeigned love to the brethren—by which it was evident they had passed from death to life,—and that living and faithful testimony they bore for the Lord in their life time, being well known and manifest amongst us; their memorial is truly precious to us, and never to be forgotten; and we are satisfied that they were counted worthy for the Lord, and the world was not

worthy of them.

And besides some whom God has restored and raised up again, who yet remain alive with us, who were under the same trial and sickness, can testify to God's tender love to them; how freely they were therein by faith given up to the Lord, under it in his love and favor, which they partook of, either to die or live, as he should be pleased to dispose of them, knowing that some that were very dear to the Lord, even some of his choice jewels and peculiar treasure were removed by it.

So that I must say what I have seen and felt, that as to the state of faithful Friends in this case, some by faith according to the will of God were given up, and desirous rather to die than live; and therein freely embraced the outward affliction, which was but for a moment, in comparison; knowing that to die would be a great advantage and gain to them, that thereby they should be freed from future sufferings and evils, and their spirits should rest in everlasting peace, joy and triumph.

Others by faith were singly given up in the will of God to die, if he should so dispose of them, not in themselves expecting life or recovery, and yet in so being given up, have been restored, to bear their testimony amongst us, having known and felt that in patience to resign to the will of God in self-denial, abasement and humility in their affliction, was most consistent with their peace. And some others of us by faith according to the will of God, have been kept over the distemper, and hitherto preserved alive; not for any respect that we may assume to ourselves in the matter, nor for any reason, as I know, that can be shown for us more than for some innocent persons that were taken away, but that the Lord had a respect to his own glory and further service for himself, which he had for us to do and be employed in; and that he will preserve a remnant as he has determined, to bear his name and hold forth his testimony amongst men, in their innocent lives and holy conducts. The glory and praise we give to the Lord, desiring all of us may faithfully serve him in godly fear and true humility, the days we have to sojourn here, that we all may ever be to his praise, in whose hand we are, whether we live or die.

For he makes all things work together for good, to them that love Him, who are not offended in Him in any of their tribulations or temptations, when the hour of temptation is upon all flesh, to try them that dwell upon the face of the earth. He that has committed unto us the word of his patience, who is Israel's keeper, is our preserver, support and refuge through all these things. He has made us co-workers together in one and the same spirit of faith and life, wherein he is obeyed and submitted to, by his

faithful people and servants in their several states, trials and exercises; and among whom the various effects and fruits of the same faith are seen and brought forth, according to his will, who gives life and preservation.

And now, if such as take advantage against us, whether they be open or secret smiters or enemies, did either rightly or seriously weigh their conditions, and let God's witness judge in the case, they have no cause to boast or insult over us, for they are not their own keepers, nor is their life continued by their own power; and how soon their time may expire, and their judgment overtake them, they know not, nor how soon their days may be cut asunder. Their condemnation slumbers not, who in the pride of their hearts and presumption of their spirits, turn against the suffering seed of God, under what profession and pretense soever, though under pretense of the name of the Lord, or profession of the truth itself; and knowing also, that many who were of their own spirit and principle, have also been taken away under the same calamity—for it has extended to all sorts, both holy and profane—they have cause to dread and fear before the Lord, and not to be high minded or presumptuous. For the mouth of the boaster and exalted must be stopped, and all flesh and carnal reason is to be silent in this matter, for God's power is over it all, and over that which has threatened or brought evil tidings against his Israel. We know the same spirit that turns against us, and watches for occasions, and prophecies our destruction, would have it come to pass, so as to be reckoned a true prophet; and that is the murderer that kills the poor, the same that is in our open enemies, and the same that was in Cain against his brother; and he that is in this spirit, or principle of enmity or prejudice, has no eternal life abiding in him.

O let this thing be published in the ears of God's people, and let friends feel my innocent intention and end herein; having written the more of this nature for prevention of the enemy's subtlety and temptations of this kind, that the tender and weak may not be ensnared thereby; and having seen how satan besets such with temptations upon these deep trials, to undermine their hope, and to beget unbelief and despair in the mind, to turn them from the truth, and how he makes use of his instruments in the same way, to effect his evil end against us; but the Lord will rebuke him, and bruise him under the feet of his own anointed seed and faithful people.

A common calamity or distemper, as this, which has brought such great mortality, as it has been appointed and permitted of the Lord, has extended and operated according to the spreading and contagious nature and property of it, to the bodies of both old and young, good and bad, nocent and innocent; yes, to many that know not their right hand

from the left. But the iniquities and abominations of the wicked were the cause of God's anger and displeasure herein, and the original cause of this calamity; the creation being oppressed under their wickedness, and the earth defiled under the inhabitants, which cause Heaven to frown upon the world, and the curse to go forth, and blessings to be withheld from them. The taking away of good and merciful men, and many innocent persons, though it be in love to themselves, yet it is in judgment against the other, who have brought innocent blood upon their own heads, by their cruelties and persecutions, and whose hearts are hardened and become implacable against truth and righteousness, and all them that walk therein, whose souls have been daily vexed and oppressed, through the ungodly and unchristian conduct of the wicked.

God, who spared not his own Son Christ Jesus, but delivered him to suffer, and to be numbered among transgressors, both in life and death, and his soul to be an offering for the offenses of many; has also given many of his dear children not only to believe on, but also to suffer with, his own Son. He has borne our griefs and sorrows, and with him he has allowed them to be reckoned and numbered among transgressors, both in their life and death, that his followers might bear his reproaches and partake of his sufferings, who made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death. And they were esteemed as smitten or plagued of God, though as to their own conditions it is, and will be well with the righteous forever, having obtained witness thereof, and their justification from the Lord God, by whose righteous witness it is known and manifest in secret in men's consciences, where he visits in wrath, or distributes sorrows in his anger, and where he visits, tries, or chastises in love, favor, and tender mercy. This witness discovers where the guilt of sin and disobedience is, where deceit, treachery and revolting from truth are, which occasion terrors and fear of death, and which incur the anger and wrath of God upon the guilty therein, and also bring suffering upon the tender and innocent.

These knowing the guilt taken away, every affliction and trial that they meet with is sanctified to them, through the tender love and favor of God, wherewith their cup is mixed; the dregs of which their implacable enemies and persecutors shall drink without mixture. Now the difference of the two states is felt and discerned in the invisible spirit, by that which judges not by the sight of the eye, or hearing of the ear, nor barely from the outward appearance of common afflictions—which sometimes come alike upon all—but in righteousness and truth that judges.

As it has been said of old, concerning the righteous, whose souls are in the hand of

God, that in the sight of the unwise their departure is taken for misery, and their going from us to be utter destruction, but they are in peace; for though they be punished in the sight of men, yet is their hope full of immortality; and having been a little chastised, they shall be greatly rewarded; for God proved them, and found them worthy for himself; as gold in the furnace has he tried them, and received them as a burnt offering. Yes, such are they who shall judge the nations and have dominion over the people, whose Lord, that takes care for his elect, shall reign forever.

Now my dear friends and tender hearts, commit your way to the Lord, and cast your burden upon him, and he will bear you up, and sustain you by his own right hand of power. Live in the immortal seed and spiritual communion, where life and peace are daily received, and your mutual refreshment and consolation stand, and wherein the spirits of just men are seen and felt, and the life of God's faithful servants and martyrs, and such as have finished their testimony with joy and peace, is enjoyed, even in this spiritual communion, which reaches beyond all visibles, and is above all mortal and fading objects or things. So in the dear and tender love of God, which dwells and lives in my heart towards you, and all the faithful every where, I commit you to Him, in whom our help and deliverance are; and in the kingdom of Christ's patience, I am your dear and faithful friend and brother,

George Whitehead.

Let this be read distinctly, in the life and authority of God—from which it came — among Friends in and about the city of London, and elsewhere, as any Friends are moved in the life.

The next year after the city and suburbs of London were so greatly depopulated by the plague, the dreadful fire began, and broke out in Pudding-lane, over against the place where the Monument stands. In a few days time, a very great part of the city within the walls, was burnt down and the habitations consumed, except a few streets and parts of streets; to the great amazement, terror and distraction of the inhabitants, who were forced to flee for their lives, with what goods they could save, into Moor-fields, and the out parts, and there to lie abroad with their goods for several nights and days; the country bringing in bread for their relief. My soul greatly pitied the inhabitants, when I saw them lie in the fields, in that poor, mournful condition, as they did.

One morning as my friend and brother, Josiah Cole and I were at Gerard Roberts', in Thomas Apostles, London, and going up toward the top of the house, observed how violently the fire

went on toward Thames street and those parts of the city—and hearing what rattling and crackling the fire made in the houses, Josiah said. This looks like a Popish plot or work; and we were both in the same mind. I observed afterward the fire broke out in several places, distinct one from another, so that it was very probable several wicked agents were at work in carrying on and putting it forward.

One passage I may not omit by the way, because it has been misrepresented, and false reports spread about it. One Thomas Ibbott, or Ibbit, a Huntingdonshire man, who was convinced of the truth at a large meeting which I had at Thomas Parnell's, in his house at King-Rippon, in Hunts, a considerable time before the fire—came to London two days before the fire, in great haste, being on a sixth-day of the week, and alighted off his horse, with his clothes loose, and was supposed by some to be a person under distraction or discomposure of mind, as I understood by several witnesses. He hastened very much or ran through the city, toward Whitehall, in such a posture as many of the inhabitants were forced to flee from the fire when they had scarcely time to put on or fasten their wearing clothes about them.

Such a sign he appeared to be, and foretold his vision he had before, that the city would be laid waste by fire, as I was informed; for I did not see him until that morning when the fire broke out. But the evening after Thomas Ibbott had passed through the city, I met with some of our women Friends at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate, who gave me a pretty full account of him. He had been with them that day, and told them his vision of the fire, and message to London; and to them he appeared very zealous and hot in his spirit, when he told them thereof; and they were afraid he was under some discomposure of mind, which made them somewhat question or doubt of what he told them.

When they related the same to me, I had a fear and caution upon my spirit, so that I dared not oppose or question his vision or message, but told them, I knew the man; he was convinced by me at a meeting at King Rippon, in Huntingdonshire, and is a sort of a manly person, zealous and somewhat of a hot spirit, or to this effect I said. So that his spirit is nearer to those destroying angels, or fiery spirits, that are ministers of wrath and severe judgments, than those Friends are, who have attained to a further growth in the spirit of the Lamb, Christ Jesus. And he might sooner have a discovery of such an evil or judgment, or mischief permitted to come upon the city, than they whose spirits are more meek and gentle, and more settled in quietness and peace. I very well remember this was the import of my answer to them, who gave me an account of the man, and his vision and message, as he told them; so far was I from opposing the same, as has been falsely reported concerning some of us, who then were in London, and concerned in public testimony for the blessed truth of our God, and Lord Jesus Christ; Josiah Cole and I being then in the city. Yet I was not at that time without secret fear concerning this

Friend, Thomas Ibbott, lest he might run out, or be exalted by the enemy, into some conceit, or imagination, especially when he saw his vision coming to pass the next morning, when the fire broke out as aforesaid, from the place where it began, and early in the morning was got down to the bridge and Thames street, the wind being easterly, and so high, that it drove the fire violently and irresistibly before it, blowing great flakes over houses, and from one to another.

That morning the fire broke out, some of us met at Gerard Roberts' house, where Thomas Ibbott met us, and told us he must go to the king with a message, which was to warn him to release our friends out of prisons, or else the decree of the Lord would be sealed against him in three days time, to his destruction or overthrow. Upon which I was afraid he would be too forward, and give occasion against Friends, and cause others to reproach truth and them. Whereupon I earnestly charged him, if he went, not to limit a time, if he had a warning to give the king to release our friends, there being many then in prisons—that he would set no time of the king's death or end, or that might be so taken or construed as a prophesy thereof; for he might cause truth to suffer if he did. I was indeed greatly concerned for truth and his own sake, poor man! lest he should be hurried into distraction; for I clearly saw where his danger was, though his vision of the fire was apparently true, which I never opposed, but rather granted that it might be foreshown him. Also I observed in a letter of his a few days before the fire was over, that he mentioned the true number of days when the vision of fire should be accomplished; so that he had a certain vision and discovery given him in that particular. And to show that there remained a sincerity in the man, after his mind came to be settled, he wrote a letter to some Friends in London, wherein, after he remembers his love to G. W., J. C, and S. H., he has these words following:

“I dare not much stir up or down any ways, for people's looking at what was done, lest the Lord should be offended, further than my own outward business lies. I have been much tempted and exercised; yet through mercy have found help in the needful time. Whatsoever slips or failings Friends saw in me, in the time I was with them, I would have none take notice of, for I was under great exercises, and often ran too fast, which the Lord in his due time, gave me a sight of. In the love of my Father, farewell. T. I.”

When the city was burnt down and laid in ashes, we had our meetings on the fourth-day, weekly, near Wheeler street; our usual place, the Bull and Mouth, being then demolished by the fire, at which place our meetings had been most disturbed; and at other out parts off and about the city, we kept our meetings at the usual times and places, as at the Peel in St. John's street, Westminster; Horsleydown on Southwark side; Ratcliff, Devonshire house, Old Buildings; and had then some respite and ease from violent persecution and disturbance for a time, until the city came in a great measure to be rebuilt.

Yet still the persecuting spirit and design of persecution remained in our adversaries so many of them were not cut off by the plague, who took no warning thereby, nor by the following consuming fire, which had laid waste the best part of the city.

Though the Lord our God was pleased to give our friends in London, faith and courage, as well as resolution to build our meetinghouse in Whitehart court, by that called Gracechurch street; yet we were not then without expectation of further persecution and suffering, for meeting in that, as well as other places in and about the city. And so it came to pass after the meetinghouse was built; our meetings were frequently disturbed, especially on the first-day of the week, by the trained bands and informers, and many of us by force haled out, and our meetings often kept in the street, where sometimes we had opportunities openly to declare the truth and preach the gospel, as well as publicly to pray to Almighty God; yet not always allowed so to do; but often violently pulled away while in the exercise of the gospel ministry. Likewise when we have been in solemn prayer to Almighty God, we have been laid hold on and violently taken, and many of us had to the Exchange, and there kept under a guard of soldiers until the afternoon; and then had before the mayor, who would be ready to fine or imprison us, or to bind us over to appear at the sessions, or rather to take our words to appear, if he was a person of some moderation towards us. The latter obligation we chose; that was conditionally to promise we would appear if the Lord pleased, rather than be bound by recognizance or bond to appear, because commonly in their recognizances, they would put the words, And in the mean time to be of good behavior. But we could not assent to be so bound, because we knew they would interpret our religious, solemn meetings a breach of good behavior, which meetings we could never yield to decline.

But as for me, my share has been imprisonment, oftener than liberty upon parole or promise; being more cautious of being any ways ensnared thereby, contrary to my Christian liberty and testimony, than of imprisonment or outward confinement; which was not only my own care, respecting my inward peace and liberty in Christ Jesus, but it was also the care of all faithful friends and brethren in those days, to keep out of all such snares as would infringe that liberty. We chose rather to expose our persons to be trampled on in the streets, by our persecuting adversaries, if permitted, than to bow down our souls at their command; Isa. li. 23.

Although in those suffering times I was much concerned to attend our disturbed meetings in and about London, yet at times I had a concern laid upon me to visit our friends and their meetings in the county of Surrey, particularly on that side where our dear friend Stephen Smith and his family lived; they having not long before that time, in great love received the truth, through my testimony, as before related. I visited and had several good and blessed meetings, both at Stephen Smith's house at Purbright, and other places towards Guilford and those parts,

where the Lord was with me, and helped and comforted me in his work and service, as at other times and places.

I was committed to prison at the Marshalsea in Southwark, with several other Friends, for a meeting in the said county of Surrey, on the 22nd day of June, 1668.

After we were apprehended at the meeting, being on the first-day of the week, by one of the justices, George Vernon, we had liberty to meet him and the other at Guilford the next morning, where they consulted and made a warrant, and sent us to the Marshalsea prison in Southwark, for the time appointed, which was but short, and the imprisonment pretty easy, the keepers being civil to us; but the shortness of the imprisonment was usually upon the act for banishment, not so much designed in our favor, as to rid the land of us, which the Lord frustrated.

The Lord showed me that my place and service, as well as suffering for the testimony of Jesus Christ, would be much in the city of London, as it had been before, to the convincement and conversion of many to God, by the testimony he had committed unto me, and attended with his blessing and presence, though I had travelled much about in this nation, and deeply suffered also. Seeing the city of London then to be the principal place of my stay, wherein I was also freely given up in service and suffering for the blessed truth; the Lord was also pleased to show me that it would be well for me to marry an honest, approved Friend of London; and accordingly that faithful servant of the Lord and his people, Anne Greenwell, then a widow, was presented to my mind, and after serious consideration and seeking the Lord for full satisfaction, having also the approbation and encouragement of several ancient, faithful brethren, I made known my mind to her, which, upon due consideration, was by her accepted.

Though there was a disparity as to age between us, she being several years above my age; I looked beyond that, to what was most excellent in her, and permanent, namely, her virtue and piety, to which she had been very early inclined from her youth; and being one of the first receivers of the truth, in the spirit and power thereof, after our friends first came to London, she approved herself faithful and very serviceable, and was accordingly greatly approved by faithful Friends.

On these and other weighty considerations we were well satisfied to proceed in the good order of truth and Friends, to the publication of our intention of marriage, if the Lord pleased, at sundry public meetings of our friends, both of the women and the men, having a Christian care upon our spirits to be exemplary for good order, love, unity and peace in the church among Friends; and we proceeded to accomplish our marriage, which was solemnized at a meeting appointed for the same, in our Friends' meeting room, at John Elson's, at the Peel, in that called

St. John's street, where, on the 13th day of the third month, A. D. 1670, we solemnly, in the fear of the Lord, took each other, and entered into the covenant of marriage, in the presence of the Lord our God and many faithful witnesses then present, promising with God's assistance, mutual love and faithfulness to each other. And the Lord blessed our marriage and meeting, and us toward each other therein.

As divine Providence led me in the choice of a person, whom I believed would be a suitable companion and help to me, and that would be willing to sympathize and bear part with me in my sufferings on truth's account, so she proved not only a faithful wife, but as a dear sister, and like a tender mother to me, after our marriage, in all my sufferings, both by imprisonments and spoil and loss of goods.

All this she bore patiently, being resigned with me in the will of our God, who enabled us by his power to stand faithful through all; blessed be his glorious name forever, in whose love we were preserved and continued towards each other to the end of her days; having lived in peace and comfort, and in true, mutual, and constant love, until parted by death. I cannot forget the tender care which this my dear companion had over me, and for my liberty, when I was several times confined in prisons for my testimony on the Lord's account, whose mercies in all respects I greatly prize, and hope shall never forget. In a printed treatise, entitled, Piety Promoted, the life, service, and death of my said wife are largely related, and testimonies given thereof by many faithful Friends.

My dear wife was married to me seventeen years and nearly two months, and was faithful and loving until death, and ended her days in great peace, the 27th day of the fifth month, 1686, having by faith in, and faithfulness to, our Lord Jesus Christ, obtained a good report in her place and services in his church and people.

I remained a widower two years, in which time, I was for a while in a strait, whether or no I should ever marry again, and earnestly sought the Lord to resolve and direct me, both in the matter and in my choice, if I should marry. I found freedom and clearness in the fear of God, being also encouraged by some loving friends and brethren, to propose marriage to Anne Goddard, an honest and virtuously inclined maid.

She then kept a shop in White chapel, London, and came of a good, honest, and reputable family, being the daughter of captain Richard Goddard, clothier, and Anne his wife, of Reading, who were then deceased.

After our agreement, and due procedure towards marriage, in the way of truth, and unity of Friends, our marriage was solemnized in a large public assembly at our meeting-house near

Devonshire square, London, the 19th of the fifth month, 1688. She was an ingenuous and careful wife, and we were mutually comforted together in true love and tender affection, becoming so near relations.

The Lord so sanctified our disappointments and afflictions to us in this world, that he gave us faith and patience, with submission to his providence, to enable us to bear them, and to look beyond all external objects of delight and afflictions here below, which are but momentary, unto an eternal inheritance in his heavenly kingdom; glory to his excellent name forever.

To return to the design of this history, relating to my concern in sufferings, trials, and exercises, with many others, for the truth of God, Our persecutors did not take warning, either by the plague and great mortality thereby, or by the devouring fire, which destroyed and laid waste the greatest part of the city of London, as before mentioned. They did not desist from their inhuman work of persecution, but when they could not prevail to banish or destroy us by their two former edicts or acts of Parliament, then a third act was devised to impoverish us in our estates, by mercenary as well as merciless informers.

The title of the third act is: An Act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles, 22 Car. 2, 1670.

*The preamble* is as follows: For providing further and more speedy remedies against the growing and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries, and other disloyal persons, who, under pretense of tender consciences, have, or may at their meetings, contrive insurrections, as late experience has showed.

*The matter of fact assigned therein:* Any subject of this realm, of the age of sixteen years, or upward, being present at any assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under color or pretense of any exercise of religion, in other manner than according to the liturgy of the church of England. Five persons or more being assembled together, in any house inhabited, or uninhabited, field or place.

*The manner of conviction:* Any one or more justices of the peace, or chief magistrate, required and enjoined, upon proof to him, or them, of such offense, either by confession of the party, or oath of two witnesses, or by notorious evidence, and circumstance of the fact, to make a record of every such offense, under his, or their hands and seals; which record so made, shall be taken and adjudged to be a full conviction of every such offender, for such offense. [Whereupon fines were imposed, and heavy distresses made.]

*The penalties, by fines, etc.:* A fine of five shillings for the first offense, and ten shillings for

the second: which fine and fines, for the first and every other offense, to be levied by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels; or in case of the poverty of such offender, upon the goods and chattels of any other person convicted of the like offense at the same conventicle —so as the sum to be levied, amount not in the whole, to above the sum often pounds for one meeting.

One third part of the monies levied, for the use of the king.

Another third part thereof, for the use of the poor of the parish, etc.

And the other third part thereof, to the informer and informers, and to such person or persons, as the justice, or justices, etc., would appoint, having regard to their diligence and industry, in the discovery, dispersing, and punishing of the said conventicles.

And that the preacher, or teacher in any such meeting, assembly, or conventicle, must for every such first offense, forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, etc. And if the preacher or teacher be a stranger, and his name and habitation not known, etc., or shall be thought unable to pay the same, the justice, justices, etc., are empowered and required to levy the same by warrant, upon the goods and chattels of any such persons who shall be present at the same conventicle. And the money so levied, to be disposed of in manner aforesaid.

And if such offender shall at any time again commit the like offense, or offenses, he shall for every such offense, incur the penalty of forty pounds, to be levied and disposed as aforesaid.

Every person convicted of wittingly and willingly suffering any such meetings, etc., to be held in his or her house, out-house, barn, or yard, shall forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, to be levied as aforesaid: and in case of his or her poverty, upon the goods and chattels of such persons who shall be convicted of being present at the same conventicle; and the money so levied, to be disposed of in manner aforesaid.

And it was provided, that no person by any clause of this Act, should be liable to pay above ten pounds, for any one meeting, in regard of the poverty of any other person, or persons.

It was also enacted, that justices, chief magistrates, constables, headboroughs, and tithing-men, by warrant, should, and might, with such aid and force, as they thought fit, break open, and enter into any house, or other place, upon information of any such conventicle, and take into their custody the persons there assembled, to be proceeded against, etc.

And it was further enacted, that this Act, and all clauses therein, be construed most largely and beneficially, for the suppressing of conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of

all persons to be employed in the execution thereof.

Thus I have recited so much of the contents of the said Act, as may show the nature and tendency of it, and which in the execution thereof, did severely affect us as a people, merely for our religious concern in serving and worshipping Almighty God, according to our religious persuasions and consciences, for which end our meetings were held, both peaceably and innocently, on our parts. And it was observable that the design of this Act was,

1. To force a general conformity to the liturgy and practice of the church of England.
2. The agents employed for that work, were generally a company of idle, loose, profligate, and mercenary informers, by that law let loose to seek honest people's ruin, by making great havoc and spoil of their goods.
3. Those informers were the more bold and confident in their course of persecution, eagerly pursuing peaceable subjects, and the ruin of their families, where they had some proud persecuting justices to encourage them, ready to grant them warrants, and to force officers to assist them.
4. That which animated and emboldened those informers in their prosecutions, was the clandestine course of conviction, upon the oath of two of them made before a justice or two, having for their own interest and gain, a third part of the fines, though such clandestine and partial prosecution, conviction and punishment, against free-born subjects of England, were expressly contrary to their just liberties, the great charter, and to the common law and justice of England; being also destructive of their property and birthrights.
5. Many of those mercenary informers not only very ignorantly gave information upon oath, but also many times swore falsely in fact; and several of them upon trial afterward, were proved guilty, and legally convicted of perjury, and stood in the pillory for the same, being prosecuted by other dissenters, not Quakers. Though we afterward proved many of the informers forsworn in several informations given upon oath, wherein they swore notoriously false in fact, yet this prosecution and proof was made, and took effect against them to weaken and discourage their proceedings after the heat of persecution was much over; of which I intend a further relation hereafter.

It was observable, that many of these informers came to beggary, and some of them to miserable ends, when their trade of informing against religious meetings was ended.

And what they got by their trade in making spoil upon others, did not prosper, nor turn to the king's profit, nor to that of the poor, no more than their work of persecution did to the honor of

the king or church, which they pretended and boasted they were servants to. They in effect telling us. Hey! we are servants to the king, and to the church; we will make you fanatics leave your conventicles and conform; and such like language we have often met with from them.

Upon the 5th day of the fourth month, 1670, our friends being met as usual, in a peaceable manner, at their meeting-house in Whitehart court, in Grace-church-street, (so called,) London, where George Whitehead being moved publicly to pray to God, in time of prayer was laid hold on by some of the soldiers, pulled away, and haled out of the meeting, as they did John Bolton also, an ancient citizen, for declaring the truth to the people, advising them, who were rude, to be sober. They were both had to the Exchange, and there kept six hours, after which, according to order, they appeared at Guild-hall, before Sir Joseph Sheldon; George Whitehead called for their accusers, to have them face to face.

Some of the soldiers being called to give evidence, George Whitehead warned them to take heed what they swore; and he also warned Joseph Sheldon, and the rest with him, to do nothing but what they would answer before the great God, who would judge righteously. For, said he, we apprehend that we are taken contrary to law, even to this present Act, by soldiers, where there was no resistance made by any of us: we desire to be heard.

Joseph Sheldon said, If you be illegally convicted, you may make your appeal; endeavoring to stop George Whitehead from pleading.

George Whitehead:—I desire to be heard.

But being interrupted several times, he said, I require you in point of justice to hear me, being a free-born Englishman; whereupon they did a little permit him. We would not have you that are our judges, in the mean time to prejudice your own consciences, by an illegal conviction; nor to do anything but as you will answer the great God; for we have a tenderness to your consciences.

Joseph Sheldon:—Well, we must answer for what we do: take you no care for that.

The witnesses being upon their oaths, one affirmed, that George Whitehead was preaching, or teaching, when they took him.

Joseph Sheldon commanded the witnesses to be gone, or depart.

George Whitehead:—I desire the witnesses may stay till I have answered: but Joseph Sheldon urged them still to depart.

George Whitehead:—They have absolutely forsworn themselves; for I was not preaching, nor teaching, when they took me.

Another that stood by the justice, said: You were praying when they took you.

George Whitehead:—Take notice, this man has spoken truth. But the witness has forsworn himself, in saying that I was preaching.

Nevertheless, the clerk wrote down, George Whitehead an offender; but what judgment was given by the justices against him or John Bolton, they did not hear, either of fine or imprisonment, at that time. The Lord was pleased sometimes to touch the consciences, even of some of the magistrates and our adversaries, whereby they were stopped in their proceedings, and prevented from running us to the extreme severity and penalties of the persecuting laws.

Upon the 26th day of the fourth month, 1670, being the first-day of the week, our friends being again assembled In their meeting place aforesaid, in Whitehart court, Sir Samuel Starling, then lord mayor, and some others, having ordered a priest to be there, he read common prayer and preached a sermon in the gallery, seeming to preach up and excite to love, according to these Scriptures of Paul, Ephes. v. 2., and iv. 2. 15; the commendation of love being the priest's chief subject. But contrary thereto in the time of his preaching, the soldiers being present to guard him and disturb us, were rude and abusive to many of our friends, for speaking a few words to the priest, to show him how contrary their actions were to his preaching; though he did not rebuke, or stop them from their rudeness and violence to our friends, women, as well as men.

A great concourse of people came and were present at the meeting, many to attend the priest; and many out of curiosity and novelty, to hear and see what work the priest and his company would make. For it seemed a very strange thing to see a minister or priest of the church of England, stand up and read common-prayer, say or sing their service, and preach in a Quakers' meeting, deemed an unlawful conventicle, and therein to preach up love and charity, and at the same time to be attended and guarded with a company of soldiers, to apprehend and persecute the Quakers for an unlawful meeting or conventicle.

These proceedings appeared as strange as they were inconsistent.

After sermon was ended, George Whitehead stood up, and preached the gospel of peace and love, to show how contrary thereto persecution was. The people were quiet and still, and gave audience, and the meeting was in a peaceable posture for a little time, until two rude fellows, with the soldiers following them, violently pulled George Whitehead down, and by their force pushed down some women, and carried him to the mayor's, and kept him awhile in his yard.

His name, and some false information against him, being carried to the mayor, he quickly sent out a warrant to commit him to the compter, then in the Gate-house at Bishopsgate, for making a disturbance, until he should find sureties, or was delivered by law; and thus far without first calling in, or admitting George Whitehead to be heard in his own defense.

But George Whitehead coming to have a sight of the warrant of his commitment, desired to speak with the lord mayor himself, which some of his officers made way for; when George Whitehead told the mayor, that there was a mistake in the warrant, which was that charge against him for making a “disturbance,” for there was no such thing; he made no disturbance, but contrary wise quieted the people by seasonable advice and counsel.

To which the mayor said, he would examine further into it after evening prayer; but in the mean time sent George Whitehead to the compter, and in the evening sent for him again, and then said to George Whitehead, Your women have disturbed the minister; asking him further. Do they not disturb you? George Whitehead answered, that there was a concourse of people of all sorts, many not being our friends, who made a noise; but for our women, some did speak something as they might judge it their duty; and probably thought they might, seeing the priest's hearers did speak; the priest one sentence, and they another, and when they cried. Lord have mercy upon us, some of the women did cry, Woe to you hypocrites.

After other discourse between George Whitehead and the mayor, the constable and another with him, were sworn; and all that they could testify was, that he stood up and preached after their minister had ended; but what he preached they could not tell.

The mayor said, If the minister had done all, it was a conventicle, and I must fine you twenty pounds. And then after he said, forty pounds.

George Whitehead said, If I had preached sedition, or discord, against either the government, or peace of the nation, if that could be made appear against me, I might justly suffer by this law, being entitled. An Act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles. But seeing the witnesses cannot tell what I did preach, I may signify the substance and tendency thereof. A necessity being laid upon me, woe had been unto me, if I had not preached the gospel; and it was no other, but the gospel of peace and salvation by Christ Jesus that I preached, to exalt the power of godliness, directing people thereunto, in Christ, that they might not remain under empty and lifeless forms of profession.

The mayor said, I believe both you and others do good, or have done good with your acting.

See then how evident it is, that what we suffer, is for doing good, and not for any sedition or

injury.

The mayor said. Well, I must fine you forty pounds, this being the second offense; you were convicted before Sir Joseph Sheldon once before.

George Whitehead:—Must I suffer for preaching the gospel of peace, as if I had been preaching sedition? This is strange. Does the law make no difference? Besides, I was not convicted according to this law or Act, before Justice Sheldon; for it was there made appear, that the witness forswore himself against me, as some there that stood by testified; for he swore that he took me preaching, when many could testify, as some there did affirm, that I was praying, and not at that time preaching.

Mayor: But were you on your knees with your hat off when they took you?

George Whitehead: Yes, I was, and the meeting was in a reverend posture of prayer; the men with their hats off, and the soldiers pulled me down when I was praying.

Mayor: However, you were in a religious exercise.

George Whitehead: If praying to God must be accounted a religious exercise not allowed by the liturgy; yet I do not understand that praying is included in that clause that mentions preaching or teaching, etc. As where it is said, “That every person who shall take upon him to preach or teach in any such meeting, assembly, or conventicle, and shall thereof be convicted as aforesaid, shall for every such first offense the sum of twenty pounds forfeit.” Now here is no praying mentioned, therefore I desire your judgment, whether by preaching or teaching can be meant praying.

Mayor: No, praying is not mentioned; however, your conviction is recorded; you may make your appeal.

George Whitehead: To whom shall I make my appeal, but to those that wrong me?

Mayor: I must do according to law; I must fine you forty pounds.

George Whitehead: Then I must be fined for preaching the gospel of peace, as if I had been preaching sedition. By this it is all one case to preach sedition or the gospel of peace. But such a law makes no difference between preaching sedition, and preaching the gospel of peace, I must deny, as being both against reason and against God. And God who judges righteously, and by whom actions are weighed, will judge between you and us in this thing.

I do not remember that the fine threatened upon this pretended conviction was ever levied upon

my goods, though several others were to great excess.

Another passage, by the way, I think fitting to observe. On a fourth-day of the week I was taken out of a meeting at Whitehart court, in Gracechurch street, by an officer abetted by some others, and had before the said Samuel Starling, lord mayor, where information was given against me, that I was taken at such a meeting; and the question being, what did I do there, or what manner of religious exercise had we, the officer answered, he took me preaching. The mayor would needs have it that it was a conventicle, and our exercise of religion contrary, or not according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England. I answered. The witness does not prove that; he questioned if the liturgy or common prayer was read among us at that meeting. I told him he should not proceed against me beyond his evidence.

What says the witness? we are not bound to accuse ourselves. The witness does not say any such thing as that we exercised religion contrary to the liturgy, neither does he evidence that we had not the liturgy read among us.

He can only say, he came into the meeting when I was preaching; and took me preaching, but does not know what I preached; so that he came into the meeting in sermon time, and the liturgy or common prayer used not to be read in sermon time. This allegation I used to him, because he deemed our meeting a conventicle, and unlawful, if the common prayer was not read in it; and therefore I urged the evidence he had, which did not prove the matter of fact against me, or any of us who were at the said meeting, so that he could not reasonably proceed against us, upon the evidence given, yet I told him our manner of religious exercise is well known.

I had some religious discourse with the said lord mayor, at some certain times, and endeavored to possess him with better principles than those of persecution. He being something of a professor of religion, and sometimes touched with truth, carried it more fairly toward me than some other persecutors did, and I had some fairer quarter from him than from some other magistrates. He was not one of the worst persecutors in those days, though sometimes too much concerned with others in that unchristian work of persecution against us.

Upon the 17th day of the fifth month, 1670, being the first-day of the week. Friends were kept without doors in the street, near their meeting-house, at Peel in St. John's street, so termed, by red coat soldiers and a constable; and when two women spake a few words of truth and soberness, the soldiers came and violently pulled them away. As they came to take them, some were so violent that they pushed men and women with their muskets, and tore part of Mary Wicks's clothes, her scarf and apron, and pinched her—bruising some of the men Friends with their muskets, whereupon one Friend cried out to the constable to keep the peace.

George Whitehead, near the latter end of the meeting, being moved in much tenderness and brokenness of spirit to call upon the Lord in prayer; presently after he began, the soldiers came rudely and violently pulled him away into the entry among them.

George Whitehead then told them of their wickedness and incivility toward the women, and how much below both soldiers and the spirits of men they acted, in abusing peaceable men and women as they had done. Presently after they pulled into their sentry or guard, John Scott and Samuel Richardson, and these three were detained in their custody nearly three hours; and then a great company of red coat soldiers guarded them to an ale house near Clerkenwell, where two justices were, namely, justice Foster and justice Boules, with a great company of the king's horsemen or guard before the door.

As George Whitehead and his friends were brought to the door, he called out for justice, saying, I am glad we are come before the civil magistrates; we desire justice of you against the soldiers, who have kept us out of our meeting in the street, and taken us contrary to law, even contrary to the present act of Parliament, which does not require them to meddle with meetings, unless where resistance is made; and upon certificate thereof, as the act mentions. Besides, some of these soldiers behaved themselves rudely, abused several of our friends; and punched some of the women with their muskets, and hurt them.

In the next place, we wholly except against these soldiers being witnesses, looking upon them as not fit, nor ought they to be accepted for witnesses against us, having broken the law themselves.

George Whitehead several times called for justice, as they would answer the great God of heaven and earth, who will judge righteously between us. The justice said, "You shall have justice." Whereupon a major on horseback said to the justices, "Sir, he will preach till night if you will hear him,"

The justice bowed, with his hat off, to the major, and showed him great reverence and readiness to convict the prisoners. The major and captain, with others, alighted and came in to see the two justices do their work against the prisoners; and the red-coats were called, and many of them came in to bear witness against us; but George Whitehead excepted against them as unlawful witnesses, as before.

However, contrary to law and equity, they were put upon their oaths to witness against the prisoners, whom they had abused, and illegally apprehended, the justices not at all cautioning them to take heed what they swore, but the major did. What they informed against George Whitehead upon oath was, that there were about three hundred met in the street; that they took

him preaching, standing on a bulk or stall.

George Whitehead answered, That is not true, I was praying, standing on the ground, but leaning on a stall.

Soldiers: We took him praying, but leaning on a bulk.

George Whitehead: See how confused and contradictory they are in their evidence, for preaching and praying are two things; neither is praying mentioned in that clause of the act that is made against such as take upon them to preach or teach.

Justice Foster: You conjured them together to the meeting.

George Whitehead: That is not true, for they were gathered together before I came to the meeting.

Major: He does as much as tell the justice he lies.

George Whitehead: I do not tell him he lies; but I say again, it is false that I conjured the people together. The major reprov'd the soldiers for going beyond his order, in going out into the street to take our friends, saying, I gave you order only to keep them out in the street, and you to keep sentry at the door.

Justice Boules: Sir, but after you were gone, I ordered them to take those that preached, and I thank them.

Justice Foster: What a devil did you come there to pray for?

George Whitehead: Do these words become a magistrate? We did not meet to hear or sing ballads in the street, nor do we meet at play houses, nor at bawdy houses, nor at drinking houses, to be drunk, where the devil is served; but singly to serve and worship the living God, for which we suffer.

The major and some more with him, seemed highly concerned at those words—calling out, Who do you accuse? Who do you accuse for going to bawdy houses? Whereupon some of the company present smiled one upon another.

George Whitehead: I accuse none, but tell you what meetings we do not come at, nor own; and for what end we do meet.

The information the soldiers gave against John Scott, was, that they took him preaching, which

was, because when they came with violence, he desired them to be moderate, and what crime did he thereby commit? Their information against Samuel Richardson, was, that he laid violent hands upon one of their muskets; but this was utterly false, and denied by Samuel Richardson, for he was standing peaceably, as he said, with his hands in his pocket in the meeting.

Then the justices seeming to incline to convict the prisoners upon the act against conventicles, George Whitehead had a few words with them about it, pleading to prevent their severity. But justice Foster urging to have them convicted, two warrants were made, and the said George Whitehead, John Scott, and Samuel Richardson, were had to New prison by the constable and soldiers: the troopers all the time of their examination standing before the door where they were.

It was observable that in their mittimus, they missed setting down George Whitehead's name; and instead thereof, set down Arthur Gotten, who was a soldier that helped to take them.

The next day after the commitment, being the second-day of the week, and 18th day of the fifth month, and about the sixth hour in the afternoon, the two justices aforesaid came to the prison; and when they had called George Whitehead into the room to them, they asked him his name and place, which he answered, and then they spoke to this purpose; That they had several laws which they could proceed upon against him, and particularly the statute of Oxford, the oath, etc. The clerk having the oath of allegiance in his hand, written with blanks left for the names, and a law book before them.

George Whitehead answered: I desire you would not go about to ensnare us, for the law was not made to make men transgressors, but to punish them, where it finds such. We were apprehended and accused as breakers of the late act against conventicles, let us first be tried upon that act, and cleared, and not have a new snare laid for us.

Justice Foster: We will not lay snares for you; if you will pay your twenty pounds you shall be discharged.

George Whitehead answered something about the said act, as not justly chargeable thereby; but they quickly caused him to withdraw, and called in John Scott, who had a long discourse with them; they accusing him for being an old soldier, and proffered him the oath, according to the Oxford act, made against non-conformist ministers, which he refusing to take, they threatened to detain him in prison six months; after which, they again called in George Whitehead and Samuel Richardson, and asked George Whitehead if he would pay his twenty pounds, and if he would promise to come no more at the meeting at Peel? George Whitehead answered, I cannot pay any fine or money for praying to God or worshipping him; and as for promising to come no

more there, I am not my own; I stand in the will of God, neither can I promise any such thing as to forbear coming to worship or pray to God.

One of them asked Samuel Richardson, “Will you promise to come no more at meeting?”

Samuel Richardson: I can promise no such thing.

Justice: Will you pay your five shillings?

Samuel Richardson: I do not know that I owe you five shillings.

So, having fined George Whitehead twenty pounds, as they said, but it was not levied, and Samuel Richardson five shillings, they discharged them. But they detained John Scott in prison six months, it was supposed on the Oxford act, though he was no non-conformist minister, nor pretending to holy orders; and what great crime had they against him in his desiring moderation from the rude and violent soldiers? We were sensible of the Lord's power and presence, and that he stood by us and strengthened us in bearing our faithful. Christian testimony for his name and worship, through all these exercises and persecutions.

I was sensible also that the Lord our God would plead our innocent cause, and that he often did plead it, even in the consciences of many of our adversaries, persecutors and judges, and that sometimes they were hard put to it to proceed or carry on their work against us. At that time, and many other times, the Lord our God was pleased so to restrain the remainder of their wrath, as not to allow them to proceed to the execution thereof, nor of the evils thereby designed; glory honor, and dominion be to our God and to the Lamb, forever and ever.

In the year 1670, in the eighth month, having been in the country, and returning to London, I was taken with a great pain in my head, whereupon I grew sick, which turned to an ague and fever. I became very weak in body, so that for some weeks there appeared little hope of recovery; this sickness continued, and I remained in much weakness about six months, until the beginning of the second month 1671, and partly the beginning of that summer, and then it pleased the Lord, gradually to restore me to health and strength.

In that sickness, when most weak in body, being well prepared and freely resigned in the will of the Lord to die, that I might ever be with him, I had an opening or apprehension, that when I died my soul should be received into the bosom of my heavenly Father.

While I was in great weakness of body, I was several times told of the great and cruel sufferings of our friends in Southwark, for meeting together at their usual meeting place at Horsleydown; how barbarously and cruelly they were used, and grossly abused by soldiers and

armed men, both horse and foot, being not only kept out of their meeting house in the street, but both men and women were violently pushed with muskets and other weapons—beaten, bruised, hurt and wounded, and much blood shed by the blows and wounds from those inhuman persecutors and brutish persons. The accounts of these and such barbarities against the innocent, did very sorrowfully affect me; and I deeply sympathized in spirit with the innocent sufferers, earnestly praying to Almighty God for them, that he would preserve and deliver them, and rebuke that persecuting spirit by which they suffered: earnest prayers with tears being then the church's very great concern, which the Lord our God in his own time, graciously heard and answered; blessed be his name.

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*The occasion of the barbarous persecutions against our said meeting in Southwark, was by the following order.*

At the court at Whitehall, the 29th of July, 1670;—present, the king's most excellent majesty, his Highness, Prince Rupert, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Keeper, Duke of Monmouth, Duke of Ormond, Earl of Ossory, Earl of Oxford, Earl of Anglesey, Earl of Bath, Earl of Craven, Lord Ashley, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Vice-chamberlain, Mr. Secretary Trevor.

His majesty being informed that there have been of late, frequent conventicles and seditious meetings, under pretense of religious worship, contrary to and in contempt of the laws established, at a house or building at Horsleydown, adjoining to the Artillery garden; and that the persons who there assemble, behave themselves in such a riotous and tumultuous manner, that if their meetings be any longer endured, his majesty's peace and the quiet of the government will thereby be manifestly endangered. For the prevention whereof, it was this day ordered, his majesty present in council, and by his express command, that Christopher Wren, esq., surveyor general of his majesty's works, do cause the said house or building to be pulled down and demolished, in case from henceforth any persons whatsoever, shall presume to meet or hold any conventicle, or unlawful assembly therein, under color of religious worship.

And it was further ordered by his majesty, that this signification of this his royal pleasure be affixed on the said building, to the end that the owners and occupiers of the same, may take notice thereof, to prevent and hinder such meetings at their peril.

John Nicholas.

Which order was both affixed on the door of the meeting-house, and soon after put in execution; for they sent, and very much spoiled, and pulled down the meeting-house, and took away the boards, windows, benches and forms, and sold them.

It is observable, that here was no judicial trial, or legal proceeding in this hard case; but an order grounded upon information of our meetings being conventicles, seditious, riotous and tumultuous; which information was altogether unjust and notoriously false, and no such things could ever be proved against our assemblies or meetings.

Our innocent friends, as obliged in conscience toward Almighty God, resolved to keep their solemn meetings in his dread and fear; not being terrified therefrom, by the rage and violence of their persecutors, but constantly resorted to their said meeting-house on first-days, while it was standing. After it was pulled down, they removed the rubbish, that they might meet on the ground where their own house stood; which they did until by force haled out, and barbarously used by the soldiers.

On the 25th of the seventh month, 1670, Friends being peaceably assembled at their usual meeting place aforesaid, there came some musketeers, and haled them forth into the street, where the troopers came and rode in among them, in a violent, furious manner, beating and abusing both men and women, punching them in the face and bodies, with their carbines. Soon after the foot soldiers came and fell upon them also, and beat both men and women, in a cruel and outrageous manner—punching them on the feet with the but-ends of their muskets, till they broke some of them; and running the muzzle of their muskets violently against the bodies of many. Then a party of horse came desperately and strove to ride over them; but the horses being more merciful, or naturally more gentle than the riders, would not go forward to tread the people under foot; then the riders turning them, curbed and reined them to do mischief.

The number of those that were wounded and sorely bruised this day, was above twenty persons.

On the 2nd day of the eighth month, they being kept out of their meeting place aforesaid, there came a party of foot and a party of horse, and laid on friends in a violent and cruel manner, knocking them with their muskets and pikes, and the horsemen with their carbines, until the blood lay in the streets; and so they continued for some time, until they broke several pikes and muskets, and one carbine; and several were so beaten and bruised, that their lives were in danger. They that were wounded and sorely bruised this day, were above thirty persons.

On the 9th of the eighth month, the soldiers, horse and foot, came to the meeting at the aforesaid place; and one of them having a shovel, threw dirt and mire upon both men and women, in a shameful manner. After him, both horse and foot furiously fell upon them, striking

and knocking down, without regard to age or sex, in a very cruel manner, until they shed blood from many. When some of the inhabitants in pity took them into their houses to save their lives, the soldiers forced open the doors, haled them out again into the street, and plucked off their hats that they might strike on their bare heads, so that many had their heads broken in a grievous manner. Thus they continued for some time, tearing men and women's clothes off their backs, and haling women through the mire, by their horse sides; some of the foot soldiers impudently putting their hands under the women's coats, using obscene expressions and very indecent behavior. A red coat soldier struck one woman Friend twice on the body with his musket, and once on the breast; another flung dirt in her face, and through their abuses her life was greatly endangered. A man Friend, after he had suffered by blows, was carried into the meeting place, where one demanded his money, and endeavored to rifle his pockets, cursing and threatening he would stab him, if he did not give it him, again swearing that he would pistol him. The number of those sorely bruised, and that had their blood shed that day, was above fifty persons.

On the 16th day of the eighth month, 1670, being again kept out of their meeting place, there came a party of horse and foot, ready to fall again violently upon our friends, but some constables being there, for some little time, kept them off. Howbeit, at last they broke out into a rage, and some of the foot with the but-ends of their muskets, and the horsemen with great truncheons and staves, did so furiously lay on and beat them who were met, as if they would have killed all in the place, causing the blood to run down about the ears of many. Above twenty persons then received sore wounds and bruises, and one constable endeavoring to stop them from shedding blood, and to keep the peace, they fell upon him also and broke his head; and when they were reprehended for their cruelty, some answered, If you knew what orders we have, you would say we dealt mercifully with you.

The substance of this foregoing account was presented to the king and his council, and for a time there was some cessation of these cruelties; but afterward they began in the like manner, though not to the same degree, yet with great threatenings to be worse and worse, in their behavior towards our Friends; which could not well be, except they directly committed murder on the place.

It was observed, that when the troopers and soldiers have come, and thus abused and wounded the innocent, some have asked them, saying. How can you deal thus with a people that have love and good will to all men, and make no resistance or opposition? They have replied. We had rather and it would be better for us, if they did resist and oppose; as if they lacked occasion to imbrue their hands in innocent blood, and have the lives and estates of honest people for a prey. But as they never could get any such occasion against us, so the Lord our most gracious

God, for his own name and truth's sake, restrained the remainder of our adversaries' wrath, frustrated their evil purposes, and disappointed their mischievous designs. And in him we have trusted, who has helped and delivered us out of many troubles.

I was the more willing to insert the foregoing relation in this place, because I was very deeply and sorrowfully affected by the frequent accounts which came to me, of those barbarous and cruel persecutions, in the time of my long sickness and great weakness of body. The Lord my God having restored me to health, enabled me again to labor and travel in his service, in the gospel of his dear Son Christ Jesus, and also to suffer with his people, and to attend and solicit the king and government for their relief. The hand of the Lord and his counsel were often with me, to help, encourage, and strengthen my heart in those services, which many times had good effects, the Lord's power going before, and making way in the hearts of both king and council. A further account of which may be given hereafter.

There was but little respite from persecution in twelve years time, from the year 1660, unto 1672, in which was the last war at sea between the English and Dutch. One judgment and calamity followed another; plague, fire, and war, unto great depopulation and devastation, showing God's heavy displeasure against persecution and cruelty, and that spirit which had been so highly at work against innocent, conscientious and honest people, some whereof the Lord delivered by death; yet many persecutors were so hardened, that they repented not of their cruelties, and we have observed in our times, how suddenly the Lord swept away many of that sort.

Howbeit, by this time, A. D. 1671-2, the king seemed to bethink himself, to take other measures than to continue persecution to destroy his own subjects, not knowing what issue the Dutch war against him might come to; insomuch that he published a declaration of indulgence to dissenters, to suspend the execution of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, entitled:

His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving subjects, dated March 15th, 1671-2, published by the advice of his privy council: the principal heads whereof are as follows:

Our care and endeavors for the preservation of the rights and interest of the church, have been sufficiently manifested to the world, by the whole course of our government since our happy restoration, and by the many and frequent ways of coercion, that we have used for reducing all erring and dissenting persons, and for composing the unhappy differences in matters of religion, which we found among our subjects upon our return.

But it being evident by the sad experience of twelve years, that there is very little fruit of all those forcible courses, we think ourselves obliged to make use of that supreme power in

ecclesiastical matters, which is not only inherent in us, but has been declared and recognized to be so by several Statutes and Acts of parliament.

And therefore we do now accordingly issue out this our declaration, as well for the quieting the minds of our good subjects in these points, for inviting strangers in this juncture to come and live under us, and for the better encouragement of all to a cheerful following of their trades and callings, from which we hope, by the blessing of God, to have many good and happy advantages to our government.

And in the first place, we declare our express resolution, meaning and intention to be, that the church of England be preserved, and remain entire in its doctrine, discipline and government, as now it stands established by law, etc.

We do in the next place declare our will and pleasure to be, that the execution of all, and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of nonconformists, or recusants, be immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended.

And all judges, sheriffs, justices of the peace, etc., are to take notice of it, and pay due obedience thereunto.

And we do declare, that we shall from time to time, allow a sufficient number of places, as they shall be desired, in all parts of this our kingdom, for the use of such as do not conform to the church of England, to meet and assemble in, in order to their public worship and devotion; which places shall be open and free to all persons.

To prevent such disorders and inconveniences as may happen by this our indulgence, if not duly regulated, and that they may be the better protected by the civil magistrate, our express will and pleasure is, that none of our subjects do presume to meet in any place, until the same be allowed, and the teacher of that congregation be approved by us.

And, we do further declare, that this our indulgence, as to the allowance of public places of worship, and approbation of teachers, shall extend to all sorts of non-conformists and recusants, except the recusants of the Roman Catholic religion, to whom we shall in no wise allow public places of worship, but only indulge them their share in the common exemption from the execution of the penal laws, and the exercise of their worship in their private houses only.

And if after this our clemency and indulgence, any of our subjects shall presume to abuse this liberty and preach seditiously, etc., we will let them see we can be as severe to punish such offenders, as we are indulgent to truly tender consciences.

Thus far the heads of the aforesaid declaration; from the first part whereof two or three things are observable.

1. His care and endeavors in using those many and frequent ways of coercion, which were severe and frequent persecutions, designed and used for the preservation of the church, i. e., the church of England.

2. Yet for all this his great care for the church, it was made evident by the sad experience of twelve years, that very little fruit came of all those forcible courses, those many ways of coercion, or the frequent severe persecutions. Little fruit indeed could these produce, and none at all to the true conviction of dissenters; but rather such bitter fruit as was very offensive, and highly provoking to the righteous God, dishonorable to the king, and greatly scandalous to that church with which he complied, and to which he had given power in the use of those ways of coercion, and forcible courses; all which proved fruitless and ineffectual to answer the design thereof, i. e., universal conformity to the said church.

3. However, it was well the king at length made such an ingenuous confession, how fruitless coercion or forcible courses were about matters of conscience and religion, though it was from the sad experience of twelve years trial; the sad effects whereof had been prevented, if such courses had never been tried, and his repeated solemn promises of liberty to tender consciences, had been kept and performed.

4. After the said declaration of indulgence was published in print, and took effect, in a short time our persecutors were stopped and restrained, and our religious meetings generally quiet throughout England, Wales, etc., for several years.

Several good effects followed the before-mentioned declaration, before it was cancelled, and made void, as, 1. The stop put to informers, persecutors and persecutions for a time, 2. The quiet and peaceable enjoyment of our innocent meetings and religious assemblies.

3. The preservation of our goods from rapine and spoil by informers and other persecutors.

4. The king's discharge and deliverance of many of our suffering friends out of the prisons, remitting their fines and releasing their estates, by his letters patent under the great seal, which were forfeited to the king by judgment of premunire. And for the discharge of the aforesaid sufferers, I faithfully labored and solicited, some account whereof follows.

Soon after the declaration of indulgence was published in print, as I was solitarily upon the road, returning toward London, out of the country, a very weighty and tender concern fell upon my spirit, with respect to our dear friends then in prisons, being above four hundred in and

about England and Wales, many of whom had been long straitly confined, under various prosecutions, sentences and judgments, as to imprisonments, fines, forfeitures and banishments, for meeting, for not conforming, for not swearing allegiance, and many under sentence of premunire, some having endured ten or eleven years imprisonment, besides those who suffered long for non-payment of tithes.

Whereupon I was moved to write a few lines to the king, requesting their liberty, which I intimated to our honest and loving friend, Thomas Moore, who was often willing to move the king in behalf of our suffering friends for their liberty, the king having some respect to him; for he had an interest with the king and some of his council, more than many others; and I desired him to present my few lines to the king, which he carefully did; and a few days after, both he and myself had access into the king's presence, and renewed our request which I had made to him in my letter before; whereupon the king granted us liberty to be heard on Friday, as he said, before the council, being the next council-day in the same week.

And then Thomas Moore, myself and our friend Thomas Green, attended at the council chamber at Whitehall, and were all admitted before the king and a full council, and being called to go up before the king, who was at the upper end of the council-board, I had a fair opportunity to open the case of our suffering friends as a conscientious people, chiefly to show the reason of our not swearing allegiance to the king; that it was not in any contempt, or disrespect, either to the king's person or government, but singly as it is a matter of conscience to us, not to swear at all, in any case, and that in sincere obedience to Christ's command and gospel ministry.

When I had opened and more fully pleaded our suffering friends' case, the king gave this answer: "I will pardon them."

Whereupon Thomas Moore pleaded the innocency of our friends, that they needed no pardon, being innocent. The king's own warrant in a few lines will discharge them; for where the word of a king is, there is power, said Thomas Moore.

The king answered, O, Mr. Moore, there are persons as innocent as a child new born, that are pardoned, that is, from the penalties of the law you need not scruple a pardon. The Lord Keeper added, I told them that they cannot be legally discharged, but by a pardon under the great seal. Then stood up Duke Lauderdale, and made his reflection upon what Thomas Moore said, in this manner: May it please your majesty, I wonder that these men should be no better counseled to accept of your gracious pardon; for if your majesty should by your own private warrant release them out of prison, their prosecutors may put them into prison again the next day, and still their estates, forfeited to you upon premunire, remain confiscate; so that their persons and

estates cannot be safely discharged without your majesty's pardon under the great seal. With which the rest of the council concurred.

Whereunto I returned this answer: it is not for us to prescribe or dictate to the king and his council, what methods to take for our friends' discharge; they know best their own methods in point of law; we seek the end thereof, namely the effectual discharge of our suffering friends out of prison, that they may live peaceably, and quietly enjoy their own.

Whereupon they all appeared satisfied, and the king said. Well, I will pardon, or discharge them, etc.

After more discourse between the king and us, I looked about on the council, and in the Lord's power thus declared: I do not question but God at times inclines your hearts to tenderness towards the sufferers, especially those for conscience sake. O therefore take notice thereof, and mind that tenderness, and that which inclines your hearts to commiserate their conditions, who have long groaned and lain under heavy burdens, and sore oppressions, etc.

As for our refusing the oath of allegiance, for which many suffer in prisons, God does bear us witness, yes, God does bear the sufferers record, that it is not from a disaffection to the king, or government, but singly for conscience sake, because it is an oath. Concluding with these words, This is the fast the Lord requires, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free. [Being near the time of an appointed fast, as I remember.] Pursuant to the king's promise of pardon, etc., the following order was given,

At the court at Whitehall, the 8th of May, 1672;—present the king's most excellent majesty. Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Keeper, Duke of Lauderdale, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Bridgwater, Earl of Essex, Earl of Anglesey, Earl of Bath, Earl of Carlisle, Earl of Craven, Earl of Shaftsbury, Viscount Falconbery, Viscount Halifax, Lord Bishop of London, Lord Newport, Lord Hollis, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, Mr. Secretary Trevor, Sir John Duncomb, Mr. Chancellor of the Dutchy, Master of the Ordnance, Sir Thomas Osburn.

Whereas his majesty of his princely clemency, was graciously pleased to direct, that letters should be written from this board, to the sheriffs of the respective counties and cities, and counties and towns, and counties within his majesty's kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, requiring them to return perfect lists and calendars of the names, time, and causes of commitment of all such prisoners, called Quakers, as remain in their several jails or prisons, which they accordingly did; and the same were by order of his majesty in council, of the 3rd instant, delivered into the hands of the right honorable the Lord Keeper of the great seal of England, who having considered thereof, did this day return them again, together with his

opinion thereupon as follows:

The returns that are made touching the prisoners, in the several jails, are of several kinds.

1. All such of them as are returned to be convicted to be transported, or to be convicted of a premunire, upon whose convictions I suppose judgment was given, are not legally to be discharged, but by his majesty's pardon under the great seal.
2. All such that are returned to be in prison upon writs of *Excommunicato Capiendo*, not mentioning the cause, ought not to be discharged till the cause appears, for if it be for tithes, legacies, defamations, or other private interests, they ought not to be discharged till the parties be satisfied.
3. All those that are returned in prison for debt, or upon exchequer process, or of any of the other courts at Westminster, are not so discharged, till it be known for what cause those processes issued, and those debts be discharged.
4. Those that are in prison for not paying their fines, ought not to be discharged without paying their fines, or a pardon.

All the rest I conceive may be discharged.

Which being this day taken into consideration, his majesty was graciously pleased to declare, that he will pardon all those persons called Quakers, now in prison for any offense committed relating only to his majesty, and not to the prejudice of any other person: and it was thereupon ordered by his majesty in council, that a list of the names of the Quakers in the several prisons, together with the causes of their commitment, be, and is herewith sent to his majesty's attorney general, who is required and authorized to prepare a bill for his majesty's royal signature, containing a pardon to pass the great seal of England, for all such to whom his majesty may legally grant the same: and in case of any difficulty, that he attend the lord Keeper, and receive his directions therein. Edward Walkek.

*Here follows a copy also of the king's warrant to the attorney general.*

Our will and pleasure is, that you prepare a bill fit for the royal signature, and to pass our great seal of England, containing our gracious pardon unto, etc., [the place of the prisoners' names,] of all offenses, contempts, and misdemeanors by them, or any of them committed, before the 21st day of July, '72, against the several statutes made in the first, twenty-third, and thirty-fifth years of the reign of queen Elizabeth; in the third year of the reign of our late royal grandfather, king James, and in the sixteenth year of our reign, in not coming to church, and hearing divine

service; and refusing to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and frequenting, or being present at seditious conventicles; and of all premunires, judgments, convictions, sentences of excommunication, and transportation thereupon; and of all fines, ameracements, pains, penalties and forfeitures, whatsoever thereby incurred, with restitution of lands and goods, and such other clauses, and non obstantes, as may render this our pardon most effectual; for which this shall be your warrant.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the — day of June, in the twenty-fourth year of our reign. To our attorney general.

After we had taken out the foregoing order and warrant, our friend Thomas Moore and I carried and delivered the same to the Icing's attorney general. Sir Heneage Finch. Thomas again scrupling the word pardon to him, as he had before to the king, etc. He took up Thomas somewhat short, telling him, "Mr. Moore, if you will not accept of his majesty's pardon, I will tell him you will not accept thereof." Then to pacify him, I told him that it was not our business to question, but accept what the king had granted for the relief of our suffering friends, that they might be released and discharged from their imprisonments and sufferings, etc. Whereupon he seemed satisfied.

And further to inform and satisfy Thomas Moore in the case, after we came out of doors from the attorney general, I got him to return in again with, me to his clerk, one Sanders, an old man, who engrossed the king's letters patent, or pardons, that he might inform Thomas Moore of the nature and manner thereof, which he very fairly did; whereupon Thomas said, "Now it begins to have some shape," etc. And then was better satisfied, as better understanding the form or shape and nature of that instrument than before.

Thomas Moore's scruples or objections against the word pardon, or its being necessary to our suffering friends, were upon these tender points.

1. That they being innocent, and no criminal persons, needed no pardon, as criminals do.
2. That their testimony for Christ Jesus allowed of no pardon; neither indeed can we allow or accept of any man's pardon in that case, singly considered; we cannot give away the cause of Christ, or our sincere obedience to him, as any offense or crime needing any pardon or forgiveness from men; nor does Christ require us to ask it of him, but accepts and approves of us, in that wherein we truly obey him.

But then on the other hand, we must reasonably allow of this distinction; that wherein we, or our friends were judged or condemned by human laws, and the ministers thereof, to

imprisonments, fines, forfeitures, premunires, or confiscation of estates to the king, and power given him to banish us, and thereby we made debtors to him, though unduly, the king has power to remit, pardon, or forgive what the law has made a debt to him, as well as any creditor has power to forgive a debt owing him; and to pardon and release his debtor out of prison. The case is plain, and the distinction evident.

Neither pope, priest, nor prince can acquit or pardon men in the sight of God, for offenses against him; but the king may forgive debts owing by law to him, and release and re-convey his subjects' estates, by law forfeit to him, or else he has less power than any of them.

An earthly king cannot pardon a guilty conscience before God, but he can forgive debts owing him, and release estates forfeited to him, as well as persons who are within his power to release; good consciences and well-doing need no pardon, but deserve praise.

Besides in this case of our premunired friends if the king had not re-conveyed their estates as he did, by his letters patent—under the great seal of England,—from him and his heirs, to them and their heirs, they had remained forfeited, and liable to future claims, and the proper owners to be dispossessed thereof; and therefore the report and counsel of the lord Keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgman, to the king, in our friends' case before related, was both legal and safe for their discharge; being also recorded in the several offices, where patents and pardons are kept upon record, to have recourse to in cases of necessity.

The attorney general ordered his principal clerk, Nicolls, to draw up the said bill, to contain the king's letters patent, for a full discharge and release of our suffering friends, from their imprisonments, sentence of banishment, fines, forfeitures, premunire, fee, which, when he had done, I got Ellis Hookes, our writer, to draw out four or five fair copies thereof for expedition, to be passed and entered and remain upon record in the several offices, which the same was to pass through; as the Privy Seal, the Signet, the Patent, and Hannaper offices, etc.

And understanding that because of the number of names in the patent, great fees would be required in most of those offices, except the lord Keeper's, who had promised to remit his fee, and that he would ask none of us, which was a kindness; for there being above four hundred names of the sufferers in one and the same instrument, to be discharged, we understood they would demand a great fee for each person, and, as we heard, it would cost a single person twenty or thirty pounds charge in fees to get a patent or pardon through all those offices, to pass under the great seal of England, that we were constrained to make further application to the king, to remit or abate the great fees.

Whereupon the king gave order, according to our request, as follows;

Locus Sigilli.

His majesty is pleased to command, that it be signified as his pleasure to the respective offices and sealers, where the pardon to the Quakers is to pass, that the pardon, though comprehending a great number of persons, do yet pass as one pardon, and pay but as one.

Arlington.

At the court at Whitehall, the 13th of Sept, 1672.

But though we had this warrant from the king, yet we had trouble from some of the covetous clerks, who strove hard to exact upon us.

When the instrument for the discharge of the prisoners was granted to our friends, there being other dissenters besides Quakers in some prisons, as Baptists, Presbyterians, and Independents; some of their solicitors, especially one William Carter, seeing what way we had made with the king for our friends' release, desired their friends in prison might be discharged with ours, and have their names in the same instrument; and earnestly requested my advice or assistance, which I was very willing to give, in compassion to them.

Accordingly, I advised them to petition the king, with the names of the prisoners in it, for his warrant, to have them inserted in the same patent with the Quakers, which they petitioned for, and obtained.

So that there are a few names of other dissenters, who were prisoners in Bedfordshire, Kent, and Willshire, in the same instrument with our friends, and released thereby. [Among these was John Bunyan, the author of the Pilgrim's Progress.] I was very glad that they partook of the same benefit, through our industry; for when we had made way, it was easy for them to follow.

Indeed I was never backward to give any of them advice, if I could, for their help, when any of them have been in straits, and come to me for help. Our being of different judgments and societies, did not abate my compassion or charity, even towards those who have been my opposers in some cases. Blessed be the Lord my God, who is the Father and Fountain of mercies, whose love and mercies in Christ Jesus to us, should oblige us to be merciful and kind one to another, we being required to love mercy, yes, to be merciful, as well as to do justly, and to walk humbly with the Lord our God.

After the king had signed a copy of the said instrument on several skins of parchment, which

we got engrossed aforehand, for expedition, in the Patent office, in chancery hand, as is usual, we then got it passed under the great seal of England. And there being eleven skins of vellum, in chancery hand, it was swelled to that size by the names of above four hundred persons repeated eleven times over in it, that Ellis Hookes and I, and some other Friends, were hard put to it to find out a way to have it dispensed to all the prisons throughout England and Wales, where our friends were confined; that they might be released, and not too long detained under confinement, as many had been, especially since, with great industry, we had obtained their discharge.

The best expedient I could at first pitch upon, was to get two duplicates of the original instrument, prepared and passed under the great seal, as the first was, which I got done very shortly; and then sent messengers with them several ways, to the sheriffs and jailers; as into Sussex, Bucks, Oxford, Warwick, and Stafford, where our friends had suffered long in their jails, that they might be forthwith discharged out of prison; which accordingly was done, when the king's discharge under the great seal was shown to the respective sheriffs and officers concerned, by our Friends, the messengers, sent on purpose to see our dear friends released out of their long confinements.

Although at that time I had been in long and great labors and solicitation for the liberty of our oppressed friends in prisons, and thereby impaired my health and strength; yet I was willing to undertake a journey into Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Hertfordshire, to see our friends released out of the jails in those counties, as also in Huntington and Cambridge.

And having the original patent under the great seal, Edward Mann and William Gosnell of London were willing to accompany me on that journey. So we all took horse early, and got to Chelmsford that day, and lodged at the inn by the prison that night; and the next day the quarter sessions being held in that town, for the county of Essex, we went in the morning to several justices of the peace, where they were together at another inn.

When we came before them, I gently told them our errand, and what was the intent of our coming there before them; and producing the king's letters patent, showed them what names of our friends were in it, who then were prisoners in Chelmsford prison, and how by it they were discharged. They seemed somewhat surprised at the sight of such a great instrument, under the great seal of England, and that in favor of so many Quakers; and some of them having no good will to us, seemed disgusted at our hats; however, I told them, I hoped they would allow of the discharge, and release our friends out of prison,

So after they had it into court, they ordered our friends who were in that prison to be released.

We proceeded on in our journey towards Edmundsbury in Suffolk, in order to reach the quarter sessions there; which began the beginning of the week following the other in Essex, being about two or three days between each session. The justices in Suffolk carried pretty fairly toward us, and after they viewed the king's discharge in court, seemed affected with it; but it so happened that all our friends' names then in that prison, who were intended in the king's grant, were not in the said discharge, though their case was included, being the case of many others therein.

We could not suppose where the omission had happened, unless in the sheriff's return of the names and causes of the Quakers in prison, which the king had ordered. The under sheriff took it somewhat hard that we should suspect him for such omission; however, I desired the justices to release those Friends out of prison whose names were omitted, seeing their case came under the king's clemency, and they had a right to their liberty as well as the rest, in point of justice; so their liberty was obtained, the justices not opposing, but allowing thereof.

At that time, while we were in Edmundshury, I very opportunely met with the under sheriff for Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire, who was a very fair, civil man, and showed him the king's patent, and the names of our friends in it, who then were prisoners in those two counties, and I desired him to see them delivered out of prison in both counties; which he was very ready to undertake, and honestly performed, so far as I could hear. After which, we travelled into Norfolk, and to Norwich, and there meeting with the high sheriff, got our friends released who were prisoners, and named in the king's patent to be discharged.

We returned to Hertford in two day's time, before the quarter sessions ended; and Henry Stout producing the said patent, the magistrates released those Friends that were prisoners there. In two weeks' time we performed that journey and service for our suffering friends in the said counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Norwich, Huntington, Cambridge, and Hertford.

When we returned to London, we were yet more concerned for our suffering friends in the northern and western parts of England, and also in Wales; for it was a difficult and tedious undertaking, to send messengers into all those remote places, where many Friends were prisoners, with three such great instruments.

The patent, which we carried in a leathern case and a tin box, with the great seal in it, was so cumbersome, that Edward Mann was made to tie it cross the horse's back, behind him.

Being sensible of the difficulty and delay it would be to dispense the same to the several counties and jails, where our friends were confined, throughout England and Wales; and what a hard matter it would be to move the king again for any instrument pursuant to his pardon

already granted and confirmed, for their more speedy deliverance out of prisons so remote, either by proclamation or warrant from some of his privy council, or the secretary of state, or attorney general, or otherwise, and considering the great number of names and places mentioned in the said pardon, we did not then see how we could acceptably move for such an instrument. Besides, having had so much wearisome toil and solicitation for what we had already obtained for Friends' release, the labor and difficulties considered, I was minded to acquaint judge Hale therewith, who was then chief justice, to see what he would say to it; if he could put us in a way to get our friends released, who were in such remote prisons, as before mentioned.

I went accordingly to judge Hale's house at Acton, and our friend Ellis Hookes with me, where we met with the judge at home, and I intimated our case and difficulty to him, which he fairly heard, and viewed over a copy of the king's pardon, or letters patent, so termed. How to have the same dispensed for the speedy release of our friends throughout England and Wales, was our difficulty, and so many as the king had given his grant for their discharge under the great seal, we desired might be delivered out of prison before winter, which was then approaching and I told him, considering that many of our friends had lain long under strait confinement, it might be their death if they were detained much longer, especially in the winter season.

The judge appearing very serious and intent upon the matter, told us, that if they would remove themselves by Habeas Corpus, and come before him at the king's bench, "I will release them," said he, i. e. upon the king's pardon. I then signified to him, that would be such a hardship and hazard as we dared not put them upon; because of the remoteness of the counties in the north. The health of many of the prisoners was so impaired by their long and hard confinements, that it might endanger their lives to remove them up to London, being one or two hundred miles or more; also many were much disabled and made poor by their sufferings and imprisonments, and the charge of such removal would be so great, that it would be too heavy for them, besides the danger of the journey, etc.

The judge then proposed something of an instrument from the attorney general, though it was not his place to give us counsel, as he said, yet he appeared willing to help our suffering friends if he could, by proposing such expedients as he could then think of, wherein I could not but take notice of his compassion and good will towards us, and we parted kindly.

Yet hitherto we were at a loss how to expedite our poor suffering friends out of the remote prisons: by all the advice or proposals given to us, we could not get all our friends actually delivered out of the jails nearly so soon as I desired.

The Michaelmas term, as it is called, being then very near; and the under sheriffs coming out of

the several remote counties to the term, I told Ellis Hooke we might take the great patent and show to the sheriffs at their inns and offices, that they might draw out Liberates, and send to jails in their respective counties and prisons, to set our friends at liberty.

We went to the sheriff of Yorkshire, who was an ancient man; and I showed him the patent, and the names of the Friends who were prisoners in their county and castle of York, and those clauses for their discharge, which he readily assented to, and bid us give him a copy thereof, and he would draw up and send a Liberate to the jailer, for their release, which accordingly we did, and he performed his promise.

I was thereby further informed how we might hasten and despatch our friends' release in other remote counties; and I drew up the form of a Liberate, agreeable to the king's patent, briefly comprehending the heads thereof, which concerned the prisoners' discharge.

Ellis Hooke transcribed as many copies as we needed for the remaining remote counties, where our friends were not set at liberty; inserting the prisoners' names in each Liberate, respectively appertaining to the same county; as those in Montgomeryshire prison, in a distinct warrant or Liberate, for the sheriff of that county; and in like manner for the other counties and prisons in Wales, where Friends were detained. Warrants for the sheriffs of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Cumberland, Durham, Lancashire, and for the rest of the counties respectively, where Friends were not released out of prisons, were prepared for the sheriffs severally, to sign and seal.

Ellis Hooke and I went to their inns and offices, and showed them the king's patent, with the Liberates, that they might see how agreeable they were; and they approved thereof, and readily signed and sealed each Liberate, being a warrant to each jailer to set our friends at liberty, out of jail, where they had been detained, as many of them had been for a long time. So at last, through much labor, care and diligence, the difficulty we had been under came to be removed.

I do in deep humility, tenderness of spirit, and with a thankful heart, retain the remembrance, how the Lord our God helped and enabled me to go through that great care and diligence in solicitations for the liberty of my dear suffering friends and brethren. Although I labored for the same nearly six months together, before it was fully effected, the Lord gave me great encouragement, peace and comfort, in my daily endeavors for them. My love towards them was such as made the same more easy to me, in all which I still have great satisfaction and peace, which remain with me, in Christ Jesus, my Lord and my God; I bless his name and power which upheld and strengthened me; let him have the glory, praise and dominion forever, says my soul.

The liberty granted to tender consciences by king Charles' declaration, A. D. 1671-2, held not long; for the Parliament, or a party among them not being reconciled to the liberty granted and allowed thereby, took occasion against the declaration, and moved the king to cancel it. They alleged that thereby he extended his prerogative too far, or advanced it above the law, by suspending the execution of penal laws, in matters ecclesiastical; suggesting, of what dangerous consequence it might be, to have such a precedent remaining. But they took no care of Christ's prerogative and government over the consciences of his subjects; they must be exposed to severe sufferings, oppressions, and cruelty, for conscience sake towards him, and for obeying his doctrine, chiefly in refusing to swear at all, or in any case, and for solemnly meeting together in his name and spiritual worship.

The king being prevailed upon in a short time, I think about two years, to cancel his indulgence to tender consciences, some persecutors began to appear again, and a new persecution arose in various places, where they picked up Friends who bore public testimony to truth; and yet for some time after, we could travel quietly, and visit our meetings in many counties. But the old and chief snare which our great persecutors were ready to make use of against us, was the oath of allegiance.

They knew that we could not swear in any case, either for the king, or for ourselves; though we sincerely practiced and performed just allegiance toward him, as true and faithful subjects, giving Caesar his due, and to God his due, the things that are truly his; namely, his worship and service, according to our conscientious persuasion in matters of faith and religion. We chose rather to lay down our bodies as the street to be trod upon, than subject our souls for our persecutors to go over them; and when they could not do so over our souls, nor make them bow to their corrupt wills and impositions, they would hunt us out to apprehend and confine our bodies in prisons.

In the tenth month, 1673, our dear friends and brethren, George Fox and Thomas Lower, being at a Friend's house in Worcestershire, on their journey towards their relations and habitations in Lancashire, were obstructed, and committed to prison at Worcester, by warrant from one Henry Parker, justice of peace, and detained prisoners a considerable time. The injustice and illegality done them, is further related in George Fox's journal.

After George Fox had long remained prisoner at Worcester, Thomas Moore and I went to the king at Hampton court, and requested his liberty out of prison; though the king gave us little answer, yet after some time the Lord made way for his release.

This imprisonment I have mentioned, that it may appear how early the invidious persecutors fell to work, after the king's declaration for liberty was rescinded. The persecutors being let

loose again, the several modes of prosecution were renewed against us, the people called Quakers; as, for not swearing allegiance, the penalty was imprisonment and premunire; for not going to parish church, so called, twenty pounds a month, or two thirds of a person's estate forfeited and seized on exchequer process or excommunication, and writs *De Excommunicato Capiendo*, issued out to take and imprison the persons excommunicated.

And for our innocent religious meetings, great spoil was made upon our goods, which were taken and torn away by a company of loose idle informers, who cared not what havoc and spoil they made upon us, nor how much they ruined poor, honest, industrious families; besides the many hard and tedious imprisonments, which many of us underwent, both before and after the declaration of indulgence.

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The remainder of *The Christian Progress of George Whitehead* consists chiefly of transcripts of court proceedings against him and others, detailed records of persecution against Quakers, interviews with the King of England on behalf of the Society, and letters written on behalf of imprisoned Friends. The entire publication can be found in *Friend's Library*, Volume 8.