



FRIEND GEORGE KEITH

T H E  
Univerfall free grace of the Gospell asserted  
O R  
T H E L I G H T  
Of the Glorious Gospell of  
J E S U S C H R I S T,  
*Shining forth univerfally, and enlightning every Man that comes  
into the World, and thereby giving unto every Man, a day of  
vifitation, wherein it is possible for him to be saved.  
Which is glad tydings unto all People.*  
B E I N G  
Witnessed and Testified unto, by us the People  
called in derifion *Quakers.*  
*And in oppofition to all Denyers of it, of one fort and another pre-  
ved by many infallible arguments, in the evidence and demon-  
stration of the Spirit of Truth, according to Scrip-  
ture Testimonies and found Reason.*  
With the objections of any seeming weight againft it,  
answered  
B Y G E O R G E K E I T H.

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Printed in the Year, 1671.

GEORGE KEITH



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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1638**

[George Keith](#) was born.

**“NARRATIVE HISTORY” IS FABULATION, HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY**




**GEORGE KEITH**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1660**

 Friend Edward Burroughs used his influence at the royal court to seek suspension of the Massachusetts Bay Colony's order of banishment upon Friend [Samuel Shattuck](#) and a number of other Quakers currently resident in London. The colony's representatives at court argued that they had found [Quakerism](#) to be disruptive.

During this decade of the 1660s, [George Keith](#), a Scotsman from a Presbyterian family already known for unpublishable pamphlets, would be joining with the [Quakers](#) (although many Quakers would come to greatly lament such an affiliation).

Jon Butler has commented on this period, in his *AWASH IN A SEA OF FAITH: CHRISTIANIZING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE* (Cambridge MA: Harvard UP, 1990, pages 17-18), that "Farther west [of London] and to the north religious indifference (some said paganism) reigned until, in the 1660s and 1670s, residents suddenly took to [Quakerism](#)." [George Fox](#) was riding the crest of some sort of phenomenal wave of public sentiment. Why did this occur? Was it a special clergyman with special charisma, or might it have been peculiar local conditions? –Emergent urbanization? –Population changes?

"As with the vagaries surrounding seasonality, definitive answers remain elusive."

**NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT**





**FRIEND GEORGE KEITH**

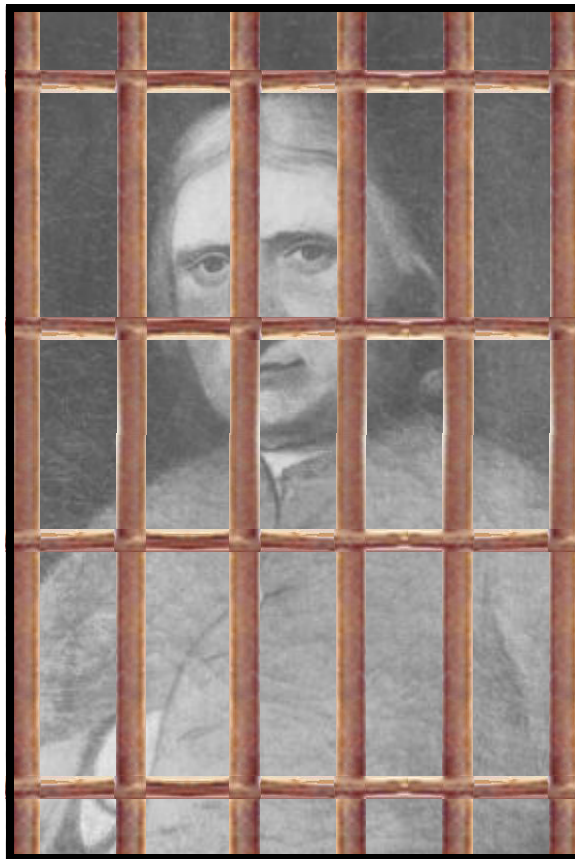
**GEORGE KEITH**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1664**

[Friend George Keith](#) was for a period incarcerated at the Tolbooth of Aberdeen.

While in prison at Lancaster, Friend [George Fox](#) created, either by writing himself or by dictating to an amanuensis, a relatively brief account of his “sufferings from preaching the truth.” This is much closer in time to the events described, than is the material which would be dictated in 1675 and which is now being characterized as THE [JOURNAL](#) OF GEORGE FOX.



**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**



GEORGE KEITH

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1665

[Friend George Keith](#)'s A SALUTATION OF DEAR AND TENDER LOVE TO THE SEED OF GOD ARISING IN ABERDEEN, IN 2 EPISTLES. DIRECTED UNTO FRIENDS OF TRUTH IN THAT PLACE, WHOM THE LORD HATH CALLED, AND IS CALLING FORTH TO BEAR THEIR TESTIMONY FOR HIS GLORIOUS TRUTH, (AGAINST AN EVIL, ADULTEROUS, AND PERSECUTING GENERATION) WITH OTHERS THEIR DEAR FRIENDS IN THESE NATIONS. WRIT BY GEORGE KEITH, PRISONER FOR THE SAID TESTIMONY IN THE TOLBOOTH OF ABERDEEN, 1664.<sup>1</sup>

During this year and the following one, while the Great Plague in London was continuing toward its grand total of some 75,000 fatalities, [Friend George Fox](#) would be spending a whole lot of his time in detention at Scarborough Castle. During this year he would write an epistle entitled "The Saints' Weapons Are Spiritual, That The Blessing Of God May Come Upon All Men":



*We are not against any man, but desire that the blessing of the Lord may come upon all men, and that which brings the curse may be destroyed; and in patience do we wait for that, and with spiritual weapons against it do we wrestle, and not against any man or woman's person. For amongst us Christ is King, who bringeth the blessing, and destroyeth that which brought the curse. And whoever dwells in righteousness, (man or woman,) and loves mercy, and doth justly, and walks humbly with God, and hath the humility, which goes before the honour, we are not against. But whosoever doth unrighteously, or doth not justly, nor righteously, nor walk humbly before God, and will have honour before humility, God will overturn such by his power. And in that let your faith be; for we look not at persons, but at the power of God; and know the reign of Christ among us. And as it is said, "God save the king," or "God bless the king;" we would not have him nor any man destroyed, but save; and so blessed. And the saved man will not suffer any thing to rule that destroys; and so our mind is, and we would that all men were saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, which the persecutors are out of. And all Friends, dwell in the endless power of the Lord, in which the supremacy is know, and the power which hath no end; whose dominion is over all dominions, and will stand when all other have an end; in that is the patience felt, which runneth the race, and obtaineth the crown; and that hath the wisdom, which is sweet, and cool, and pure, whereby the living truth hath the supremacy and dominion, and in that keep your meetings.*

1. In this thumbnail of the life of Friend George Keith, you will find there to be a truly enormous number of truly enormous book titles. Be assured that some of these polemic titles are in fact here abbreviated, and be assured that the publications mentioned are far from providing a total list of the various publications put out throughout his *floruit* by this prolific controversialist. The truth is far worse than here presented.



**FRIEND GEORGE KEITH**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

*G.F.*

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**  
**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**



**GEORGE KEITH**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

*After the assize, Colonel Kirby and other justices were very uneasy with my being at Lancaster; for I had galled them sore at my trials there, and they laboured much to get me removed thence to some remote place. Colonel Kirby sometimes threatened that I should be sent beyond sea.*

*About six weeks after the assizes they got an order from the King and council to remove me from Lancaster; and with it they brought a letter from the Earl of Anglesey, wherein it was written that if those things with which I was charged were found true against me, I deserved no clemency nor mercy; yet the greatest matter they had against me was because I could not disobey the command of Christ, and swear.*

*When they had prepared for my removal, the under-sheriff and the head-sheriff's man, with some bailiffs, fetched me out of the castle, when I was so weak with lying in that cold, wet, and smoky prison, that I could hardly go or stand. They led me into the jailer's house, where were William Kirby and several others, and they called for wine to give me. I told them I would have none of their wine. Then they cried, "Bring out the horses."*

*I desired them first to show me their order, or a copy of it, if they intended to remove me; but they would show me none but their swords. I told them there was no sentence passed upon me, nor was I præmunired, that I knew of; and therefore I was not made the King's prisoner, but was the sheriff's; for they and all the country knew that I was not fully heard at the last assize, nor suffered to show the errors in the indictment, which were sufficient to quash it, though they had kept me from one assize to another to the end they might try me. But they all knew there was no sentence of præmunire passed upon me; therefore I, not being the King's prisoner, but the sheriff's, did desire to see their order.*

*Instead of showing me their order, they haled me out, and lifted me upon one of the sheriff's horses.*

*When I was on horseback in the street the townspeople being gathered to gaze upon me, I told the officers I had received neither Christianity, civility, nor humanity from them.*

*They hurried me away about fourteen miles to Bentham, though I was so weak that I was hardly able to sit on horseback, and my clothes smelt so of smoke they were loathsome to myself. The wicked jailer, one Hunter, a young fellow, would come behind and give the horse a lash with his whip, and make him skip and leap; so that I, being weak, had much ado to sit on him; then he would come and look me in the face and say, "How do you, Mr. Fox?" I told him it was not civil in him to do so. The Lord cut him off soon after.*

**FOX'S JOURNAL:**



**FRIEND GEORGE KEITH**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

*When we were come to Bentham, in Yorkshire, there met us many troopers and a marshal; and many of the gentry of the country were come in, and abundance of people to take a view of me. I being very weak and weary, desired them to let me lie down on a bed, which the soldiers permitted; for those that brought me thither gave their order to the marshal, and he set a guard of his soldiers upon me.*

*When they had stayed awhile they pressed horses, raised the bailiff of the hundred, the constables, and others, and bore me to Giggleswick that night; but exceeding weak I was. There, with their clog shoes, they raised the constables, who sat drinking all the night in the room by me, so that I could not get much rest.*

*The next day we came to a market-town, where several Friends came to see me. Robert Widders and diverse Friends came to me upon the road.*

*The next night I asked the soldiers whither they intended to carry me, and whither I was to be sent. Some of them said, "Beyond sea"; others said, "To Tynemouth Castle." A great fear there was amongst them lest some one should rescue me out of their hands; but that fear was needless.*

*Next night we came to York, where the marshal put me into a great chamber, where most part of two troops came to see me. One of these troopers, an envious man, hearing that I was præmunired, asked me what estate I had, and whether it was copyhold or free land. I took no notice of his question, but was moved to declare the Word of life to the soldiers, and many of them were very loving.*

*At night the Lord Frecheville (so called), who commanded these horse, came to me, and was very civil and loving. I gave him an account of my imprisonment, and declared many things to him relating to Truth.*

*They kept me at York two days, and then the marshal and four or five soldiers were sent to convey me to Scarborough Castle. These were very civil men, and they carried themselves civilly and lovingly to me. On the way we baited at Malton, and they permitted Friends to come and visit me.*

*When we were come to Scarborough, they took me to an inn, and gave notice to the governor, who sent six soldiers to be my guard that night. Next day they conducted me into the castle, put me into a room, and set a sentry on me. As I was very weak, and subject to fainting, they sometimes let me go out into the air with the sentry.*

*They soon removed me out of this room, and put me into an open one, where the rain came in, and which was exceedingly thick with smoke, which was very offensive to me.*

**FOX'S JOURNAL**



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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

*One day the Governor, Sir John Crossland, came to see me, and brought with him Sir Francis Cobb. I desired the Governor to go into my room, and see what a place I had. I had got a little fire made in it, and it was so filled with smoke that when they were in they could hardly find their way out again; and he being a Papist, I told him that this was his Purgatory which they had put me into. I was forced to lay out about fifty shillings to stop out the rain, and keep the room from smoking so much. When I had been at that charge, and made it tolerable, they removed me into a worse room, where I had neither chimney nor fire-hearth. This being towards the sea-side and lying much open, the wind drove in the rain forcibly so that the water came over my bed, and ran so about the room that I was fain to skim it up with a platter. When my clothes were wet, I had no fire to dry them; so that my body was benumbed with cold, and my fingers swelled so that one was grown as big as two. Though I was at some charge in this room also, I could not keep out the wind and rain. Besides, they would suffer few Friends to come to me, and many times not any; no, not so much as to bring me a little food; but I was forced for the first quarter to hire one of another society to bring me necessaries. Sometimes the soldiers would take it from her, and she would scuffle with them for it. Afterwards I hired a soldier to fetch me water and bread, and something to make a fire of, when I was in a room where a fire could be made. Commonly a threepenny loaf served me three weeks, and sometimes longer, and most of my drink was water with wormwood steeped or bruised in it. One time the weather was very sharp, and I had taken great cold, I got a little elecampane beer. I heard one of the soldiers say to the other that they would play me a trick: they would send me up to the deputy-governor, and in the meantime drink my strong beer; and so they did. When I came back one of the soldiers came to me in a jeer, and asked me for some strong beer. I told him they had played their pretty trick; and so I took no further notice of it. But inasmuch as they kept me so very strait, not giving liberty for Friends to come to me, I spoke to the keepers of the Castle to this effect: "I did not know till I was removed from Lancaster Castle, and brought prisoner to this Castle of Scarborough, that I was convicted of a præmunire; for the Judge did not give sentence upon me at the assizes in open court. But seeing I am now a prisoner here, if I may not have my liberty, let my friends and acquaintances have their liberty to come and visit me, as Paul's friends had among the Romans, who were not Christians, but heathen. For Paul's friends had their liberty; all that would, might come to him, and he had his liberty to preach to them in his hired house. But I cannot have liberty to go into the town, nor for my friends to come to me here. So you that go under the name of Christians, are worse in this respect than those heathen were."*

**FOX'S JOURNAL**



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

*\* But though they would not let Friends come to me, they would often bring others, either to gaze upon me, or to contend with me. One time a great company of Papists came to discourse with me. They affirmed that the Pope was infallible, and had stood infallible ever since Peter's time. But I showed them the contrary by history; for one of the bishops of Rome (Marcellinus by name), denied the faith and sacrificed to idols; therefore he was not infallible. I told them that if they were in the infallible Spirit they need not have jails, swords, and staves, racks and tortures, fires and faggots, whips and gallows, to hold up their religion, and to destroy men's lives about it; for if they were in the infallible Spirit they would preserve men's lives, and use none but spiritual weapons about religion.*

*Another Papist who came to discourse with me said, "All the patriarchs were in hell from the creation till Christ came. When Christ suffered He went into hell, and the devil said to Him, What comest thou hither for? to break open our strongholds? And Christ said, To fetch them all out. So Christ was three days and three nights in hell to bring them out."*

*I told him that that was false; for Christ said to the thief, "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise"; and Enoch and Elijah were translated into heaven; and Abraham was in heaven, for the Scripture saith that Lazarus was in his bosom; and Moses and Elias were with Christ upon the Mount, before He suffered.*

*These instances stopped the Papist's mouth, and put him to a stand.*

*Another time came Dr. Witty, who was esteemed a great doctor in physic, with Lord Falconbridge, the governor of Tinmouth Castle, and several knights.*

*I being called to them, Witty undertook to discourse with me, and asked me what I was in prison for. I told him, "Because I would not disobey the command of Christ, and swear." He said I ought to swear my allegiance to the King.*

*He being a great Presbyterian, I asked him whether he had not sworn against the King and House of Lords, and taken the Scotch covenant? And had he not since sworn to the King? What, then, was his swearing good for? But my allegiance, I told him, did not consist in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness.*

*After some further discourse I was taken away to my prison again; and afterwards Dr. Witty boasted in the town amongst his patients that he had conquered me. When I heard of it, I told the Governor it was a small boast in him to say he had conquered a bondman. I desired to bid him come to me again when he came to the Castle.*

*He came again awhile after, with about sixteen or seventeen great persons, and then he ran himself worse on ground than before. For he affirmed before them all that Christ had not enlightened every man that cometh into the world; and that the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, had not appeared unto all men, and that Christ had not died for all men.*

FOX'S JOURNAL



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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

*I asked him what sort of men those were whom Christ had not enlightened? and whom His grace had not appeared to? and whom He had not died for? He said, "Christ did not die for adulterers, and idolaters, and wicked men."*

*I asked him whether adulterers and wicked men were not sinners.*

*He said, "Yes."*

*"Did not Christ die for sinners?" said I. "Did He not come to call sinners to repentance?"*

*"Yes," said he.*

*"Then," said I, "thou hast stopped thy own mouth."*

*So I proved that the grace of God had appeared unto all men, though some turned from it into wantonness, and walked despitefully against it; and that Christ had enlightened all men, though some hated the light. Several of the people confessed it was true; but he went away in a great rage, and came no more to me.*

*Another time the Governor brought a priest; but his mouth was soon stopped.*

*Not long after he brought two or three Parliament-men, who asked me whether I did own ministers and bishops.*

*I told them, "Yes, such as Christ sent; such as had freely received and would freely give; such as were qualified, and were in the same power and Spirit the apostles were in. But such bishops and teachers as yours, that will go no farther than a great benefice, I do not own; for they are not like the apostles. Christ saith to his ministers, 'Go ye into all nations, and preach the gospel'; but ye Parliament-men, who keep your priests and bishops in such great fat benefices, have spoiled them all. For do ye think they will go into all nations to preach; or any farther than a great fat benefice? Judge yourselves whether they will or not."*

*There came another time the widow of old Lord Fairfax, and with her a great company, one of whom was a priest. I was moved to declare the truth to them, and the priest asked me why we said Thou and Thee to people, for he counted us but fools and idiots for speaking so.*

*I asked him whether they that translated the Scriptures and that made the grammar and accidence, were fools and idiots, seeing they translated the Scriptures so, and made the grammar so, Thou to one, and You to more than one, and left it so to us. If they were fools and idiots, why had not he, and such as he, that looked upon themselves as wise men, and that could not bear Thou and Thee to a singular, altered the grammar, accidence, and Bible, and put the plural instead of the singular. But if they were wise men that had so translated the Bible, and had made the grammar and accidence so, I wished him to consider whether they were not fools and idiots themselves, that did not speak as their grammars and Bibles taught them; but were offended with us, and called us fools and idiots for speaking so.*

*Thus the priest's mouth was stopped, and many of the company acknowledged the Truth, and were pretty loving and tender. Some of them would have given me money, but I would not receive it.*



FRIEND GEORGE KEITH

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

*After this came Dr. Cradock, with three priests more, and the Governor and his lady (so called), and another that was called a lady, and a great company with them.*

*Dr. Cradock asked me what I was in prison for. I told him, "For obeying the command of Christ and the apostle, in not swearing." But if he, I said, being both a doctor and a justice of peace, could convince me that after Christ and the Apostle had forbidden swearing, they commanded Christians to swear, then I would swear. "Here is the Bible," I told him, "thou mayest, if thou canst, show me any such command."*

*He said, "It is written, 'Ye shall swear in truth and righteousness.'" "Ay," said I, "it was so written in Jeremiah's time; but that was many ages before Christ commanded not to swear at all; but where is it written so, since Christ forbade all swearing? I could bring as many instances out of the Old Testament for swearing as thou, and it may be more; but of what force are they to prove swearing lawful in the New Testament, since Christ and the Apostle forbade it? Besides," said I, "in that text where it is written, Ye shall swear, what 'ye' was this? Was it 'Ye Gentiles,' or 'Ye Jews'?"*

*To this he would not answer. But one of the priests that were with him answered, "It was to the Jews that this was spoken." Then Dr. Cradock confessed it was so.*

*"Very well," said I, "but where did God ever give a command to the Gentiles to swear? For thou knowest that we are Gentiles by nature."*

*"Indeed," said he, "in the gospel times everything was to be established out of the mouths of two or three witnesses; but there was to be no swearing then."*

*"Why, then," said I, "dost thou force oaths upon Christians, contrary to thy own knowledge, in the gospel-times? And why dost thou excommunicate my friends?" for he had excommunicated abundance both in Yorkshire and Lancashire.*

*\* He said, "For not coming to church." "Why," said I, "ye left us above twenty years ago, when we were but young lads and lasses, to the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, many of whom made spoil of our goods, and persecuted us because we would not follow them. We, being but young, knew little then of your principles. If ye had intended to keep your principles alive, that we might have known them, ye should either not have fled from us as ye did, or ye should have sent us your epistles, collects, homilies, and evening songs; for Paul wrote epistles to the saints, though he was in prison. But they and we might have turned Turks or Jews for any collects, homilies, or epistles we had from you all this while. And now thou hast excommunicated us, both young and old, and so have others of you done; that is, ye have put us out of your church before ye have got us into it, and before ye have brought us to know your principles. Is not this madness in you, to put us out before we were brought in? Indeed, if ye had brought us into your church, and when we had been in, if we had done some bad thing, that had been something like a ground for excommunication or putting out again. But," said I, "What dost thou call the Church?"*



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**FOX'S JOURNAL:**



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*"Why," said he, "that which you call the steeple-house."  
Then I asked him whether Christ shed His blood for the steeple-house, and purchased and sanctified the steeple-house with His blood. And seeing the Church is Christ's bride and wife, and that He is the Head of the Church, dost thou think the steeple-house is Christ's wife and bride, and that He is the head of that old house, or of His people?"  
"No," said he, "Christ is the head of His people, and they are the Church."  
"But," said I, "You have given the title Church to an old house, which belongs to the people; and you have taught them to believe so."  
I asked him also why he persecuted Friends for not paying tithes; whether God ever commanded the Gentiles to pay tithes; whether Christ had not ended tithes when He ended the Levitical priesthood that took tithes; whether Christ, when He sent His disciples to preach, had not commanded them to preach freely as He had given them freely; and whether all the ministers of Christ are not bound to observe this command of Christ. He said he would not dispute that.  
Neither did I find he was willing to stay on that subject; for he presently turned to another matter, and said, "You marry, but I know not how."  
I replied, "It may be so; but why dost thou not come and see?"  
Then he threatened that he would use his power against us, as he had done. I bade him take heed; for he was an old man. I asked him also where he read, from Genesis to Revelation, that ever any priest did marry any. I wished him to show me some instance thereof? if he would have us come to them to be married; "for," said I, "thou hast excommunicated one of my friends two years after he was dead, about his marriage. And why dost thou not excommunicate Isaac, and Jacob, and Boaz, and Ruth? for we do not read that they were ever married by the priests; but they took one another in the assemblies of the righteous, in the presence of God and His people; and so do we. So that we have all the holy men and women that the Scripture speaks of in this practice, on our side."  
Much discourse we had, but when he found he could get no advantage over me, he went away with his company.  
With such people I was much exercised while I was there; for most that came to the Castle would desire to speak with me, and great disputes I had with them. But as to Friends, I was as a man buried alive; for though many came far to see me, yet few were suffered to come to me; and when any Friend came into the Castle about business, if he looked towards me they would rage at him.  
At last the Governor came under some trouble himself; for he having sent a privateer to sea, they took some ships that were not enemies' ships, but their friends'; whereupon he was brought into trouble; after which he grew somewhat more friendly to me. For before I had a marshal set over me, on purpose to get money out of me; but I was not free to give him a farthing; and when they found they could get nothing off me, he was taken away again.*



**GEORGE KEITH**

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*\* The officers often threatened that I should be hanged over the wall. Nay, the deputy-governor told me once that the King, knowing I had great interest in the people, had sent me thither, that if there should be any stirring in the nation, they should hang me over the wall to keep the people down.*

*There being, a while after, a marriage at a Baptist's house, upon which occasion a great many of them were met together, they talked much then of hanging me. But I told them that if that was what they desired, and it was permitted them, I was ready, for I never feared death nor sufferings in my life; but I was known to be an innocent, peaceable man, free from all stirrings and plottings, and one that sought the good of all men.*

*Afterwards, the Governor growing kinder, I spoke to him when he was going to London to the Parliament, and desired him to speak to Esquire Marsh, Sir Francis Cobb, and some others; and let them know how long I had lain in prison, and for what; and he did so. When he came down again, he told me that Esquire Marsh said he would go a hundred miles barefoot for my liberty, he knew me so well; and several others, he said, spoke well of me. From which time the Governor was very loving to me.*

*There were, amongst the prisoners, two very bad men, that often sat drinking with the officers and soldiers; and because I would not sit and drink with them too, it made them the worse against me. One time when these two prisoners were drunk, one of them (whose name was William Wilkinson, a Presbyterian, who had been a captain), came to me and challenged me to fight with him.*

*Seeing what condition he was in, I got out of his way; and next morning, when he was more sober, showed him how unmanly it was in him to challenge a man to fight, whose principles, he knew, it was not to strike, but if he was stricken on one ear to turn the other. I told him, if he had a mind to fight, he should have challenged some soldiers that could have answered him in his own way.*

*But, however, seeing he had challenged me, I was now come to answer him with my hands in my pockets; and (reaching my head towards him), "Here," said I, "here is my hair, here are my cheeks, here is my back."*

*With this he skipped away from me and went into another room; at which the soldiers fell a-laughing; and one of the officers said, "You are a happy man that can bear such things." Thus he was conquered without a blow. After awhile he took the oath, gave bond, got out of prison; and not long after the Lord cut him off.*

**FOX'S JOURNAL:**



**FRIEND GEORGE KEITH**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

*There were great imprisonments in this and the former years, while I was prisoner at Lancaster and Scarborough. At London many Friends were crowded into Newgate, and other prisons, where the sickness was [the London plague of 1665], and many died in prison. Many also were banished, and several sent on ship-board by the King's order.*

*Some masters of ships would not carry them, but set them on shore again; yet some were sent to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and Nevis, and the Lord blessed them there. One master of a ship was very wicked and cruel to Friends that were put on board his ship; for he kept them down under decks, though the sickness was amongst them; so that many died of it. But the Lord visited him for his wickedness; for he lost most of his seamen by the plague, and lay several months crossed with contrary winds, though other ships went on and made their voyages.*

*At last he came before Plymouth, where the Governor and magistrates would not suffer him nor any of his men to come ashore, though he wanted necessaries for his voyage; but Thomas tower, Arthur Cotton, John Light, and other Friends, went to the ship's side, and carried necessaries for the Friends that were prisoners on board.*

*The master, being thus crossed and vexed, cursed them that put him upon this freight, and said he hoped he should not go far before he was taken. And the vessel was but a little while gone out of sight of Plymouth before she was taken by a Dutch man-of-war, and carried into Holland.*

*When they came into Holland, the States sent the banished Friends back to England, with a letter of passport, and a certificate that they had not made an escape, but were sent back by them.*

*In time the Lord's power wrought over this storm, and many of our persecutors were confounded and put to shame.*

*After I had lain prisoner above a year in Scarborough Castle, I sent a letter to the King, in which I gave him an account of my imprisonment, and the bad usage I had received in prison; and also that I was informed no man could deliver me but him. After this, John Whitehead being at London, and having acquaintance also with Esquire Marsh, he went to visit him, and spoke to him about me; and he undertook, if John Whitehead would get the state of my case drawn up, to deliver it to the master of requests, Sir John Birkenhead, who would endeavor to get a release for me.*

*So John Whitehead and Ellis Hookes drew up a relation of my imprisonment and sufferings, and carried it to Marsh; and he went with it to the master of requests, who procured an order from the King for my release. The substance of the order was that "the King, being certainly informed that I was a man principled against plotting and fighting, and had been ready at all times to discover plots, rather than to make any, etc., therefore his royal pleasure was that I should be discharged from my imprisonment," etc.*

**FOX'S JOURNAL:**



**GEORGE KEITH**

**FRIEND GEORGE KEITH**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT**



FRIEND GEORGE KEITH

GEORGE KEITH

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1668

[Friend George Keith](#)'s IMMEDIATE REVELATION, (OR JESUS CHRIST THE ETERNALL SON OF GOD, REVEALED IN MAN, AND REVEALING THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, AND THE THINGS OF HIS KINGDOM, IMMEDIATELY) NOT CEASED, BUT REMAINING A STANDING AND PERPETUAL ORDINANCE IN THE CHURCH OF CHRIST, &C.

Continuing in this year, and until 1670, Friend [George Fox](#) would be at the work of organizing his new religion. For instance, his epistle of this year entitled "Be Faithful in the Truth, Which the Devil is Out Of":



*My dear Friends, - Be faithful in the truth, which the devil is out of; in which truth you have obtained dominion over him. And live in the power of God, which was before the devil was; in which power of God, which is the gospel, in your fellowship. And live in the light, which was before the darkness was, and the power of it it: in which light is also your everlasting fellowship; and in this you will know God's dwelling, which is in the light. And dwell in the life, which was before death was, and the devil, the power of it; and in this life you will have dominion over death and the power of it. And so you do well that take heed to the light, and walk it it and thay that do evil do not take heed of the light. And so walk in the light, as children of the light, and that ye will have fellowship one with another, and with the son and the Father. And so mind the ingrafted word, which is able to save your souls; and that will keep your eyes and minds over all that which is not able to save, and keep you feet on the top of that. And so be of that good faith which gives you victory and access to God, in which you do al please God, and have unity one with another. and so mind the seed of Christ, which is over all that which makes to suffer, and was before that was, and will stand when that is gone that makes to suffer; in that seed live, and know it your crown and life, and in that you will be one another's crown and joy in the Lord God blessed for ever. And so keep your meetings in the name and power of the the Lord Jesus Christ that never fell; and the seed Christ reigns, in whom you have life, that was with the Father before the world began.*

G.F.



**GEORGE KEITH**

**FRIEND GEORGE KEITH**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

*We came into Cheshire, where we had several blessed meetings, and a general men's meeting; wherein all the monthly meetings for that county were settled, according to the gospel order, in and by the power of God.*

*After the meeting I passed away. But when the justices heard of it, they were very much troubled that they had not come and broken it up, and taken me; but the Lord prevented them.*

*Then, returning towards London by Waltham, I advised the setting up of a school there for teaching boys; and also a woman's school to be opened at Shacklewell, for instructing girls and young maidens in whatsoever things were civil and useful in the creation.*

*Thus were the men's monthly meetings settled through the nation. The quarterly meetings were generally settled before.*

*I wrote also into Ireland by faithful Friends, and into Scotland, Holland, Barbadoes, and several parts of America, advising Friends to settle their men's monthly meetings in those countries. For they had had their general quarterly meetings before; but now that Truth was increased amongst them, it was needful that they should settle those men's monthly meetings in the power and Spirit of God, that first convinced them.*

*Since these meetings have been settled, and all the faithful in the power of God, who are heirs of the gospel, have met together in the power of God, which is their authority, to perform service to the Lord, many mouths have been opened in thanksgiving and praise, and many have blessed the Lord God, that ever He sent me forth in this service. For now all coming to have a concern and care for God's honour and glory, and His name, which they profess, be not blasphemed; and to see that all who profess the Truth walk in the Truth, in righteousness and in holiness, as becomes the house of God, and that all order their conversation aright, that they may see the salvation of God; they may all see and know, possess and partake of, the government of Christ, of the increase of which there is to be no end.*

*Thus the Lord's everlasting renown and praise are set up in the heart of every one that is faithful; so that we can say the gospel order established amongst us is not of man, nor by man, but of and by Jesus Christ, in and through the Holy Ghost.*

*This order of the gospel, which is not of man nor by man, but from Christ, the heavenly man, is above all the orders of men in the fall, whether Jews, Gentiles, or apostate Christians, and will remain when they are gone. For the power of God, which is the everlasting gospel, was before the devil was, and will be and remain forever. And as the everlasting gospel was preached in the apostles' days to all nations, that all nations might, through the divine power which brings life and immortality to light, come into the order of it, so now the everlasting gospel is to be, and is, preached again, as John the divine foresaw it should be, to all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people.*

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HDT

WHAT?

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FRIEND GEORGE KEITH

GEORGE KEITH

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1671

[Friend George Keith](#)'s THE UNIVERFALL FREE GRACE OF THE GOSPELL ASSERTED, OR THE LIGHT OF THE GLORIOUS GOSPELL OF JESUS CHRIST, SHINING FORTH UNIVERFALLY; AND ENLIGHTNING EVERY MAN THAT COMS INTO THE WORLD, AND THERBY GIVING UNTO EVERY MAN, A DAY OF VISITATION, WHEREIN IT IS POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO BE SAVED. WHICH IS GLAD TYDINGS UNTO ALL PEOPLE. BEING WITNEFFED AND TESTIFYED UNTO, BY US THE PEOPLE CALLED IN DERIFION *QUAKERS*. AND IN OPPOSITION TO ALL DENYERS OF IT, OF ONE SORT AND ANOTHER PROVED BY MANY INFALLIBLE ARGUEMENTS, IN THE EVIDENCE AND DEMONSTRATION OF THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH, ACCORDING TO SCRIPTURE TESTIMONIES AND SOUND REASON. WITH THE OBJECTIONS OF ANY SEEMING WEIGHT AGAINST IT, ANSWERED BY GEORGE KEITH:<sup>2</sup>

T H E  
Univerfall free grace of the Gospell asserted  
O R  
T H E L I G H T  
Of the *Glorious Gospell* of  
J E S U S C H R I S T,  
*Shining forth univerfally, and enlightning every Man that coms  
into the World, and therby giving unto every Man, a day of  
visitation, wherein it is possible for him to be saved.  
Which is glad tydings unto all People.*  
B E I N G  
Witnessed and Testified unto, by us the People  
called in derifion *Quakers*.  
*And in opposition to all Denyers of it, of one sort and another pro-  
ved by many infallible arguments, in the evidence and demon-  
stration of the Spirit of Truth, according to Scrip-  
ture Testimonies and sound Reason.*  
With the objections of any seeming weight against it,  
answered  
B Y G E O R G E K E I T H.

---

Printed in the Year, 1671.

READ IT AND WEEP




GEORGE KEITH

FRIEND GEORGE KEITH

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1674

 After repeated “eldering” visits, in which a representative of the monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) came to his home to “labor with him,” [Friend John Ellis, Sr.](#) advised a [Quaker](#) elder that he would not be attending meeting for worship “untill the power did move him or work it in him.” (At about this time, another Quaker of Sandwich, [Friend Peter Gaunt](#), was also absenting himself — and Gaunt’s attitude was that the worship of God ought to be an entirely private keep-it-in-your-closet affair. He did not believe in the virtue of what he termed “visible worship of God in the world.” The Sandwich meeting would tolerate this attitude of his, merely recording in its minutes that he “valued not public worship.”)

[Friend George Keith](#)’s A LOOKING-GLASS FOR ALL THOSE, CALLED *PROTESTANTS*, IN THESE THREE NATIONS, WHEREIN THEY MAY SEE WHO ARE TRUE PROTESTANTS AND WHO ARE DEGENERATED AND GONE FROM THE TESTIMONY AND DOCTRINE OF THE ANTIENT PROTESTANTS. AND HEREBY IT IS MADE TO APPEAR, THAT THE PEOPLE, CALLED IN DERISION *QUAKERS*, ARE TRUE (YEA THE TRUEST) PROTESTANTS, &C. Also, his VINDICATION FROM THE FORGERIES AND ABUSES OF T. HICKS AND W. KIFFIN, WITH THE REST OF HIS CONFEDERATE BRETHERN OF THE BARBICAN-MEETING, HELD LONDON THE 28TH OF THE 6TH MONTH. Also, written the 29th of 1st Month, 1673, his THE WOMAN-PREACHER OF SAMARIA; A BETTER PREACHER, AND MORE SUFFICIENTLY QUALIFIED TO PREACH THAN ANY OF THE MEN-PREACHERS OF THE MAN-MADE-MINISTRY IN THESE THREE NATIONS. Also, his AN ACCOUNT OF THE ORIENTAL PHILOSOPHY, SHEWING, THE WISDOM OF SOME RENOWNED MEN OF THE EAST; AND PARTICULARLY, THE PROFOUND WISDOM OF HAI EBN YOKDAN, BOTH IN NATURAL AND DIVINE THINGS; WHICH HE ATTAINED WITHOUT ALL CONVERSE WITH MEN, (WHILE HE LIVED IN AN ISLAND A SOLITARY LIFE, REMOTE FROM ALL MEN FROM HIS INFANCY, TILL HE ARRIVED AT SUCH PERFECTION) WRIT ORIGINALLY IN ARABIC, BY ABI JAAPHAR EBN TOPHAIL; AND OUT OF THE ARABICK TRANSLATED INTO LATINE, BY EDWARD POCOCK, A STUDENT IN OXFORD; AND NOW FAITHFULLY OUT OF HIS LATINE, TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH: FOR A GENERAL SERVICE.<sup>3</sup>

2. There’s no particular reason why I am including full text of this particular treatise by Friend George Keith. It does not stand out from his other publications. It provides merely one illustration, more or less randomly made available, of this sorry sad genre of Keithian polemic.



FRIEND GEORGE KEITH

GEORGE KEITH

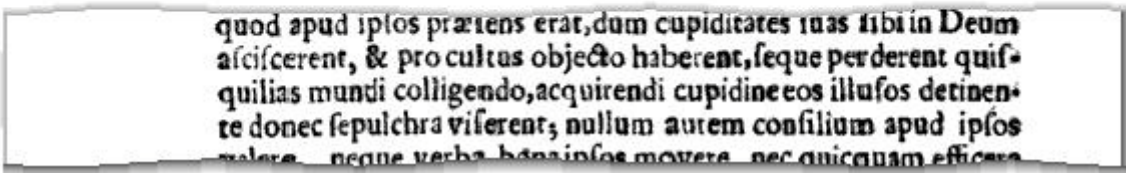
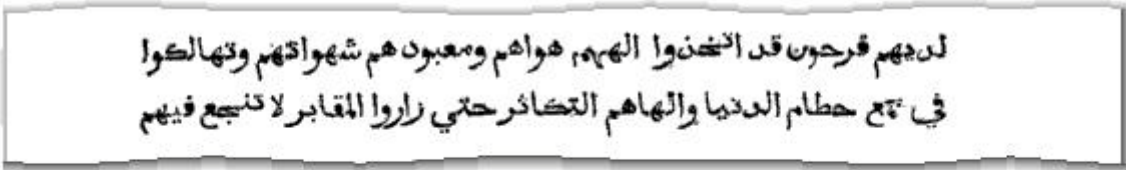
GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1675

Friend George Keith's QUAKERISM NO POPERY, OR A PARTICULAR ANSWERE TO THAT PART OF JOHN MENZEIS, PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN ABERDEEN, (AS HE IS CALLED) HIS BOOK, INTITULED, ROMA MENDAR, WHEREIN THE PEOPLE, CALLED QUAKERS, ARE CONCERNED, WHOM HE DOTHS ACCUSE AS HOLDING MANY PPOISH DOCTRINES, AND AS IF QUAKERISM, (SO HE NICK-NAMES OUR RELIGION,) WERE BUT PPOERY DISGUISED.

Although it is possible that the dictation had begun in the previous year, we know that in this year Friend George Fox was dictating to his stepson-in-law, Thomas Lower, what amounted to an autobiographical record of the events up to this point in his life. (This is the manuscript which would for a great many years be considered to have been his "Journal," as recreated in this Kouroo project's infospace.) Please bear in mind, however, that this autobiographical effort of Fox's would actually be in no real sense a journal, since the recording of it was at no point contemporaneous with the living of it. We might better consider this under the rubric of a "self-presentation," and beware — no controls at all were in place to prevent the intrusion of corrective memories, and of course we all know how it is that stories tend to get better and better during the retelling of them. In that context, here is an email message from Fox's current biographer, the author of FIRST AMONG FRIENDS, H. Larry Ingle: "Fox began, certainly from the mid-1670s, to modify the documents from

3. Hayy Bin Yaqzan is an Arabic narrative written by Abû Bakr Ibn al-Tufail in 12th-Century Spain. It had been translated into Latin by Mr. Edward Pocock (the younger) in 1671, three years before. English translations would also be provided by George Ashwell in 1686 (THE HISTORY OF HAI EB'N YOCKDAN, AN INDIAN PRINCE, OR, THE SELF-TAUGHT PHILOSOPHER), and by Simon Ockley in 1708:



“... the Professor’s eldest son, Mr. Edward Pocock published, with a Latin translation of his own, an Arabic piece of Ebn Tophail, the title of which was, PHILOSOPHUS AUTODIDACTUS, SIVE EPISTOLA ABI JAAFER EBN TOPHAIL DE HAI EBN YOKDHAN. In qua ostenditur, quomodo ex Inferiorum Contemplatione ad Superiorum Notitiam ratio humana ascendere possit. It is an ingenious fiction, giving the History of Ebn Yokdhan, who, the Author tells us, according to some, was produced in one of the Indian islands under the Equinoctial, where men come into the world without father or mother. ... He proved afterwards of a discerning and contemplative spirit, and by progressive reasonings with himself, from what he saw, formed a system of Natural Philosophy, Morality, and Metaphysics. In the 50th year of his age, Asal, a person of a contemplative disposition, who came thither from a neighbouring island, for the sake of retirement, found Yokdhan, taught him language, and got from him all the account he was able to give of his original, and the history of his gradual approaches to a knowledge of, and intimate conjunction with God.”



**GEORGE KEITH**

**FRIEND GEORGE KEITH**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

the past in a way that would place him in a good light. Going through what became the Swarthmore Manuscripts, he noted on many that they should be recopied, and presumably that some should be destroyed (we have none of those because his suggestions were carried out!). This practice continued, for the catalogue of his writings, done in the late 1690s after his death, revealed lots of letters and other materials that have never been found, leading some of us to conclude that they may well have been intentionally destroyed.... the manuscripts have been corrupted to support one particular point of view — that of those who proved to be the ultimate winners in the political warfare surrounding the Nayler, Perrot, Rogers, Wilkinson, and Story affairs. All this means that the suppositions of historians who have charged that the record was deliberately altered could have the air of accuracy about them. All of this also means that we should approach the materials we have with a lot of humility, more than some of us display on occasion.”

From the journal that would be published by Friend William Edmundson in 1715, pages 109/110: The next Morning we took our Journey towards Maryland, accompanied with Robert Wade and another Friend : We traveled hard and late at Night, so came to William Southerby's at Saxifrax River. From thence we went among Friends on the Eastern Shore in [Maryland](#), where we had many precious heavenly Meetings with Friends and others, for the Worship of God, and Men and Women's Meetings to order the Affairs of the Church. A blessed Time we had together, to our mutual Comfort.

After some well-spent Time there in Truth's Service, I had Drawings to go over the Great Bay of Cheseapeak, to the Western Short to visit Friends, and Samuel Groom of London, Master of a Ship being there, sent his Boat and two of his Men to take me over ; that Night one of the Men was under much Trouble of Spirit, but we landed well early next Morning at the Cliffs. I had many good Meetings on that Side of the Bay, and good Service several Ways, for there were some troublesome Spirits gone out from Truth, that were a great Exercise to honest true-hearted Friends, the Lord gave me Ability and Understanding to deal with them, and to set Truth and its Testimony over them, to the Joy and Satisfaction of Friends.

After some Time spent there, I went to the Eastern Shore again, and had many precious Meetings with Friends, then took my Leave in the Love of God, in order to go down the great Bay to Anamesy, to visit Friends there, accompanied with James Fletcher, and three other Friends to manage the Boat ; but meeting with very foul Weather, and contrary Winds, we were forced to put ashore in an Island, and pitch the Boat, having Sails spread for our Covering, we lay there all Night. Next Day, the Weather being very foul with Sleet and Snow and the Wind against us, we stood over the Bay to Patuxent River, and came to Benjamin Lawrence's House, who received us kindly ; we had a good Meeting there. After which the Wind turning somewhat fair, we took Boat and went on our Journey ; but it was very cold foul Weather, Sleet and Snow, and we were all that Day and most of the Night e're we got to the Place intended, which we obtained with much Difficulty.



**FRIEND GEORGE KEITH**

**GEORGE KEITH**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1677**

August 25, Saturday (Old Style): [Friend George Fox](#) and Isabel, one of his wife's daughters, Friend [William Penn](#), Friend Robert Barclay, Friend [George Keith](#) and his wife, Friend John Furly and his brother, Friend William Tallcoat, and Friend George Watts went across the channel to Holland.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'George Fox' in a cursive script.



**GEORGE KEITH**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

\* ... when the boat was ready, taking leave of Friends, we that were bound for Holland went on board about nine in the evening, on the 25th of the Fifth month, 1677. The Friends that went over with me, were William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith and his wife, John Furly and his brother, William Tallcoat, George Watts, and Isabel Yeomans, one of my wife's daughters.

About one in the morning we weighed anchor, having a fair brisk wind, which by next morning brought us within sight of Holland. But that day proving very clear and calm we got forward little, till about four in the afternoon, when a fresh gale arose which carried us within a league of land. Then being becalmed again, we cast anchor for that night, it being between the hours of nine and ten in the evening.

William Penn and Robert Barclay, understanding that Benjamin Furly was come from Rotterdam to the Briel to meet us, got two of the boatmen to let down a small boat that belonged to the packet, and row them to shore; but before they could reach it the gates were shut; and there being no house without the gates, they lay in a fisherman's boat all night.

As soon as the gates were opened in the morning, they went in, and found Benjamin Furly, with other Friends of Rotterdam, that were come thither to receive us; and they sent a boat, with three young men in it, that lived with Benjamin Furly, who brought us to the Briel, where the Friends received us with great gladness.

We stayed about two hours to refresh ourselves, and then took boat, with the Holland Friends, for Rotterdam, where we arrived about eleven that day, the 28th of the month. I was very well this voyage, but some of the Friends were sea-sick. A fine passage we had, and all came safe and well to land; blessed and praised be the name of the Lord for ever! Next day, being First-day, we had two meetings at Benjamin Furly's, where many of the townspeople and some officers came in, and all were civil. Benjamin Furly, or John Claus, a Friend of Amsterdam, interpreted, when any Friend declared. I spent the next day in visiting Friends there.

The day following, William Penn and I, with other Friends, went towards Amsterdam with some Friends of that city, who came to Rotterdam to conduct us thither. We took boat in the afternoon, and, passing by Overkirk, came to Delft, through which we walked on foot.

We then took boat again to Leyden, where we lodged that night at an inn. This is six Dutch miles from Rotterdam, which are eighteen English miles, and five hours' sail or travelling; for our boat was drawn by a horse that went on the shore.

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**FRIEND GEORGE KEITH**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

*Next day, taking boat again, we went to Haarlem, fourteen miles from Leyden, where we had appointed a meeting, which proved very large; for many of the townspeople came in, and two of their preachers. The Lord gave us a blessed opportunity, not only with respect to Friends, but to other sober people, and the meeting ended peaceably and well. After it we passed to Amsterdam.*

[In a conference a number of meetings were established:]

*A monthly, a quarterly, and a yearly meeting, to be held at Amsterdam for Friends in all the United Provinces of Holland, and in Embden, the Palatinate, Hamburg, Frederickstadt, Dantzic, and other places in and about Germany; which Friends were glad of, and it has been of great service to Truth.*

[Friend George Keith's wife and Fox's step-daughter Isabel Yeomans visited the Princess Elizabeth in Westphalia, with Fox sending along a personal note. This princess was the daughter of Frederick, Elector Palatine, and granddaughter of James I of England, a person of great spirituality who must also have possessed a considerable intellect, since she was a friend and correspondent of René Descartes. She had already met Friends William Penn and Robert Barclay, and frequently used her contacts to persuade King Charles, her uncle, or Prince Rupert, her brother, to get Friends released from prison in England and Scotland. Here is how she responded to Fox:]

*DEAR FRIEND:*

*I cannot but have a tender love to those that love the Lord Jesus Christ, and to whom it is given, not only to believe in Him, but also to suffer for Him; therefore your letter and your Friends' visit have been both very welcome to me. I shall follow their and your counsel as far as God will afford me light and unction; remaining still your loving friend,*

*ELIZABETH.*

*Hertford, the 30th of August, 1677.*

[At this point in time, in the struggle with Louis XIV, the dykes had been cut and much of the country was under water. The following happened in Groningen in East Friesland:]

*One of the magistrates of that city came with us from Leeuwarden, with whom I had some discourse on the way, and he was very loving. We walked nearly two miles through the city, and then took boat for Delfziel; and passing in the evening through a town called Appingdalem, where had been a great horse-fair that day, there came many officers rushing into the boat, and being somewhat in drink, they were very rude. I spoke to them, exhorting them to fear the Lord, and beware of Solomon's vanities. They were boisterous fellows; yet somewhat more civil afterwards.*

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**GEORGE KEITH**

**FRIEND GEORGE KEITH**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

[Friend George Keith](#) issued, at some point during this year, THE WAY CAST UP, AND THE STUMBLING-BLOCKES REMOVED FROM BEFORE THE FEET OF THOSE, WHO ARE SEEKING THE WAY TO ZION, WITH THEIR FACES THITHERWARD. CONTAINING AN ANSWER TO A POSTSCRIPT, PRINTED AT THE END OF SAMUEL RUTHERFORD'S LETTERS, THIRD EDITION, BY A NAMELESSE AUTHOR, INDEED NOT WITHOUT CAUSE, CONSIDERING THE MANY LYES AND FALSHOODS THEREIN, AGAINST THE PEOPLE, CALLED QUAKERS, WHICH ARE HERE DISPROVED, AND REFUTED; AND THE TRUTH OF WHAT WE HOLD TOUCHING THOSE PARTICULARS FAITHFULLY DECLARED, ACCORDING TO THE SCRIPTURES, with a Preface and Postscript by Alexander Skein, In this publication Friend George laid claim to again being a prisoner in the Tolbooth of Aberdeen.

**DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.**



**FRIEND GEORGE KEITH**

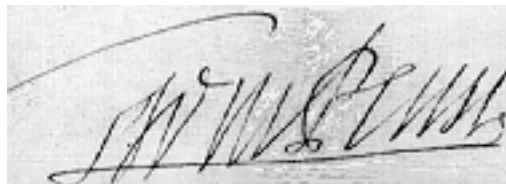
**GEORGE KEITH**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1685**

Three years after [Friend Robert Barclay](#) had been made the nonresident governor of the Province of East Jersey (part of present-day New Jersey), Friend [George Keith](#) traveled there to take the post of Surveyor-General.

The [Quaker](#) Governor [William Penn](#) –who just in the previous year had declared that “Governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments. Let men be good, and government cannot be bad. If it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be ever so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it to their tune”– reversing his previous rulings, allowed [slave](#)-trading enterprises to base themselves in his Philadelphia of brotherly love!



**M**

“Don’t think you are going to conceal faults by concealing evidence that they ever existed.”

— [Dwight David Eisenhower](#)



**GEORGE KEITH**

**FRIEND GEORGE KEITH**

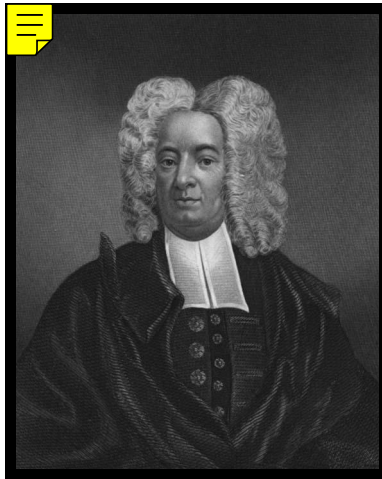
**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1686**

[Friend George Keith](#) ran the initial survey to mark out the border between West Jersey and East Jersey.

Clergymen such as the Reverend Increase Mather and his son the Reverend [Cotton Mather](#) regarded the royally imposed “Dominion for New England” as the death of their dream for a Puritan state under the thumb of persons of their own ilk. In this crisis, of course, not being able to attack England and needing somebody to attack, they attacked the ever-handy members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), and hence it is that we have:

- The Reverend Increase Mather’s AN ESSAY FOR THE RECORDING OF ILLUSTRIOUS PROVIDENCE
- The Reverend Cotton Mather’s MEMORABLE PROVIDENCES RELATING TO [WITCHCRAFTS](#) AND POSSESSIONS A FAITHFUL ACCOUNT OF MANY WONDERFUL AND SURPRISING THINGS THAT HAVE BEFALLEN SEVERAL BEWITCHED AND POSSESSED PERSONS IN NEW-ENGLAND, PARTICULARLY A NARRATIVE OF THE MARVELLOUS TROUBLE AND RELEEF EXPERIENCED BY A PIOUS FAMILY IN BOSTON, VERY LATELY AND SADLY MOLESTED WITH EVIL SPIRITS : WHEREUNTO IS ADDED A DISCOURSE DELIVERED UNTO A CONGREGATION IN BOSTON ON THE OCCASION OF THAT ILLUSTRIOUS PROVIDENCE : AS ALSO A DISCOURSE DELIVERED UNTO THE SAME CONGREGATION ON THE OCCASION OF AN HORRIBLE SELF-MURDER COMMITTED IN THE TOWN : WITH AN APPENDIX IN VINDICATION OF A CHAPTER IN A LATE BOOK OF REMARKABLE PROVIDENCES FROM THE CALUMNIES OF A QUAKER AT PEN-SILVANIA / WRITTEN BY COTTON MATHER ... AND RECOMMENDED BY THE MINISTERS OF BOSTON AND CHARLESTON was printed at Boston in N. England, by R.P., to be sold by Joseph Brunning ....



*Your most humble Servt  
C<sup>t</sup> Mather.*



FRIEND GEORGE KEITH

GEORGE KEITH

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1689

Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends founded schools. The Provincial Council of Pennsylvania put Friend George Keith in charge of them, and so he relocated to Philadelphia. (This date, 1689, is now used as the foundation date of the surviving "William Penn Charter School" and "Friends Select School" of Philadelphia that have been created by consolidation of various of these Quaker schools.)

QUAKER EDUCATION

This director of Quaker schooling, Friend George Keith, however, became embroiled, or attempted to become embroiled, in a controversy with the Puritan divines. His response, most fundamentally, to the typical Puritan accusation that the Quakers were ignorant of the historic Christ, was that these divines were encouraging the worship of an absent Christ. In one Friends meeting in New Jersey: "The above said Monthly Meeting fell from ye year 1689 to ye year 1704 by reason of George Keith's Separation which was 15 years and Then was appointed to Be Kept att Woodbridge First by a preparative Meeting and abt 2 years after Kept a Monthly Meeting." The cause of this long interval of 15 years in the history of the Woodbridge Quakers is well known. Friend George Keith, a man eminent among the Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, had begun preaching and writing in favor of plainer garments, "of the abandonment of all forcible measures to uphold secular or worldly government, and the emancipation of negroes after a reasonable term of service." Keith had had many followers, causing much bitterness in the hitherto peaceful denomination, but had been unequal to the task of crystallizing the elements he had disturbed. The story is that he had become censorious and overbearing, in consequence of which his influence had declined; and in 1694 the yearly meeting in London would end his career as a Quaker preacher by stripping him of all authority. In 1702, when he would visit Shrewsbury, he would do so as an Episcopalian missionary — and create a profound sensation.

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





**GEORGE KEITH**

**FRIEND GEORGE KEITH**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1691**

[Friend George Keith](#) decided that the [Quakers](#) had strayed too far from orthodox Christianity and broke with Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, forming a schismatic group he termed the “Christian Quakers” (this American group would be short-lived; however, its existence would have the lasting political result of separating Pennsylvania and Delaware into two provinces). In returning to England Keith turned control of the Philadelphia school system over to his assistant, Friend Thomas Makin.

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

**QUAKER EDUCATION**



**FRIEND GEORGE KEITH**

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**1692**

The Reverend [Benjamin Keach](#)'s hymnbook provoked heated debate in the Assembly of Particular [Baptists](#).

As an example of [Quaker Disownment](#), here is one that was announced in this year:

The Quaker street preacher [George Keith](#) was [disowned](#) by Friends. He went to England and became an Anglican, developing a doctrine that Quakerism was overemphasizing the inward Christ and paying too little attention to the historic Christ recorded in the Gospels.

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

[Friend George Keith](#)'s AN ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT DIVISIONS AMONGST THE QUAKERS IN PENSILVANIA.

There is a pamphlet entitled NEW ENGLAND SPIRIT OF PERSECUTION TRANSMITTED TO PENNSYLVANIA AND THE PRETENDED [QUAKERS](#) FOUND PERSECUTING THE TRUE CHRISTIAN QUAKER, IN THE TRYAL OF PETER BOSS, [GEORGE KEITH](#), THOMAS BUDD AND WILLIAM BRADFORD, AT THE SESSYONS HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, THE NINTH, TENTH, AND TWELFTH DAYS OF DECEMBER, 1692. GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE MOST ARBITRARY PROCEEDINGS OF THAT COURT. Here is the description of the origins of that pamphlet:

In 1689, [William] Bradford lived in the city. A quarto pamphlet by [George Keith](#), respecting the New England churches, printed by Bradford in Philadelphia in that year, is the oldest book I [John Watson] have seen, printed in the city. In the year 1692, much contention prevailed among the Quakers in Philadelphia, and Bradford took an active part in the quarrel. George Keith, by birth a Scotchman, a man of good abilities and well educated, was surveyor general in New Jersey; and the Society of Friends in this city employed him in 1689, as the superintendent of their schools. Keith, having attended this duty nearly two years, became a public speaker in their religious assemblies; but being, as the Quakers asserted, of a turbulent and overbearing spirit, he gave them much trouble. They forbade him speaking as a teacher or minister in their meetings; this, and some other irritating circumstances, caused a division among the Friends, and the parties were greatly hostile to each other. Bradford was of the party which was attached to Keith, and supported him; their opponents were the majority. Among them were the Lieutenant Governor Lloyd, and most of the Quaker magistrates. Keith and Thomas Budd wrote against the majority, and Bradford published their writings. Keith was condemned in the city meetings, but he appealed to the general meeting of the Friends; and in order that his case might be generally known and understood, he wrote an address to the Quakers, which he caused to be printed, and copies of it to be dispersed among the Friends, previous to their general meeting. This conduct was highly resented by his opponents; the address was called seditious, and Bradford was arrested and imprisoned for printing it. The sheriff seized a form containing four quarto pages of



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the types of the address; he also took into his custody a quantity of paper, and a number of books, which were in Bradford's shop, with all the copies of the address which he could find. The civil authority took up the business; and as Keith and Bradford stated the facts, they who opposed them in the religious assemblies, condemned and imprisoned them by civil process – the judges of the courts being the leading characters in the meetings. Several of Keith's party were apprehended and imprisoned with Bradford; and among them, Thomas Budd and John Macomb. The offence of the latter consisted in his having two copies of the address, which he gave to two friends in compliance with their request. The following was the warrant for committing Bradford and Macomb:

Whereas William Bradford, printer, and John Macomb, tailor, being brought before us upon an information of publishing, uttering and spreading a malicious and seditious paper entitled, an Appeal from the twenty-eight judges to the Spirit of Truth &c. Tending to the disturbance of the peace and the subversion of the present government, and the said persons being required to give securitie to answer it at the next court, but they refused so to do. These are therefore by the King and Queen's authoritie and in our proprietary's name, to require you to take into your custody the bodies of William Bradford and John Macomb, and them safely keep till they shall be discharged by due courts of law. Whereof fail not at your peril; and for your so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant.  
Given under our hands and seals this 24th of August 1692.

"These to John White, Sheriff of Philadelphia, or his deputies."

[Signed by Arthur Cook and four others.]

The day after the imprisonment of Bradford and his friends, a "Private Sessions" as it was called, of the county court was held by six Justices, all Quakers, who, to put a just complexion on their proceedings, requested the attendance of two magistrates who were not Quakers. This court assembled, it seems, for the purpose of convicting Keith, Budd, and their connexions, of seditious conduct; but the two magistrates who were not Quakers, if we credit Keith and Bradford, reprobated the measure, and refused to have any concern in it, declaring, that the whole transaction was a mere dispute among the Quakers respecting their religion, in which the government had no concern. They, however, advised that Keith and others accused should be sent for, and allowed to defend themselves, and affirmed that if any thing like sedition appeared in their practice, they would join heart and hand in their prosecution. To this the Quaker magistrates would not consent, and the others in consequence left the court. The court then, as is stated in a pamphlet, "proceeded in their work, and as they judged [George](#)



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Keith in their spiritual court without all hearing or trial, so in like manner they prosecuted him in their temporal court without all hearing." The pamphlet further states that "one of the judges declared that the court could judge of matter of fact without evidence, and therefore, without more to do, proclaimed George Keith by the common cryer, in the market place, to be a seditious person, and an enemy to the King and Queen's government."

There is a mention of another dustup over the printing of derogatory materials. These guys evidently were playing hardball:

In 1702, William Bradford is spoken of in Samuel Bonas' Journal, as having combined with George Keith to have Bonas prosecuted and imprisoned on Long Island. Bonas says he was dispossessed of his place as printer for Friends, and was disowned because of his contentions among them at Philadelphia. Andrew Bradford, his son, began "the Weekly Mercury," the first city gazette, in 1719 in conjunction with John Copson. In 1725, he was arraigned before the Council, concerning a late pamphlet, entitled "Some Remedies proposed for restoring the sunk credit of the province"; and also for printing a certain paragraph in his Mercury of the second of January. The Governor informed him he must not thereafter publish any thing relating to affairs of this government without permission from him or his Secretary; to which he promising submission, the subject was dismissed. About this time he held the place of Postmaster. The father (William) and the son (Andrew) are thus spoken of in Keimer's poetic effusion of the year 1734, saying —

"In Penn's wooden country Type feels no disaster,  
The Printers grow rich; one is made their Post Master;  
His father, a Printer, is paid for his work,  
And wallows in plenty, just now, at New York,  
Though quite past his labour, and old as my Grannum,  
The Government pays him, pounds sixty per annum."

This preacher evidently also converted some Baptists to his way of thinking:

Some very old tombstones are still in existence near Crescentville, in Bristol township, on the country seat of James N. Dickson, which have been intended to designate the remains of a mother and her two sons of the name of Price, of Welsh origin, who died there in 1702. They were members of the community of Seventh-day Baptists — the same which afterwards took the name of Keithian Baptists, from their union in sentiment with George Keith, who had been a Friend.



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There is evidently in addition some book about the [Baptist](#) faith by the Reverend Morgan Edwards (I'm sorry, I don't have the title of this book but it was published in 1770), which contains a description of the followers of Friend [George Keith](#).

E.W. Kirby would write a biography of Friend George in the 1940s.

According to Geoffrey Kaiser's "Society of Friends in North America" chart, the "Christian [Quakers](#)" collapsed after their leader, Friend [George Keith](#), joined the Anglicans. But according to H.E. Wildes's biography of Friend William Penn (page 268):

Keith had had quite enough of Pennsylvania, where [Quakers](#) cherished "more damnable heresies and doctrines of the devil" than members of any other Protestant sect. He could no longer tolerate, he said, the "fools, ignorant heathens, infidels, silly souls, liars, heretics, rotten Ranters, Muggletonians" who made up the Society of Friends. He forsook the Society of Friends, had himself baptized an Anglican and, still wearing Quaker costumes, preached in England for the Established Church.... Some of Keith's followers, unwilling to follow him out of the Quaker movement, set up a separate organization, the Christian Quakers, which continued for more than two centuries before re-entering the main body of the Society of Friends.




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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1693

[Friend George Keith](#)'s THE CHRISTIAN QUAKER: OR, GEORGE KEITH'S EYES OPENED. GOOD NEWS FROM PENNSYLVANIA. CONTAINING A TESTIMONY AGAINST THAT FALSE AND ABSURD OPINION WHICH SOME HOLD, VIZ. THAT ALL TRUE BELIEVERS AND FAITHS, IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE BODILY DEATH, ATTAIN TO ALL THE RESURRECTION THEY EXPECT, AND ENTER INTO THE FULLEST ENJOYMENT OF HAPPINESS. AND ALSO, THAT THE WICKED, IMMEDIATELY AFTER DEATH, ARE RAISED UP TO RECEIVE ALL THE PUNISHMENT THEY ARE TO EXPECT, &C. Also, his A FARTHER ACCOUNT OF THE **GREAT DIVISIONS** AMONG THE QUAKERS IN PENNSYLVANIA, &C. AS APPEARS BY ANOTHER OF THEIR BOOKS LATELY COME OVER FROM THENCE, INTITULED, **SOME REASONS AND CAUSES OF THE LATE SEPARATION**, THAT HATH COME TO PASS AT PHILADELPHIA, BETWIXT US, CALLED BY SOME THE **SEPARATE MEETING**; AND OTHERS THAT MEET APART FROM US. MORE PARTICULARLY OPENED, TO VINDICATE AND CLEAR US AND OUR TESTIMONY IN THAT RESPECT, VIZ. THAT THE SEPERATION LIETH AT THEIR DOOR, AND THEY (AND NOT WE) ARE JUSTLY CHARGEABLE WITH IT. WITH AN APOLOGY FOR THE PRESENT PUBLICATION OF THESE THINGS.

 8mo. 13: A printed text amounting to some six pages, unsigned except as by "our Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia" but now attributed to [Friend George Keith](#), entitled "An Exhortation & Caution to Friends concerning buying or keeping of Negroes," was presumably (having been set in type by William Bradford of New-York) the 1st American protest against [slavery](#) to be put through the printing process. This initial publication would be referred to in Gabriel Thomas's HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA (1698) and in a 1789 letter from [Benjamin Franklin](#) to John Wright, and the material would be reprinted on some date in [The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography](#), and reprinted again as an offset by that magazine in 1889.

Although this seems to have been the 1st anti-slavery declaration by American Quakers to make its way through a printing press, it was not their 1st anti-slavery declaration for one such had already been expressed, at a gathering in Germantown five years earlier, in 1688, without then however being distributed in print form.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



**GEORGE KEITH**

**FRIEND GEORGE KEITH**

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## **AN EXHORTATION & CAUTION TO FRIENDS**

### **CONCERNING BUYING OR KEEPING OF NEGROES**

**[GEORGE KEITH]**

**[Moore, George, ed.]**

**The First Printed Protest Against Slavery in America,  
Reprinted from "The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography."  
Philadelphia: n.p., 1889.]**

Seing our Lord Jesus Christ hath tasted Death for every Man, and given himself a Ransom for all, to be testified in due time, and that his Gospel of Peace, Liberty and Redemption from Sin, Bondage and all Oppression, is freely to be preached unto all, without Exception, and that *Negroes, Blacks, and Taunies* are a real part of Mankind, for whom Christ hath shed his precious Blood, and are capable of Salvation, as well as *White Men*; and Christ the Light of the World hath (in measure) enlightened them, and every Man that cometh into the World; and that all such who are sincere *Christians* and true Believers in Christ Jesus, and Followers of him, bear his Image, and are made conformable unto him in Love, Mercy, Goodness and Compassion, who came not to destroy men's Lives, but to save them, nor to bring any part of Mankind into outward Bondage, Slavery or Misery, nor yet to detain them, or hold them therein, but to ease and deliver the Oppressed and Distressed, and bring into Liberty both inward and outward.

Therefore we judge it necessary that all faithful Friends should discover themselves to be true *Christians* by having the Fruits of the Spirit of Christ, which are *Love, Mercy, Goodness, and Compassion* towards all in Misery, and that suffer Oppression and severe Usage, so far as in them is possible to ease and relieve them, and set them free of their hard Bondage, whereby it may be hoped, that many of them will be gained by their beholding these good Works of sincere *Christians*, and prepared thereby, through the Preaching the Gospel of Christ, to imbrace the true Faith of Christ. And for this cause it is, as we judge, that in



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some places in *Europe* Negroes cannot be bought and sold for Money, or detained to be Slaves, because it suits not with the Mercy, Love & Clemency that is essential to *Christianity*, nor to the Doctrine of Christ, nor to the Liberty the Gospel calleth all men unto, to whom it is preached. And to buy Souls and Bodies of men for Money, to enslave them and their Posterity to the end of the World, we judge is a great hinderance to the spreading of the Gospel, and is occasion of much War, Violence, Cruelty and Oppression, and Theft & Robery of the highest Nature; for commonly the Negroes that are sold to white Men, are either stollen away or robbed from their kindred, and to buy such is the way to continue these evil Practices of Man-stealing, and transgresseth that Golden Rule and Law, *To do to others what we would have others do to us.*

*Therefore, in true Christian Love, we earnestly recommend it to all our Friends and Brethren, Not to buy any Negroes, unless it were on purpose to set them free, and that such who have bought any, and have them at present, after some reasonable time of moderate Service they have had of them, or may have of them, that may reasonably answer to the Charge of what they have laid out, especially in keeping Negroes Children born in their House, or taken into their House, when under Age, that after a reasonable time of service to answer that Charge, they may set them at Liberty, and during the time they have them, to teach them to read, and give them a Christian Education.*

**Some Reasons and Causes  
of our being against  
keeping of Negroes for Term of Life.**

*First, Because it is contrary to the Principles and Practice of the Christian Quakers to buy Prize or stollen Goods, which we bore a faithful Testimony against in our Native Country; and therefore it is our Duty to come forth in a Testimony against stollen Slaves, it being accounted a far greater Crime under Moses's Law than the stealing of Goods: for such were only to restore four fold, but he that stealeth a Man and selleth him, if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to Death, EXOD. 21. 16. Therefore as we are not to buy stollen Goods, (but if at unawares it should happen through Ignorance, we are to restore them to the Owners, and seek our Remedy of the Thief) no more are we to buy stollen Slaves; neither should such as have them keep them and their Posterity in perpetual Bondage and Slavery, as is usually done, to the great scandal of the Christian Profession.*

*Secondly, Because Christ commanded, saying, All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them. Therefore as we and our Children would not be kept in perpetual Bondage and Slavery against our Consent, neither should we keep them in perpetual Bondage and Slavery against their Consent, it being such intollerable Punishment to their Bodies and Minds, that none but notorious Criminal Offendors*



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deserve the same. But these have done us no harm; therefore how inhumane is it in us so grievously to oppress them and their Children from one Generation to another.

*Thirdly, Because the Lord hath commanded, saying, Thou shalt not deliver unto his Master the Servant that is escaped from his Master unto thee, he shall dwell with thee, even amongst you in that place which he shall chuse in one of thy Gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt oppress him, DEUT. 23. 15. 16. By which it appeareth, that those which are at Liberty and freed from their Bondage, should not by us be delivered into Bondage again, neither by us should they be oppressed, but being escaped from his Master, should have the liberty to dwell amongst us, where it liketh him best. Therefore, if God extend such Mercy under the legal Ministration and Dispensation to poor Servants, he doth and will extend much more of his Grace and Mercy to them under the clear Gospel Ministration; so that instead of punishing them and their Posterity with cruel Bondage and perpetual Slavery, he will cause the Everlasting Gospel to be preached effectually to all Nations, to them as well as others; And the Lord will extend Peace to his People like a River, and the Glory of the Gentiles like a flowing Stream; And it shall come to pass, saith the Lord, that I will gather all Nations and Tongues, and they shall come and see my Glory, and I will set a sign among them, and I will send those that escape of them unto the Nations, to Tarshish, Pull and Lud that draw the Bow to Tuball and Javan, to the Isles afar off that have not heard my Fame, neither have seen my Glory, and they shall declare my Glory among the Gentiles, ISA. 66. 12-18.*

*Fourthly, Because the Lord hath commanded, saying, Thou shalt not oppress an hired Servant that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy Brethren, or of the Strangers that are in thy Land within thy Gates, lest he cry against thee unto the Lord, and it be sin unto thee; Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him, for ye were strangers in the Land of Egypt, DEUT. 24. 14, 15. EXOD. 12. 21. But what greater Oppression can there be inflicted upon our Fellow Creatures, than is inflicted on the poor Negroes! they being brought from their own Country against their Wills, some of them being stollen, others taken for payment of Debt owing by their Parents, and others taken Captive in War, and sold to Merchants, who bring them to the American Plantations, and sell them for Bond Slaves to them that will give most for them; the Husband from the Wife, and the Children from the Parents; and many that buy them do exceedingly afflict them and oppress them, not only by continual hard Labour, but by cruel Whippings, and other cruel Punishments, and by short allowance of Food, some Planters in Barbadoes and Jamaica, 'tis said, keeping one hundred of them, and some more, and some less, and giving them hardly any thing more than they raise on a little piece of Ground appointed them, on which they work for themselves the seventh days of the Week in the after-noon, and on the first days, to raise their own Provisions, to wit, Corn and Potatoes, and other Roots, &c. the remainder of their time*



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being spent in their Masters service; which doubtless is far worse usage than is practised by the *Turks* and *Moors* upon their Slaves. Which tends to the great Reproach of the *Christian Profession*; therefore it would be better for all such as fall short of the Practice of those *Infidels*, to refuse the name of a Christian, that those *Heathen* and *Infidels* may not be provoked to blaspheme against the blessed Name of Christ, by reason of the unparallel'd Cruelty of these cruel and hard hearted pretended Christians: Surely the Lord doth behold their Oppressions & Afflictions, and will further visit for the same by his righteous and just Judgments, except they break off their sins by Repentance, and their Iniquity by shewing Mercy to these poor afflicted, tormented miserable Slaves!

*Fifthly*, Because Slaves and Souls of Men are some of the *Merchandize of Babylon* by which the Merchants of the Earth are made Rich; but those Riches which they have heaped together, through the cruel Oppression of these miserable Creatures, will be a means to draw Gods Judgments upon them; therefore, *Brethren*, let us hearken to the Voice of the Lord, who saith, *Come out of Babylon, my People, that ye be not partakers of her Sins, and that ye receive not her Plagues; for her Sins have reached unto Heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities; for he that leads into Captivity shall go into Captivity*, Rev. 18. 4, 5. & 13. 10.

*Given forth by our Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia, the 13th day of the 8th Moneth, 1693. and recommended to all our Friends and Brethren, who are one with us in our Testimony for the Lord Jesus Christ, and to all others professing Christianity.*

**THE END.**

Per Chapter 8 of Charles P. Keith's CHRONICLES OF PENNSYLVANIA FROM THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION TO THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE 1688-1748 (Philadelphia PA: Patterson & White, 1917):

The Society of Friends had never promulgated articles of religion to be subscribed, or a catechism to be taught. Peculiar tenets and practices, which presupposed the truth of much of what Western Europe believed, were recognized as Quakerism: but the prefatory and even basic dogmas, while they might be gathered from writings like Barclay's, were left to the individual conscience, directed by an inner revelation. There was no insisting upon even those creeds which have been called the symbols of Christianity, and which Fox and the majority of his followers had accepted together with the historical statements of the Gospels. Fox had flouted at training-schools for ministers, even at making them familiar with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Thus, with hearers ignorant of, or with no predilection towards, what was agreed upon by Roman Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran, Greek, and Anglican, there was a diversity of teaching in the bond of fellowship, which is delightful in the view of many people of to-day.

There does not seem to have been any considerable movement to



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give a Unitarian interpretation to the New Testament. John Gough's HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS<sup>4</sup> says that George Whitehead, William, Mead, and other English Friends, on examination before Parliament, gave satisfactory statement of their belief in the Trinity as well as Holy Writ, so that the profession of faith required by the Act of Toleration then passed was put in the words suggested by them -a strange way, indeed, of stating the Trinity- viz: "I, A.B. do profess faith in God the Father and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for evermore; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by Divine Inspiration." Yet there had been, and there lingered in that body of exalters of their personal intuition a tendency to make figurative or to forget the Bible's story, and, from the expressions of some prominent members, it seemed at times that they were lapsing into Deism. The great opposition which Christian theologians, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists, made to the Society of Friends in the last third of that Century was more conscientious than a desire for soldiers, for tithes, or even for observance of the sacraments: it was loyalty to external Revelation. The reproaches cast upon the Society that its teachers, if, indeed, they did not reject, at least failed to hand down, their deposit of truth, seemed to many people to be justified by the events now to be mentioned, when a party taking a stand for Orthodoxy declined to hold meetings with the majority of the ministers at Philadelphia, and when, moreover, the Yearly Meeting in London expelled the leader of that party.

George Keith, one of the most eminent preachers and controversialists of the Society, long felt the need of some sort of confession of the faith, probably almost as much to answer the jibes of non-Quakers, as to control or teach Quakers. In fact, the occasion of his urging the matter in the Philadelphia meeting was the accusation made by Christian Lodowick in Rhode Island that the Quakers, giving another sense to the words of Scripture, denied the true Christ. Keith had gone to Rhode Island to assist other Friends in disputation. No impression seeming to be made by the spoken avowal of positive or literal faith, Keith and others, in 4th month, 1691,<sup>5</sup> wrote a declaration of the belief of the Friends in certain points of elementary Orthodoxy as to our Lord Jesus Christ of Nazareth. Apparently it was another one of Keith's productions, printed in 1692, which he submitted to the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of 11th month, 1691, and approval of which was expressed at the next Monthly Meeting by three of the six appointed to examine it. The Rhode Island Meeting directed the printing of the aforesaid confession, and it was printed by Bradford in Philadelphia. The leaders in Penn's great town went so far as to find fault with Bradford for doing this, they never having

4. Gough, John, 1721-1791. HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS: FROM THEIR FIRST RISE TO THE PRESENT TIME. / COMPILED FROM AUTHENTIC RECORDS, AND FROM THE WRITINGS OF THAT PEOPLE. Dublin: Printed by Robert Jackson ..., 1790.

5. The British during this period started the new year in March, and the Quaker convention of dating months by number generally made March "1st month"/"1mo.," etc.



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authorized the publication of that much of a creed. It is necessary not only to mention the Keithian schism, because it was an important incident in the history of the colony, but to go into considerable detail, because, with the exception of Gough, the Quaker writers and those who have echoed them, have told little except of the bad temper, violent language, and self-will of Keith. He certainly had the natural indignation of a zealot, he was habituated to the bitterness of expression of that age, in which the Quakers had been about as bitter as others, and he carried out the sectarian idea of separating from those teaching what is false. The schismatics from whom he separated, by that time, however, had formed themselves into what they believed to be a Church, and thought schism from it to be a sin; and their preachers had begun to be separate as clergy from the laity. Gough's account is not entirely accurate in details, apart from being pretty much a sermon upon two texts put at the end, viz: the statement that on 1mo. 16, 1713-4, Keith, as he lay sick in bed, said that he did believe that if God had taken him out of the world when he went among the Quakers, and in that profession, it had been well with him; and the statement that, a couple of years later, to a Quaker visiting Keith, when on his death-bed, he said that he wished he had died when a Quaker, for he was sure that it would have been well for his soul – remarks which were, after all, different from saying that he had done wrong in leaving the latitudinarians controlling the Society of Friends, and did not even involve the unimportance of the sacraments, for he had received them, water-baptism, as he mentions, and almost certainly the bread and wine before becoming a Quaker. Both Robert Barclay and he had shown themselves not wholly satisfied with the Quakers' discontinuance of a religious – we may say eucharistic, but not sacramental – feast; and, before Keith received the Communion from the Church of England, he practised the rite, as well as that of baptism, among the seceding Quakers who attended him. Some of the Scotch Quakers were then practising a feast. Keith was born in the vicinity of Aberdeen, Scotland, and graduated at Marischal College, intending, it is supposed, to be a minister of the Scottish Kirk. He was converted to Quakerism in or before 1664, when he suffered the first of his many imprisonments in its cause. He assisted Robert Barclay in disputations, succeeded Christopher Taylor in the school at Edmonton, and was Surveyor-General of East Jersey. Bp. Burnet, acquainted with Keith at College, claimed that he was the most learned member of the Society of Friends. He came to Philadelphia in 1689, and for over a year had charge of the school chartered by Penn, retiring from it on 4mo. 10, 1691.

"... nothing could be done among the Philadelphia Friends which did not commend itself to Thomas Lloyd, while any confession of faith would abridge the liberty, or contradict the views, of some old preacher or 'martyr.'"



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Keith, who, by his far superior prominence in the Society at large, could without presumption aspire to the leadership of the members in America, first ruffled his new neighbours by projects for changing their discipline. Gough says that Keith proposed some regulations to the ministers at the Yearly Meeting, but, on the latter wishing to ask the Yearly Meeting in London, decided to let the matter drop. He then undertook to correct by Orthodox standards the loose preaching which he was hearing at Meetings. In attempting to restrain the tendency to allegorize the New Testament, he overhauled William Stockdale for preaching "Christ within" to the exclusion of the historic Christ. Going beyond this elementary reform, Keith insisted on doctrines well accepted by contemporary theologians, but of which probably his fellow ministers present had never heard, while he indulged in speculations which perhaps they did not comprehend. Jennings reported afterwards to the Quakers in England that the question on which so many took the negative was the universality of the need of faith in the historic Christ for salvation. Keith had formerly taken the negative, but, changing, suggested at one time that the heathen might acquire that faith in some future state, and suggested at another time that the "inner light" could give an unconscious faith. In short, Keith undertook to direct in doctrine and procedure the Friends of Pennsylvania. How troublesome certain of them were in secular affairs, this history elsewhere shows; while as to Jennings, who had recently moved from West Jersey, his course there may have been conscientious, but he was once elected Governor of that province, and his election declared by Quaker arbitrators an infringement of Byllinge's right. It was difficult enough to teach a group of the most independent religious thinkers. Those with whom Keith was concerned, were the most important part of the Society of Friends politically, and felt themselves a chosen people. At their head as Clerk of the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers, enabling him to mould the expression of the sense, was Jennings; and nothing could be done among the Philadelphia Friends which did not commend itself to Thomas Lloyd, while any confession of faith would abridge the liberty, or contradict the views, of some old preacher or "martyr." Lloyd (see Robert's letter in Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist., Vol. XVIII, page. 205) did not antagonize Keith until he insisted upon a declaration of faith. There were some leaders who actually had cast aside many of the older and widely prevalent beliefs. In the REASONS AND CAUSES OF THE SEPARATION, written by Keith or his friends, it is said that the doctrine of Christ's being in Heaven in the true nature of man, and of faith in Him being necessary to our perfect justification and salvation, and of His coming again, outside of us, to judge the quick and the dead, and of the resurrection of the dead and day of judgment were called by some "Popery," and by others "Presbyterian and Baptist principles." With the leaders, the resentment excited by Keith's various propositions, and with the more docile, the feeling that he was troublesome, obscured the greater issue which was raised when he criticized



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theological expressions, and was met with statements and questions which until some time in the Nineteenth Century, would not have been tolerated in any so-called Christian Church. Some of those who refused to follow Keith, including Lloyd, had no intention of committing themselves to Rationalism, particularly after a letter was received from George Whitehead, Patrick Livingston, and other London Friends deprecating disputations upon subjects not tending to edification, and affirming salvation through Christ to those who never heard of Him, but urging all not to reject Jesus Christ's outward coming, suffering, death, resurrection, ascension, and glorified state in the heavens.

Those who had been reproved by Keith, attacked him in return. Stockdale criticized Keith's speaking so much of Christ within and Christ without as preaching two Christs, or as letting people infer two distinct Christs. THE PLEAS OF THE INNOCENT, in contradiction to the Quarterly Meeting of the following year about the violation of Gospel order, says that Keith did privately deal with Stockdale, and then laid the matter before twelve of the ministers, who, except John Hart, and except John Delaval, rather excused Stockdale. Calling Stockdale an ignorant heathen, Keith asked judgment against him for making the criticism, or charge, and receiving no answer, laid the matter before the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia in 7th month, 1691. Keith afterwards made a great point that that assembly of preachers of the Gospel debated for about ten hours one day, and at five subsequent "meetings," i.e. sittings, whether preaching Christ within and Christ without was preaching two Christs, and then came to "a slender and partial judgment," of which they made no record. Nevertheless, a declaration was made that Stockdale was blameworthy, because Keith's doctrine was true. On 11mo. 29, 1691, at the Monthly Meeting, Thomas Fitzwater charged Keith with denying the sufficiency of the light within for salvation. This insinuated that Keith could no longer be properly classified as a Quaker. Gough is not accurate in his account of the Fitzwater episode. At the next Monthly Meeting, 12mo. 26, 1691, to which Fitzwater had promised to bring his proof, Stockdale came forth as a witness in support of Fitzwater, but other Friends testified that Keith had denied the sufficiency "without something more," meaning the death and mediation of Christ. After Jennings, the Clerk, and other opposers of Keith, had retired from the assemblage, those remaining, including Fitzwater, unanimously agreed to adjourn to the next day at 8th hour at the school house, the usual place of holding meetings in winter. Lloyd and Cooke, but not Jennings, attended this adjourned meeting, as did Fitzwater. However, there being strong contention, all three went away. Stockdale was sent for, but declined to come. Those present, numbering about sixty, including ministers and "those in the habit of attending monthly meetings," then unanimously agreed to a judgment signed by J.W. (Joseph Willcox?), whom they constituted Clerk, to the effect that Fitzwater should forbear



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to preach until he gave a writing condemning his charge against Keith, and satisfying as to his own true faith and belief in Christ's resurrection and Christ's being in Heaven in his glorified human nature; and also to the effect that Stockdale forbear to preach until he condemn his unrighteous charge against Keith of preaching two Christs. Furthermore, the opinion was given that the book vindicating the Christian faith of the Quakers of Rhode Island was for good, and for the service of truth, and that Bradford should not be discouraged for printing it.<sup>6</sup> With a misprint giving date of the meeting as 2nd month instead of 12th month [i.e. February], the names of "some of the Friends that gave the aforesaid judgment," to the number of forty-five are in print.

At the Quarterly Meeting held at the beginning of March, 1691-2, a few days after this, it was asked that this judgment be recorded in the Monthly Meeting book, but the other party denied that those who gave the judgment constituted a legal Meeting, inasmuch as there was no precedent for an adjourned Monthly Meeting, and as the Clerk had gone, and few ministers were present. Moreover, this party asserted that, as the subject of the charge against the ministers Fitzwater and Stockdale was a matter of doctrine, it could not be judged by a Monthly Meeting, but only by a meeting of ministers. However, it was agreed that the adjourned meeting was legal, but than an appeal had been taken from its decision. Keith was then told that he should submit to a judgment by the present Meeting. This curtailment of the right of private judgment, so much talked of by Protestants, was denied by Keith, as giving the ministers the teaching powers of a sacerdotal order. He would say only that he would submit to the judgment "of the spirit of truth in Friends." When asked to leave pending discussion, he refused to do so, unless about seven or eight of his opposers also absented themselves, and, they not doing this, the subject was not taken up. As the policy of the leaders was to smother discussion, and to shield comrades whose views the majority themselves thought erroneous, there was really no inaccuracy in Keith's remark, made at this time, that the ministers opposed to him had "met together," that is had come intending, "to cloak heresies and deceits."

The subject at bottom was and is, however, one as to which Patrick Henry's words at the beginning of the American Revolution are appropriate, even if some readers would emphasize the first word: "Gentlemen may cry, peace, peace - but there is no peace." These criers of "peace" undertook to silence Keith's tongue. Accordingly, two members were appointed to admonish him to retract at the next Quarterly Meeting; but, when they visited

6. The translation will be noted in the text only in the most confusing instances. Viz: George Hutcheson, Thomas Winn (evidently Dr. Thomas Wynne, Speaker of the Assembly) Thomas Budd, Paul Saunders, John Hart, Thomas Hooton, John Lynam, Anthony Taylor, Thomas Paschall, Ralph Jackson, Abel Noble, Humphrey Hodges, Phillip James, Nicholas Pearce, Henry Furnis, Richard Hillyard, John Furnis, Anthony Sturges, John Redman, Robert Wallis, Thomas Peart, John Williamd, Thomas Jenner, Thomas Tresse, Ralph Ward, William David, John Loftus, William Dillwyn, Francis Cook, William Harwood, John Duploveys, Henry Johnson, James Chick, John Budd, Joseph Walker, Thomas Morris, William Bradford, Hugh Derborough, John McComb, William Paschall, William Say, John Hutchins, Joseph Willcox, William Hard, and James Cooper.



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him, he, feeling himself a champion of the truth, said that there were "more damnable heresies and doctrines of devils among the Quakers than among any profession of Protestants," and that he trampled "the judgment of the Meeting under his feet as dirt." At the Monthly Meeting held on March 25, 1692, some of his opponents proposed to change the hour and place of meetings for worship established for the Winter. This was objected to by several of the Keithian faction, but was agreed to by the majority, and declared adopted. Although Lloyd and his party accordingly went the next morning to the meeting-house at the Centre, the followers of Keith, claiming that the change contravened the principle of unanimity by which all Quakers proceedings were to be conducted, met at the usual time and place, and did not unite with the others in the afternoon at the Bank Meeting House (Front above Arch), a few of them holding a private gathering at Keith's house. Subsequently they attempted to go to the house on the bank in the morning, but found the doors locked against them.

"Outside of Philadelphia, the sense of many of the regular meetings was Keithian...."

With the fair claim that the others were the aggressors, but on the broad basis of duty not to unite in worship with those who rejected the truth, arose the "Christian Quakers," as they called themselves, or "Separatists," or "Keithians," as the others called them. Out of the sparse population of the country and the small number of dwellers in the great town, hundreds flocked to hear Keith, wherever he was expected to preach. Persons of other religious antecedents joined these Separatists, so that Keith prepared a confession of faith. Outside of Philadelphia, the sense of many of the regular meetings was Keithian: and Joseph C. Martindale, M.D., in his HISTORY OF THE TOWNSHIPS OF BYBERRY AND MORELAND, asserts that, at one time which he does not clearly indicate, Keith's followers had the ascendancy in sixteen out of thirty-two Meetings. Apparently the latter number covers the Meetings previously established for worship on one or both sides of the Delaware.

Yet the Keithians, soon after the beginning of the separation, put themselves on record as attempting an accommodation. Fifteen made in writing an offer for restoration of unity and the oblivion of all hard words, if the others would bring their erroneous ministers to a confession of error, and would declare certain fundamental doctrines. Through the influence of two visiting Friends from England, a conference was held on 3mo. 14 [i.e. May 14], between the ministers then in town and an equal number of Keithians, but, the matter not being settled, T. B. and W. B. (Thomas Budd and William Bradford) wrote the next day to T---- and A---- (evidently Thomas Lloyd and Arthur Cooke), for another meeting. This brought no reply, and Keith did not help the cause of harmony, but was thought a disturber, by going to the afternoon meeting on the 22nd, and expressing a desire to have the breach healed. Two of the opposite side came to



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Keith's meeting, and declared their testimony against him. The Monthly Meeting of 3rd mo. 26, 1692, controlled by Keith's enemies, disposed of the Fitzwater matter by letting him off with an apology for his "rash spirit in making the charge" against Keith of denying the sufficiency of the Light Within without something more, which charge Fitzwater, however, said was true; and no affirmance of belief was made in the paper given forth.

The ministers in Quarterly Meeting judged Stockdale on 4mo. 4, 1692 [i.e. June 4]; the paper signed by Jennings as Clerk reproved him for "uttering new words offensive to many sound and tender persons," but blamed Keith for violating Gospel order in not dealing with Stockdale alone before prosecuting the complaint, and for his "indecent expression" to Stockdale. Keith not appearing to retract what he said about "cloaking heresies and deceits," and the persons sent by the last Quarterly Meeting to admonish him reporting his words about "doctrines of devils," and about trampling "the judgment of the Meeting under his feet," a second committee was sent to him, and the Meeting adjourned for a fortnight. The second committee, obtaining no satisfaction, prepared a testimony, to be published after he should have an opportunity to read it, for which they were obliged to wait four or five days later.<sup>7</sup> The Meeting, on reconvening, forbade him to preach, and the declaration was published against him, dated 4mo. 20, 1692, and signed by the twenty-eight "public friends" following: (See Footnote 4.)

Certain of these twenty-eight signers went from Meeting to Meeting to deliver the judgment. On 4mo. 27, Lloyd, Jennings, and Delaval with Samuel Richardson went to Frankford Monthly Meeting to give countenance to the reading of the judgment, Lloyd speaking against Keith for "imposing unscriptural words," i.e. asking belief according to theological terms. This judgment could not have been received at Frankford Monthly meeting with unanimous satisfaction; for Martindale's HISTORY says that John Hart controlled the constituent First Day Meeting at Byberry in Keith's favor, and in time drove the opposing attendants of Byberry to secede.

The friends and followers of Keith in Philadelphia were not overawed. In protest against the judgment, Peter Boss wrote two letters to Jennings. The first receiving no notice, Boss kept a copy of the second, to insure an answer to it. It was clearly scurrilous in saying that the twenty-eight would have been better employed in inquiring whether Jennings or Simcock had been drunk on certain occasions, and also it was scurrilous in Quaker eyes in similarly insinuating that Jennings had once made a bet on the speed of his horse. The letter was not put in print until after Boss had been tried for defaming a magistrate. Keith and Thomas Budd wrote a PLEA FOR THE INNOCENT, signing it on behalf of themselves and other Friends of their Meeting. Extenuating

7. Thomas Lloyd, John Willsford, Nicholas Waln, William Watson, George Maris, William Cooper, Thomas Thackory, William Biles (printed "Byles"), Samuel Jennings, Thomas Duckett, Joshua Fearn, Even Morris, Richard Walter, John Symcock, Griffith Owen, John Bown, Henry Willis, Paul Sanders, John Blunston, John Deleval, William Yardley (printed "Yeadly"), Joseph Kirkbride, Walter Fawcitt, Hugh Roberts, Robert Owen, William Walker, John Lynam, George Gray.



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and justifying Keith's use of bad names to his opponents, and telling of the bad names which they gave to him, the PLEA was very severe on Jennings, and said much more besides calling him "an ignorant, presumptuous, and insolent men" and "too high and imperious both in Friends meetings and worldly courts"; expressions for which Keith and Budd were indicted as contravening an Act of Assembly that no words of defamation be spoken against a magistrate.<sup>8</sup> An answer to the judgments was issued "on behalf of brethren who are falsely called the Separate meetings at Philadelphia," maintaining that, by the first judgment of Monthly Meeting, those making it had declared themselves no true believers in Christ Jesus, and so the answerers could not own them as Christians, nor join with them in worship. This answer was dated 5mo. 3, 1692, at a meeting at the house of Philip James, and signed by Richard Dungworth, John Wells, Phillip James, Henry Furnis, James Shattuck, James Cooper, Sen., William Davis, Robert Wallis, James Poulter, Nicholas Pierce, Thomas Budd, John Barclay, William Bradford, James Cooper, Junr., John Loftus, John McComb, James Chick, John Bartram, Abel Noble, Joseph Walker, Thomas Paschall, Richard Hilliard,<sup>9</sup> William Waite, Anthony Sturges, Ralph Ward, Thomas Peart, John Chandler, Peter Chamberlain.

This answer was followed by an Appeal to the Yearly Meeting. The Appeal was signed by Keith, Budd, Dungworth, George Hutcheson, John Hart, and Abraham Opdegraves, and offered to have tried by two or three impartial men twelve questions, whether Keith's "reviling words" were not true, and whether the expressions and certain practices of his enemies were not condemnable. The 9th of these questions was based upon the use of force against Babbitt and his men, as mentioned in the last preceding chapter, and inquired whether the twenty-eight condemners of Keith had not better have condemned some of themselves for hiring men to fight, commissioning them, as one preacher had done, and so, by force of arms, recovering a sloop, and taking privateers. There will be little doubt that the hiring of men to fight, and the providing of Indians with powder and lead to fight other Indians, against which the 10th question was directed, was inconsistent with the peace principles of Friends. Question No. 11 was whether it was according to the Gospel that ministers should pass sentence of death on malefactors, as some had done, "preaching one day not to take an eye for an eye, ... another day taking life for life?" In this connection, it may be remarked that the Bishops in the English House of Lords do not adjudge matters of treason or capital crime. This 11th question, which may have been suggested by Opdegraves, a former Mennonite, brought forward the difficulty in conscience which had induced Quakers elsewhere and all Mennonites to keep aloof from administering secular government. Bradford, the printer, having

8. When Peter Babbitt and some accomplices stole a sloop from a wharf in Philadelphia, three magistrates, including a minister and two other Quakers, "issued a warrant in the nature of a hue and cry," followed by the owner's offer of a 100/ reward.

9. A party of volunteers recovered the vessel and captured the robbers. (C. Keith, page 208.) This comment was originally printed in 1917, during the first World War, when civil liberties had been seriously abridged in many U.S. courts.



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taken side with Keith, printed this Appeal.

"Justices Cooke, Jennings, Richardson, Morrey, Ewer, and Anthony Morris asked the only Justices who were not Quakers, viz: Lasse Cock, a Swede, and John Holmes, a Baptist, to join in taking steps against 'the seditious and dangerous,' but Cock and Holmes told their five colleagues that the whole matter was a religious difference, and did not relate to the government."

Thereupon began proceedings which amounted to religious persecution by indirection, although it took the form of prosecution for slander, and for unlicensed use of the press, and could be justified if the acts of some modern judges of our day in punishing for contempt of court can be.<sup>10</sup> Those whose conduct had been animadverted upon in this published Appeal, who probably had previously, in another situation, contended for liberty of conscience and of the press, now persuaded themselves that bitter words against magistrates uttered in religious controversy, and questions whether their executing offices was consistent with their principles, tended to overthrow the government. They proceeded against the printer. A warrant was signed by Samuel Richardson and Robert Ewer, Justices; and the Sheriff and a constable entered Bradford's shop, and seized all the copies of the APPEAL which could be found, and took Bradford before the Justices. John McComb, who was alleged to have circulated two copies, was also arrested. Refusing to give security to answer at the next court, Bradford and McComb were committed to jail by warrant dated Aug. 24, 1692, signed by Justices Cooke, Jennings, and Humphrey Morrey, as well as Robert Ewer. On another warrant, Bradford's house was searched, and his type taken away. The day after the commitment of Bradford and McComb, Justices Cooke, Jennings, Richardson, Morrey, Ewer, and Anthony Morris asked the only Justices who were not Quakers, viz: Lasse Cock, a Swede, and John Holmes, a Baptist, to join in taking steps against "the seditious and dangerous," but Cock and Holmes told their five colleagues that the whole matter was a religious difference, and did not relate to the government. Holmes asked them to send for Keith, and offered to join them if it them appeared that Keith struck at the government. This not being done, Cock and Holmes then withdrew. The others then issued a proclamation describing Keith as a seditious person and enemy to the King and Queen's government, in that Keith had publicly reviled Thomas Lloyd, the Deputy-Governor, calling him an impudent man, telling him that he was not fit to be Governor, and that his name would stink, and in that Keith had misrepresented the industry, care, readiness, and vigilance of some magistrates and others in the proceedings against some privateers. The point was made in the documents that to grant

10. NEW-ENGLAND'S SPIRIT OF PERSECUTION TRANSMITTED TO PENNSILVANIA.; AND THE PRETENDED QUAKER FOUND PERSECUTING THE TRUE CHRISTIAN-QUAKER, IN THE TRYAL OF PETER BOSS, GEORGE KEITH, THOMAS BUDD, AND WILLIAM BRADFORD, AT THE SESSIONS HELD AT PHILADELPHIA THE NINETH, TENTH AND TWELFTH DAYS OF DECEMBER, 1692. GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE MOST ARBITRARY PROCEDURE OF THAT COURT. By George Keith. Printed (by William Bradford?) in New York, 1693.



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that it was inconsistent for ministers of the gospel to act as magistrates, would render the "Proprietary incapable of the powers given him by the King's letters patent, and so prostitute the validity of every act of government more especially in the executive part thereof to the courtesie and censure of all factious spirits." After explaining that the procedure against those in the Sheriff's custody, and what was intended against others, respected only the tendency to sedition and disturbance, and did not relate to difference in religion, the proclamation warned against giving countenance to any contemners of authority, and against further publishing of the pamphlet called the APPEAL. It is declared in NEW ENGLAND'S SPIRIT OF PERSECUTION TRANSMITTED TO PENNSILVANIA<sup>11</sup> that Keith never spoke the aforesaid words except in Monthly Meetings and religious controversies, and that Lloyd had several times said that he would take no advantage of what was being said.

Bradford and McComb asked for a trial at the approaching term of Court, but the case was continued until December, and McComb's license to keep an inn was revoked. Meanwhile Bradford retired from his employment of printing for Friends. The restraint upon the two was indeed relaxed by the Sheriff: McComb's wife lying ill, he was let off daily, and even at night, to visit her, and afterwards both he and Bradford were allowed to go about their business, on giving their word to appear. But they or their advisers saw the dramatic effect of writing a statement from prison, so, having prepared a statement to the public, they went to the Sheriff's house, which served as jail, and which communicated by a common entry with the house adjoining, and, the Sheriff being out, so that they could get in no further, they signed their names in the entry. With more frankness, to show the unfairness of the claim that the Appeal was subversive of government, the three judgments complained of by Keith, the Answer, and the Appeal were then printed in one pamphlet. The APPEAL was set up on posts in Philadelphia nine days before the time appointed for the Yearly Meeting.

The Yearly Meeting was held that year in Burlington on the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th days of 7th month [i.e. September]. It is evident that those who gave the judgment appealed from, were not willing to submit the subject to the general company of Friends attending: Keith, if given the opportunity to make a speech, was to be feared. He and his supporters conferred together in the Court House, and sent to the Meeting a paper asking for an answer to the APPEAL, or requesting their adversaries to allow a fair hearing before impartial Friends an hour after the close of

11. Robert Turner, Elias Burling, John Reid, Charles Read, Thomas Coborne, Harmon Updengraves, Thomas Powell, Nathaniel Fitzrandal, Joseph Richards, Edmund Wells, Thomas Kimber, Edward White, Thomas Gladwin, Thomas Rutter, Edward Smith, Benjamin Morgan, Joseph Sharp, William Thomas, John Bainbridge, John Snowden, William Black, William Snowden, Nathaniel Walton, Robert Roe, Peter Boss, Thomas Bowles, William Budd, James Silver, Samuell Taylor, Griffith Jones, William Righton, Thomas Kendall, Samuell Houghton, John Neall, Anthony Woodward, Andrew Smith, William Hixon, John Pancoast, Henry Burcham, Thomas Hearse, John Jones, Joseph Willcox, Thomas Godfrey, John Budd, Roger Parke, Caleb Wheatly, Abraham Brown, John Hampton, Daniel Bacon, Joseph Adams, Edward Guy, Bernard Devonish, Samuel Ellis, Thomas Cross, James Moore, Thomas Jenner, John Harper, Robert Wheeler, Emanuel Smith, Peter Daite, Richard Sery, George Willcox, William Wells, Isaac Jacobs Van Biber, Cornelius Scivers, William Snead, David Sherkis, John Carter, Henry Paxon, Thomas Tindal.



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meeting for worship on the second day of meeting. The messenger found the door of the meeting-house crowded, with the object, he supposed, of keeping out the Keith party; whereupon the messenger got up into the window, and stood there while he read, probably both letter and Appeal, nor did he desist when Thomas Janney started to pray, which the Keithians believed to be an expedient to stop the reading. It is not necessary here to examine the question, who had the standing to be considered in adjourning the sittings, or taking the action of Yearly Meetings. Many who claimed impartiality, as not having been concerned actually on either side, met at the time Keith desired for a hearing. Lloyd and his party were then sent for, but refused to come, and those in attendance adjourned until an hour after the public meeting the next day. Then Lloyd and his party again refused to come. Then or on the previous day some ministers came to offer a hearing on the last day of the Meeting, but these were sent away, because Keith would not agree: he knew that the large attendance, on which he depended for victory, would not continue so long. The following, who may have included a number of New Jersey ministers, then declared Lloyd and his party in default, and proceeded to hear Keith, and decided in his favor: (See footnote 9).

They signed as from the Yearly Meeting, on behalf of themselves and "many more Friends who are one with us herein," a declaration that Keith and his friends were not guilty of the division leading to the setting up of separate meetings, that Lloyd and the rest of the twenty-eight should recall their paper of condemnation, and condemn the same in writing, and that the public Friends charged with misdemeanors and ill behavior should forbear speaking in public meetings until they cleared themselves. The declaration, or decision, with the signatures was printed: a reprint of the whole is in Mrs. Thomas Potts James's MEMORIAL OF THOMAS POTTS. We are more familiar with other forms of some of the surnames, such as Fitz Randolph (now Randolph of Phila. and N.J.), Updengraff, van Bebbler, &c. A Confession of Faith, probably the one prepared by Keith, as before mentioned, was also issued under date of 7mo. 7, 1692. It was subsequently printed by Bradford. It appears that those remaining in attendance at the meeting-house either treated Keith's appeal as not prosecuted before them, or formally confirmed the judgment against him, the latter action being mentioned by Gough. A contrite letter dated 11, 31, 1692, from Caleb Wheatly, aforesaid signer in favor of Keith, saying that he had been blinded by fond, foolish affection for Keith, is printed by Gough.

"It seems straining the meaning to say that putting to death was authorized. Overt acts of sedition, rioting, &c. seem to have been so punishable, by the laws of England in this regard not having been superseded."

As hinted in the Justices' proclamation, Keith could be caught under Chapter XXVIII of the Great Law of 1682, that any person



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convicted of speaking, writing, or any act tending to sedition or disturbance of the peace should be fined not less than 20s., or else under Chapter XXIX, that any person convicted of speaking slightly or carrying himself abusively against any magistrate or person in office should suffer according to the quality of the magistrate and nature of the offence, but not less than a fine of 20s. or ten days imprisonment at hard labor. Both of these statutes allowed much latitude to the judges imposing sentence, although Chapter XXVIII did not admit of imprisonment, except as resulting from non-payment of a heavy fine, whereas Chapter XXIX contemplated a severe punishment when the magistrate in question was the highest officer in the Province, as was Thomas Lloyd. It seems straining the meaning to say that putting to death was authorized. Overt acts of sedition, rioting, &c. seem to have been so punishable, by the laws of England in this regard not having been superseded. As to one who had done more than print or circulate a pamphlet, or write a scurrilous letter, it was to be expected, from the tone of the proclamation, that in some process or proceeding emanating from them or other members of their party invested with the authority, there would be the formal charge of sedition. We cannot suppose that there was any likelihood of Keith suffering death, but the possibility of it was not only set forth by him, some years later, apparently as a claim to hearing and consideration, but, indeed, was mentioned by his old antagonist, Rev. Cotton Mather, before Keith's statement, at least the one known to the present writer, appeared. Mather said in his *DECENNIIUM LUCTUOSUM*, printed in Boston in 1699 (reprinted in *NARRATIVES OF INDIAN WARS 1675-1699*): "'tis verily thought that poor George would have been made a sacrifice to Squire Samuel Jennings and the rest of the Pennsylvania dragons [is there an allusion to St. George and the dragon?]; and that since a crime which their laws had made capital was mentioned in the mittimus whereby Keith was committed, they would have hang'd him, if a revolution upon their government had not set him at liberty." Keith's statement was "I was presented by a grand jury at Philadelphia, and the presentment would have been prosecuted if the government had not been changed, and I had been accused for endeavoring to alter the government, which is capital by their law, and they would have found me guilty of death, had they not been turned out of the government, tho' I was innocent, and when I objected against the jury, they would not suffer one of the jury to be cast." Perhaps he meant the Grand Jury. The actual proceedings in the County Court, as far as ascertained, were as follows. Boss, Budd, Keith, Bradford, and McComb, having been indicted by the grand jury of Philadelphia County, were arraigned for trial in December, 1692. The Justices sitting through the proceedings were Jennings, Cooke, Richardson, Ewer, Henry Waddy, and Griffith Owen, Quakers, and Holmes, the Baptist, but Turner, a Keithian, attended on the 10 and 12th of the month, and Cock, the Swede, and Anthony Morris attended on the 12th. When Bradford and McComb, apparently the



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first ones to be tried, appeared, a Justice upraided them for "standing so before the Court." McComb said "You can order our hats taken off." Probably the Quaker Justices did not proceed to such inconsistency. About thirty years after this, when, as Chancellor of the Court of Equity, Sir William Keith—no near relative of George—ordered John Kinsey's hat to be taken off, strong exception was taken to such interference with Quaker custom, and, on the next day, the Chancellor made an order that thenceforth, in the Courts of the Province, every man should remain covered or uncovered according to his persuasion. We may here recall the story which Miss Strickland, in her *QUEENS OF ENGLAND*, tells of King James II, when, for the first time after his accession, receiving William Penn. Penn came with his hat on, whereupon the King took off his own, and, on Penn being surprised, naively remarked that it was the custom in that place for "only one man to wear a hat."

"The jurors in this case remained out forty-eight hours, and then came in to ask a question, and were sent back, according to the barbarous method of forcing a decision,—it was Winter, —without meat, drink, fire, or tobacco. In the afternoon, they returned and said that they could not agree, and were discharged."

The vindication of the dignity of Lloyd and the Quaker ministers in the judiciary was not left in the hands of impartial men, and in the proceedings in Court, there was a neglect of the proprieties which only the scarcity of lawyers, judges, and jurors disconnected with the controversy can, as to some points, excuse. The public prosecutor, or Attorney-General, John Moore, being an adherent of the Church of England, David Lloyd was appointed to conduct the prosecution. Jennings sat on the bench with the other Judges, even in the trial of Boss, although refraining from joining in the judgment, or the fixing of the fines. Keith made a speech, but declined to plead in form, and was marked "Nihil dicit;" the others, particularly Boss, putting themselves on trial, excepted to the Quakers on the jury as prejudice, some especially so, against Keith and all who favored him, but the majority of the Judges would not allow the exceptions, although the Baptist Judge wished to; and one of the twenty-eight who signed the paper of condemnation against Keith, and against whom Boss's letter was written, actually sat on this jury. However, to the credit of Quakers be it spoken, the jurors, or at least enough to control the verdict, were rather scrupulous, and gave a verdict satisfactory to the prosecution only in the case of Boss, whom they found guilty of transgressing the XXIXth Chapter of the Law. He was accordingly fined 6&pound;; in default of paying which he remained a prisoner until after the change of government. In Budd's case, the jury, after sitting all night, found him simply guilty of saying that Jennings behaved himself too high and imperiously in worldly courts. It was claimed that this was no conviction on the indictment. However, Budd was fined 5&pound;;. Bradford, denying



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that the APPEAL was seditious, asserted the advanced principle that the jury must find both that it was seditious, and that he had printed it. This protection to liberty was not allowed: a majority of the Judges declared that whether it was seditious was a question for the Judges, and that all the jury had to do was to say whether he had printed it. To prove that fact, his printing frame was sent to the jury after he had retired, without it being exhibited in open court. The jurors in this case remained out forty-eight hours, and then came in to ask a question, and were sent back, according to the barbarous method of forcing a decision,— it was Winter, —without meat, drink, fire, or tobacco. In the afternoon, they returned and said that they could not agree, and were discharged. McComb appears to have been acquitted or discharged; for Gough says that he afterwards was so just as to give a true state of the case. Budd and Keith asked for an appeal to the Provincial Court, but this was denied. They then asked for an appeal to the King and Queen under the Vth article of the Charter to Penn. This, too, was denied, Justice Robert Turner dissenting, as he had done on several points. However guilty the various accused had been of discrediting the civil government, and even if the circumstances had not mitigated their offence, there is no wonder that, reading the report of these trials in NEW ENGLAND'S SPIRIT OF PERSECUTION TRANSMITTED TO PENNSILVANIA, and even before hearing of any danger to the life of Keith, people outside of the Province felt, that, if such were Quaker methods, no man could trust his liberty or property to a trial by Quakers. Whether the law had been stretched too far or not, the fact remained that both liberty and property had been taken away judicially by the opposing party in a religious dispute. Should a case arise where the legal penalty clearly involved loss of life, would not the Quakers vindicate their authority in the same way as the Congregationalists of New England? This suspicion had nothing to do with the assumption, described in the next chapter, of the government by the Crown. That change had already been ordered. What was the occasion of the letter of Lloyd and others to Keith shortly after the Court adjourned, is not known.

The indictment or a fresh one was pending against Keith when the new Governor assumed authority.<sup>12</sup> Keith, in his aforesaid statement about being accused of a capital offence, goes on to say that this representative of the Crown "ordered them to let fall the indictment, and I was cleared by a public writ signed by the Deputy Governor Col. Markham and the Council." The only record found bearing on this is the minute of Fletcher's Council for June 20, 1693, Markham presiding, that George Keith (printed "Seith" in COLONIAL RECORDS, Vol. I.) exhibited a letter to Keith dated 10th month 26, 1692 [i.e. December], from Thomas Lloyd, Samll. Jennings, Arthur Cooke, and Jno. Delaval, charging him

12. In the aftermath of the unsuccessful Preston Conspiracy to return James II to the throne in England, William Penn's loyalty to King William was called into question. Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, Governor of New York, was commissioned to take the Province of Pennsylvania under his command, and in April, 1693, Fletcher arrived in Philadelphia. He was apparently welcomed by many Philadelphians, not least the Keithian Quakers, while Thomas Lloyd and others in the Quaker establishment acquiesced to the new regime (much to Penn's dismay).



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with being crazy, turbulent, a decrier of magistracy, and a notorious evil instrument in Church and State; whereupon Fletcher's Council issued a certificate of Keith's good behavior. The fines against Keith and Budd, which the Quaker government had not attempted to collect, were remitted, as well as Boss's, by Fletcher, who released Boss from prison, and caused Bradford's tools and type to be returned to him.

It was the Keithian Monthly Meeting which, at Philadelphia, on 8mo. 13, 1693, gave forth "an exhortation and caution to Friends concerning buying or keeping of negroes." This, except what was expressed at a gathering in Germantown in 1688, was the first anti-slavery declaration of the Quakers.

Keith and Budd went to England about the end of 1693. Jennings and Thomas Duckett went about the same time, to circumvent them. Keith and Budd attended the next Yearly Meeting in London, where Jennings and Thomas Duckett appeared against them from America, and were supported by the visiting Friends, Thomas Wilson and James Dickenson. The Meeting declared that Keith had done ill in printing and publishing the differences, and asked him to call in his books, or publish something to clear the body of Quakers. Thomas Ellwood submitted on the 2nd day an epistle warning against him, and obtained leave to print it. Keith being no more inclined to submission than most reformers, the next Yearly Meeting, on May 25, 1695, after hearing him through, disowned him, explaining that this was not for doctrine, but for his unbearable temper and carriage and refusal to withdraw his charges against the Philadelphia Quakers.

Keith then hired the Turners' Hall, Philpot Lane, London, and there, in Quaker garb, he preached and administered baptism and communion. Koster the Pietist,<sup>13</sup> or more likely his biographer Rathlef, misunderstanding him, strangely accounts for the Keithians of Pennsylvania delaying to practise these ordinances from Keith's Anglican misgivings about a layman doing so, misgivings which Koster as a Lutheran did not have. The Keithians of Pennsylvania, we are told, being twitted with not practising what they showed their belief in, several of them who had not been baptized in infancy induced Koster to immerse them in the Delaware River. It was a few years after this, and when various Pennsylvania Keithians had gone different ways, that Keith entered the ministry of the Established Church. He gave his reasons for so doing in a farewell sermon at the Hall on May 5, 1700, and was made deacon by the Bishop of London several days later. Keith's further career will be mentioned in connection with the Church of England.

Although it has been stated that some of the Keithians reunited with the regular organization of the Society of Friends, no instance has been found of any prominent one doing so. Robert Turner and others of those who were inhabitants of the City are recorded in the list kept by William Hudson of persons deceased "not Friends." Nor did a movement back to the Society break up the Keithian meetings at Southampton, Lower Dublin, or

13. See chapter on Germans, in C. Keith, 1917.



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Providence. Equally untrue is the idea that Christ Church, Philadelphia, the Mother of the Episcopal Churches of the City and the Province, was started by or absorbed most of the Keithians. The greatest trend was towards the Baptists, but a number, after being immersed, were keepers of Saturday as the day of rest and worship, and joined the Seventh Day Baptists. According to Rev. Morgan Edwards's MATERIALS TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS IN PENNSYLVANIA, William Davis and Thomas Rutter in 1697 were immersed by Rev. Thomas Killingworth, a First Day, or regular, Baptist minister from Norfolk, England, who had a small congregation at Cohansey, New Jersey. Davis joined the Pennypack Baptist Church, but was expelled on Feb. 17, 1698, for heresy as to the Divine and human natures in Christ. John Hart seems to have led the non-seceding members of his First Day Meeting to the house of John Swift in Southampton Township, where they joined other Keithians. To these Hart preached. He was immersed by Rutter in 1697. For a while at least, Hart and his followers were among those convinced of the obligation to keep Saturday as the Sabbath, but he, in 1702, and most of the other Keithians of Southampton sooner or later joined Pennypack Baptist Church. Evan Morgan was also immersed by Rutter in or about 1697, and became a minister in 1706.

Perhaps it should be here noted that the Pennypack Church bid fair to become flourishing, a not inconsiderable number of Baptists from Pembrokeshire and Carmarthanshire, who had organized in 1701 at Milford, came over that year to Philadelphia with their minister, Rev. Thomas Griffiths, and went to the Pennypack. However, they insisted upon the ceremony of laying on of hands, and so could not be in fellowship with the others, and, in 1703, bought 30,000 acres, since known as the Welsh tract, in New Castle Co., and removed thither. From the Welsh Tract Church, missions and perhaps emigrants founded several congregations, among them that of the Great Valley (in Tredyffrin Township, Chester Co.), instituted in 1711 with Rev. Hugh Davis, an ordained minister from Wales. The Pennypack Church died out, and the views and practices of the Welsh Tract people spread through the Baptist denominations of Penn's colony.

Either before or after aligning themselves with Keith, certain Friends about Frankford and in Lower Dublin built a meeting-house on land belonging to Thomas Graves. Among them was John Wells, a signer of the answer to the judgment of Lloyd and others. Wells on Sep. 27, 1697, became a Baptist. Davis, upon his expulsion from the Pennypack Baptist Church, joined the Keithians of Lower Dublin, who before long began to separate rapidly. In 1699, David Price and wife, Abraham Pratt and wife, Richard Wells, Richard Sparks, and others were baptized, and formed a congregation with Davis as minister. Davis adopted Sabbatarian views, in which he was joined by a number, including Pratt, at whose house meetings were at some time held, and it appears that others seceded. In 1703 and 1704, there was a dispute, mentioned in the records of the Sabbatarians of



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Westerly, Rhode Island, before whom appeared Davis and Pratt – Sachse<sup>14</sup> quotes the record “Abraham ----.” Davis went in 1710 to take charge of the Sabbatarians at Westerly. Richard Sparks, above mentioned, died in 1716, having left a lot in Philadelphia on the east side of 5th below Market as a burial ground for himself and other Seventh Day Baptists. It is now included in the pavement in front of the Bourse, the remains that could be found having been removed to the Cemetery of Seventh Day Baptists at Shiloh, Cumberland Co., N.J.

It is claimed, however, that most of the “Christian Quakers” of Frankford and Lower Dublin, including Graves, as the fruit of Anglican preaching, and independently of Keith, went over to the Church of England in 1699 or 1700. Graves conveyed the meeting-house and lot of three acres by deed dated Dec. 30, 1700, to Joshua Carpenter and John Moore “for the use and service of those in communion with our holy mother the Church of England and to no other use or uses whatsoever.” The congregation since known as Trinity Church, Oxford, worshipped for a time in the meeting-house, and before Nov. 5, 1713, erected on the lot its present church edifice, the meeting-house becoming a stable, and afterwards being taken down. Before our civil courts undertook to enforce theological trusts, there were several instances, where, as a result of change in religious opinion or the impracticability of keeping to the old design, the majority of a congregation or the holders of title to church property took it into another ecclesiastical connection. These instances seem to us, where they were not the nearest possible carrying out of the trust, fraudulent conversions to new uses: but the persons who gave the ground, or built the edifice, may have said to themselves that their primary intention was to provide a place for themselves to worship in, and that they were not to lose the use of it, because of some obstinate associate, or of somebody with whom they once agreed in opinion.

“When these became impressed with the obligation of baptism and the Lord’s Supper, and were left to their liberty by those in association with them in Philadelphia, Thomas Martin was selected to baptize them, but first to be baptized himself by Abel Noble, who had been already baptized.”

There is a tradition mentioned by Sachse, but not by Edwards, that Abel Noble, visiting Jersey, had been baptized by Killingworth. Perhaps it was in Rhode Island by Stephen Mumford of Newport. Noble had devoted himself very much to the Keithians of Upper Providence. When these became impressed with the obligation of baptism and the Lord’s Supper, and were left to their liberty by those in association with them in Philadelphia, Thomas Martin was selected to baptize them, but first to be baptized himself by Abel Noble, who had been already baptized. Edwards gives the date of Noble’s baptizing Martin as June 28, 1697. Afterwards, the members nominated Thomas Budd, Thomas

14. Julius Friedrich Sachse, 1842-1919, a Philadelphia-area historian who wrote primarily on German emigration to Pennsylvania.



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Martin, and William Beckingham, and, lots being drawn, the choice fell on Martin to administer the Lord's Supper. Edwards says that Martin did so on Oct. 12. An offer was made to receive such friends in Philadelphia as thought their baptism when infants sufficient, provided there was nothing else against them, but these refused, and the others soon felt relieved, the record saying: "we account it a providence, and acknowledge our shortness in giving away the Lord's cause." This Upper Providence congregation split on the question of the Sabbath, and dissolved. However, those who favored keeping Sunday were gathered together about 1715 by Rev. Abel Morgan, and, in 1718, built a meeting-house in Birmingham Township, bearing the name of Brandywine Baptist Church. The Sabbatarians, on the other hand, united at Newtown. In 1717, a number took up considerable land between Brandywine and French Creek, and, reinforced by some seceders from the Great Valley Baptist Church, this congregation, called Nantmeal, became a strong one.

The Keithians in the City of Philadelphia had a wooden meeting-house on the west side of Second below Mulberry (Arch) street. The lot had been conveyed to Thomas Budd, Thomas Peart, Ralph Ward, and James Poulter in trust for the use of the Christian people called Quakers subscribing the articles of faith, for a meeting-house or place of worship, and such other uses as the major part of the Meeting should appoint, and to convey to such persons as the major part of the Meeting should appoint. The meeting-house was lent to the Church of England congregation, while its building was in course of erection.

Thomas Budd died, his burial being on 12mo. 15, 1697-8. His antecedents or inclinations, at least the ecclesiastical destination of his family, was Presbyterian.

Rutter baptized nine persons, among whom was Thomas Peart, and these nine, with Rutter as Minister, united for meetings on June 12, 1698, and they continued apparently to be included under the name of Keithians, and doubtless, through Peart being a trustee, occupied the meeting-house, or perhaps shared it, even at first, with those who attended a different preacher. The chapter on the Church of England will mention the removal thither of the regular Baptists. Rutter remained a while in Germantown, and then at Manatawny, where he began making iron in 1716 or 1717, being the first to start an iron works within the limits of Pennsylvania.

We learn, from the statement prepared in 1730 in favor of Christ Church's claim to the Keithian meeting-house property (PENN. ARCHIVES 1st Series, Vol. I), that those who paid nearly two thirds of the original purchase money, including Thomas Peart and Ralph Ward, joined Christ Church congregation, but, as before said, they were not among its earliest members. Logan speaks in 1702 of some Keithians, including McComb, greatly opposing Keith at that time: but either before or later, as their Society died out, Nicholas Pearce and Thomas Tresse were among those who became Churchmen. The tombstone of the former is in the floor of the present edifice of Christ Church. The statement



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tells that in 1723 Thomas Peart, as surviving trustee, conveyed the meeting-house property to certain Churchmen in trust for a school for all Christians without any violence to their consciences. About this time, Joan Lee, who, with her husband, William Lee, had joined Christ Church, forsook it for the Baptists: She and two other Baptist women, former members of the Keithian Meeting, and John Budd, heir of Thomas Budd, and William Betridge and his wife Frances, heiress of James Poulter, as representatives of deceased members, made a deed to the Baptists in 1725. After some years dispute, Christ Church surrendered to the Baptists all claim in consideration of 50l. For some time, the name "Lloydians," after Thomas Lloyd, was given to those Quakers who had adhered to him. The word is misprinted as "Hoytians" in the letter of Rev. Thomas Clayton published in Perry's COLLECTIONS, as will be shown in the chapter on the Church of England.

In the remnant of the Society of Friends on the Delaware remaining after the Keithian secession and the subsequent propaganda of various denominations, Orthodoxy triumphed; perhaps because of the death of certain radical opposers of Keith, perhaps because of the influence of the positive teaching of the religious bodies surrounding – but there is here no intention to deny that it was the work of the Spirit. There was early a readiness in prominent adherents to profess their faith in the Trinity, and to acknowledge the Scriptures to be divinely inspired. Within four years after the Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting's condemnation of Keith, five signers of the declaration against him, viz: Waln, Maris, Simcock, Blunston, and Biles, and prominent men like David Lloyd, Richardson, Shippen, Morris, and Carpenter, and also Caleb Pusey, who then or afterwards wrote against Keith, had subscribed the declaration and acknowledgment set forth in the English Act of Toleration. The Frame of Government of 1696 was not designed to exclude the leading Friends from office, nor was it objected to as having such effect; yet it prescribed the making and signing of such profession and acknowledgment as the alternative for taking a certain oath for qualifying to serve as Councillor, Assemblyman, or any officer, and the Assembly chosen in 1705, composed almost entirely of Quakers, passed bills, which became the permanent law of the Province, not merely requiring that profession and acknowledgment for eligibility to office, but also insuring liberty of conscience only for those whose belief was represented in the Parliamentary phraseology. It is not likely that there were at the time any number of Pennsylvania Quakers left unprotected by such curtailment of toleration. Going, however, beyond this outline of faith, the following, under date of 3mo. 20, 1696, signed, in a petition to King William III, their recognition of Jesus conceived miraculously by the Holy Ghost, born of a Virgin, giving his life on the cross a sacrifice for man's sins, rising again, ascending into glory, and living to make intercession for men, as the Son of God and Saviour of the World.



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Following this lead, it came to pass and continued throughout the rest of Colonial times and into the Nineteenth Century that American Quakerdom in the greater notes, if with some minor elisions, joined in chorus with Rome, Geneva, Augsburg, Constantinople, and Canterbury.



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1694

[George Keith](#) had experienced even less success in England than in America, in persuading [Quakers](#) to leave their groups to follow him instead. In this year he was disowned by London Yearly Meeting. He issued his A FURTHER DISCOVERY OF THE SPIRIT OF **FALSHOOD & PERSECUTION** IN SAM. JENNINGS, AND HIS PARTY THAT JOYND WITH HIM IN PENSILVANIA; AND SOME ABETTERS THAT CLOAK AND DEFEND HIM HERE IN ENGLAND: IN ANSWER TO HIS SCANDALOUS BOOK, CALLED, *THE STATE OF THE CASE*. Also, his THE ARRAIGNMENT OF **WORLDLY PHILOSOPHY**, OR, THE FALSE WISDOM: ITS BEING A GREAT HINDERANCE TO THE CHRISTIAN FAITH; AND A GREAT ENEMY TO THE TRUE DIVINE WISDOM. Also, his A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE SEVERAL AGES OF THE WORLD FROM ADAM TO CHRIST. AND FROM THENCE CONTINUED TO THE END OF THE WORLD, &C.

Friend [William Penn](#)'s wife, [Friend](#) Gulielma Maria Springett Penn, died. (He would, however, remarry.)

Friend [George Fox](#)'s journal was first published, with a preface by Friend [William Penn](#), in a composite, reconstructed version prepared by Friend Thomas Ellwood, at London: A JOURNAL OR HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE, TRAVELS, SUFFERINGS, CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES AND LABOUR OF LOVE IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY, OF ... GEORGE FOX, WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE IN GREAT PEACE WITH THE LORD, THE 13TH OF THE 11TH MONTH, 1690.

JOURNAL OF GEORGE FOX

This would until 1892 be the standard version. The problem is that Fox had not kept a journal in any sense in which we now think of such literary remainders, one of the sort kept for instance by [Waldo Emerson](#) or by [Henry Thoreau](#). Instead, what we have are a collection of approximately dated writings, many of which were dictated by Fox to whatever amanuensis happened to be handy. Thus it will be especially important for us, later, in considering Emerson's and Thoreau's readings of the Fox materials, to take fully into account the source editions which they were actually able to consult, and to take fully into account the "spin" which the editors of these source editions were placing upon the materials which they were presenting as if it had been a [JOURNAL](#).

(An attitude expressed, in this journal, toward Quakers in the arts: "I was moved to cry also against all sorts of Musick, and against the Mountebanks playing tricks on their Stages, for they burdened the pure Life, and stirred up people's minds to Vanity.")

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

In late 17th-Century England, a dutch emigré, Egbert van Heemskerck, painted a series of pictures depicting Quaker meetings. These paintings were done in a genre known as "Sittenbild," characterized by the accuracy of their depiction of actual scenes, a genre now entirely replaced by the art of photography, but the artist's intention seems to have been at least in part satirical. We see, for instance, in many of the Quaker faces, that the eyes are rolled far upward to display the whites of the eyes.

There were two men of this name, and we know that one of these two was born in Haarlem in 1634, and we know that one of these two died in London in 1704. We are not certain, however, that either of these two datapoints actually pertain to the artist who painted the "Quaker Meetings" series.



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These paintings were frequently copied, and when copied, it seems, their satiric content seems to have typically been enhanced rather than subdued in the necessary reprocessing done by the engraver.

The painting in which a woman is standing on a half-barrel is one of this series. This was an era in which the spectacle of a woman addressing a group would have been regarded as salacious. (Street whores sometimes dressed themselves up in Quaker costume in order to entice their prospective customers.)

In one of the paintings of this series, the artist depicted himself standing inside the painting with a palette, pointing at the Quakers and smirking for the benefit of three other gentlemen who are also looking at the Quakers.

None of these paintings were done for the Quakers, we can be sure, because at this time the Quakers very decidedly disapproved of all such artistic activities. For instance, here is George Fox:

And therefore all Freinds and People pluck down your Images, your Likenesses, your Pictures, and your Representations of things in Heaven, things in the Earth, and things in the Waters; I say pluck them out of your Houses, Walls and Signs, or other places, that none of you be found Immitators of his creator, whom you should Serve and Worship; and not observe the idle lazy Mind, that would go and invent and make things like a Creator and Maker.... For Mind, while man was in the Image of God, and his likeness, and the woman, they did not make any Likenesses, or Images of things in Heaven, or Earth, or Water. But when Man lost this Image of God, then they did begin to make such things, as the stock of *Nimrod*. ...and so afterward set them up by a Law, their Images and Likenesses to be worshipped.

In all likelihood, also, there would have been at the time no market for such paintings among those sympathetic with the Quakers.

A number of these paintings are now owned by individual Quakers, and by Quaker institutions, but in all cases in which we have been able to track the provenance of the painting, it had been acquired by the Quakers in a considerably later period rather than early.

Similar paintings were made of another religious group also in disfavor, the Catholics.

**WHAT I'M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND  
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF**



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**1695**

The first published account of the workings of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was THE GENERAL HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS by Gerard Croese, being published in Latin in this year and in English in the following one. Croese had access to documents and people long since lost and did an extensive amount of research. The Friends' Meeting for Sufferings was not please with Croese's book and tried to stop its publication, but failed. The work, erroneous in some places, at least was not created by an insider with an agenda to defend an establishment. After its initial publication in Latin and then in English, the book would never be reprinted. Instead [William Sewell](#) would create a counter-history which would meet the perceived need for a polemical defense of the [Quaker](#) establishment, and this would be the history which would see endless republication.

[George Keith](#) responded to a publication of the London Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, printed in Black Letter and signed by Benjamin Bealing, announcing their disowning of him, with a counter-publication entitled THE PRETENDED YEARLY MEETING OF THE QUAKERS, THEIR **NAMELESS BULL** OF EXCOMMUNICATION GIVEN FORTH AGAINST GEORGE KEITH, FROM A PARTY OR FACTION OF MEN THAT CALL THEMSELVES THE YEARLY MEETING, WHICH THEY WOULD HAVE TO BE RECEIVED, AS THE GENERAL JUDGMENT, AND SENTENCE OF THE QUAKERS. WITH A BRIEF ANSWER TO THE SAME, SHEWING THAT FOR HIS ZEALOUS AND CONSCIENTIOUS OPPOSING THEIR GROSS ERRORS, AND REPROVING THE EVIL AND WICKED PRACTISES OF THEM IN PENSILVANIA, WHOM THEY OWN TO BE THEIR BRETHREN, PARTICULARLY THEIR PERSECUTION OF G. KEITH, AND SOME OF HIS FRIENDS, THAT PARTY HAS EXCOMMUNICATED HIM.



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**1697**

The Abington Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in rural Pennsylvania established “a school under the direction of Friends.” (During the following century, other Quaker monthly meetings would establish schools at Buckingham, Frankford, Plymouth Meeting, and Westtown, etc., in rural Pennsylvania, and at Haddonfield, Moorestown, and Westfield in New Jersey, and at Wilmington, in Delaware.)

[QUAKER EDUCATION](#)

Meanwhile, back in England, a disowned former [Quaker](#) schoolmaster of Philadelphia, [George Keith](#), was issuing A REPRIMAND FOR THE AUTHOR OF A LIBEL, ENTITLED; GEORGE KEITH AN APOSTATE, and his A SECOND NARRATIVE OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT TURNERS-HALL, APRIL 29, 1697.



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1698

[George Keith](#)'s A THIRD NARRATIVE OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT TURNERS-HALL, APRIL 21, 1698.

A [Quaker](#) meetinghouse was erected on the south-west corner at the intersection of Second and High (Market) Streets in Philadelphia.<sup>15</sup>



Robert Pyle of the Concord (near Philadelphia) Friends monthly meeting proposed, at [Yearly Meeting](#), that a time schedule should be set up, within which [Quaker](#) households were to [manumit](#) their [slaves](#).<sup>16</sup>

15. This structure would be pulled down in 1755 and another erected — which would itself be, in 1808, demolished.

16. In subsequent yearly meetings for a number of years (until 1711, in fact) there would be silence on this proposal, and the primary propagator of this doctrine, [George Keith](#), would be forced out of [Quakerism](#).



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We see material relevant to this dispute in that colonial treatise printed in this year in London and titled “AN HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA...”:

... Jealousie among men is here very rare, nor are old maids to be met with; for all commonly marry before they are twenty years of age. The way of worship the Swedes use in this countrey, is the Lutheran; the English have four sorts of religious meetings here; the Church of England, who built a very fine church in this city in the year 1695; the Anabaptists; the Presbyterians; and two sorts of Quaker, (of all the most numerous by much) one party held with George Keith; but whether both parties will joyn together again in one I cannot tell. He gave strict charge concerning plain language and plain habit, and that they should not be concerned in the compelling part of the worldly government; that they should set their negroes at liberty after some reasonable time of service; and that they should not take advantage of the law against one another, as to procure them any corporal punishment. These instructions were given forth, in the year 1693, by the meeting held by George Keith, at P. James’s house in Philadelphia. He shortly after went to England, where he now, in this year 1697, keeps a meeting, at Turners-hall, London, on Sundays in the afternoon....



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**1699**

[George Keith](#) attacked [Friend William Penn](#) and other [Quakers](#) as “Deists” in A PLAIN DISCOVERY OF MANY GROSS CHEATS AND IMPOSTURES CONTAINED IN THREE LATE PAMPHLETS PUBLISHED BY THE QUAKERS, &C. He issued his AN ACCOUNT OF G. KEITH’S TRAVELS TO BRISTOL AND SEVERAL OTHER PLACES OR, A TRUE RELATION OF A CONFERENCE HAD BETWIXT G. KEITH AND T. UPSHER AT COLCHESTER, THE 6TH OF THE 5TH MONTH, 1699, &C.

In his “Advice to His Children,” [Friend William Penn](#) counseled his progeny to “remember, fear and serve God” so that they might “live to glorify Him in [their] generations.” He recommended a liberal education in such knowledge as was “useful,” so long as this was “consistent with truth and godliness.” He included in this category the “useful parts of mathematics, as building houses, measuring, surveying and agriculture.”

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

**QUAKER EDUCATION**



FRIEND GEORGE KEITH

GEORGE KEITH

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1700

[George Keith](#) was being a busy little badger. His A NARRATIVE OF HIS PROCEEDINGS AT COOPER'S HALL IN BRISTOL, IN DETECTING THE ERRORS OF BENJAMIN COOL. Also, his A SNAKE IN THE GRASS CAUGHT AND CRUSHT. OR A THIRD AND LAST EPISTLE TO G. KEITH, BY TREPIDANTIUM MALLEUS. Also, his ACCOUNT OF A NATIONAL CHURCH, AND THE CLERGY. Also, his REASONS FOR RENOUNCING QUAKERISM. Also, his AN ACCOUNT OF THE QUAKERS POLITICKS. Also, his BRISTOL QUAKERISM EXPOSED. Also, his SERMON ON 2 COR. V. 14, 15. Also, his TWO SERMONS.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

It would have been in approximately this year Friend [George Fox](#)'s widow, Friend [Margaret Askew Fell](#) Fox, issued an incendiary notice, eldering the [Quakers](#) for what she perceived to be their growing attention to outward uniformity and to rules imposed by their groups, and for their correspondingly diminishing attention to the Light Within.

*But Jesus Christ saith that we must take no thought what we shall eat or what we shall drink or what we shall put on; but bids us consider the lilies, how they grow in more royalty than Solomon. But, contrary to this, we must not look at no colours, nor make anything that is changeable colours, as the hills are, nor sell them, nor wear them. But we must be all in one dress and one colour. This is a silly, poor gospel. It is more fit for us to be covered with God's eternal Spirit and clothed with His eternal Light, which leads us and guides us into righteousness; and to live righteously and justly and holily in this present evil world. This is the clothing that God puts on us, and likes, and will bless.*





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**1702**

March: The Reverend Isaac Watts became the full pastor of Mark Lane Independent Chapel, London.

[George Keith](#) was ordained as an Anglican priest (obviously, somebody decided that it would be preferable to have this guy inside the tent pissing out than outside the tent pissing in). The Society for the Preservation of the Gospel would be dispatching him on a return mission to the Jerseys in America to attempt to win over the [Quakers](#) there. He would have more success with Anglican congregations in Perth Amboy and Burlington than with the Friends. In 1705 he would return to England to take up duties as rector in the parish of Edburton in Sussex.



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**1705**

Friend Esther Palmer, a [Quaker](#) missionary, visited Calvert and Ann Arundel counties in [Maryland](#), and reported that earlier Quakers had “planted the theory of the Inward Light deeply and extensively” there.

The Anglican priest [George Keith](#), troubled former Friend, returned from America to England to take up new duties as rector in the parish of Edburton in Sussex. Try to stay out of trouble, dude. Please.



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**1706**

[Quakers](#) erected a new meetinghouse on the land of Edward Wanton on the North River at [Scituate](#) in the Bay Colony, in what has become “Norwell.”

[George Keith](#)'s A JOURNAL OF TRAVELS FROM NEW-HAMPSHIRE TO CARATUCK, ON THE CONTINENT OF NORTH AMERICA. BY GEORGE KEITH, A.M., LATE MISSIONARY FROM THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS: AND NOW RECTOR OF EDBURTON, IN SUSSEX.



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1707

[George Keith](#)'s THE MAGICK OF QUAKERISM OR, THE CHIEF MYSTERIES OF QUAKERISM LAID OPEN. TO WHICH ARE ADDED, A PREFACE AND POSTSCRIPT RELATING TO THE CAMISARS, IN ANSWER TO MR. LACY'S PREFACE TO *THE CRY FROM THE DESART*.

In the Pennsylvania colony there had been, since 1701, an opposition party led by Colonel Quarry of the customs, John Moore, and [Friend](#) David Lloyd. The letters of James Logan describe David Lloyd as “a close member among Friends, he is a discordant in their meetings of business, — so much so, that he expects a separation and a purging. This arises out of divisions in the government, — the young push for rash measures, — the old for Penn's interest.”



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**1708**

From this year until 1718, [Simon Ockley](#) was preparing his chief work, THE HISTORY OF THE SARACENS, in 2 volumes octavo printed in London. Before his death in 1720 he would be able to cover the period from the death of Mahomet in 632 CE to the death of the fifth Ommiad caliph in 705 CE. Unfortunately he would accept as a main authority a MS of Pseudo-Wakidi's *FUTÚH AL-SHÁM*, which would turn out to have been rather historical romance than history.

In this year Ockley presented an English translation of a Latin translation by Edward Pocock the younger of a narrative that had been authored in Arabic by Abû Bakr Ibn al-Ṭufail in 12th-Century Spain, and previously done into English by [George Keith](#), the *HAYY BIN YAQZAN*, as THE IMPROVEMENT OF HUMAN REASON: EXHIBITED IN THE LIFE OF HAI EBN YOKDHAN WRITTEN IN ARABICK ABOVE 500 YEARS AGO, BY MUḤAMMAD IBN 'ABD AL-MALIK IBN ṬUFAYL (LONDON: Printed and sold by Edm. Powell in Black-friars, and J. Morphew near Stationers-hall). This is the story of the ultimate autodidact:

"... the Professor's eldest son, Mr. Edward Pocock published, with a Latin translation of his own, an Arabic piece of Ebn Tophail, the title of which was, *PHILOSOPHUS AUTODIDACTUS, SIVE EPISTOLA ABI JAAFER EBN TOPHAIL DE HAI EBN YOKDHAN. In quâ ostenditur, quomodo ex Inferiorum Contemplatione ad Superiorum Notitiam ratio humana ascendere possit.* It is an ingenious fiction, giving the History of Ebn Yokdhan, who, the Author tells us, according to some, was produced in one of the Indian islands under the Equinoctial, where men come into the world without father or mother. ... He proved afterwards of a discerning and contemplative spirit, and by progressive reasonings with himself, from what he saw, formed a system of Natural Philosophy, Morality, and Metaphysics. In the 50th year of his age, Asal, a person of a contemplative disposition, who came thither from a neighbouring island, for the sake of retirement, found Yokdhan, taught him language, and got from him all the account he was able to give of his original, and the history of his gradual approaches to a knowledge of, and intimate



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conjunction with God."

**THE ACTUAL PAGES**



**THE ELECTRONIC TEXT**



**GEORGE KEITH**

**FRIEND GEORGE KEITH**

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**1709**

[George Keith](#)'s GEOGRAPHY AND NAVIGATION COMPLETED; BEING A NEW THEORY AND METHOD WHEREBY THE TRUE LONGITUDE OF ANY PLACE IN THE WORLD MAY BE FOUND: WHETHER DIFFERING IN LONGITUDE ONLY, OR BOTH IN LONGITUDE AND LATITUDE, FROM ANY OTHER PLACE IN THE HABITABLE WORLD BY GEORGE KEITH, M.A., RECTOR OF EDBURTON IN SUSSEX. MOST HUMBLY PROPOSED TO THE CONSIDERATION OF THE FIST PRESENT PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN AFTER THE HAPPY UNION.

Gédéon de Catalogne surveyed the seigneuries along the St. Lawrence River, and Jean-Baptiste Decouragne prepared cadastral maps that laid out property lines and ownership designations.

**CARTOGRAPHY**



**FRIEND GEORGE KEITH**

**GEORGE KEITH**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1710**

October 28, Saturday (Old Style): [George Keith](#) made his will.



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**1711**

[Friend William Penn](#) revised the 1708 charter to provide that the overseers of the Philadelphia school system need not be exclusively [Quakers](#). (The overseers would include James Logan, a Penn secretary who was acting lieutenant governor of the colony, Edward Shoppen, first mayor of Philadelphia and speaker of the Provincial Assembly, and Samuel Carpenter, the first treasurer of Pennsylvania.)

Meanwhile, in England, the disowned [George Keith](#), former head of the [Quaker](#) schools of Philadelphia, turned Anglican, was issuing his latest polemic, *THE MAGICK OF QUAKERISM CONFIRMED. IN ANSWER TO A BOOK OF GEORGE WHITEHEAD FALSLY CALLED THE POWER OF CHRIST VINDICATED AGAINST THE MAGICK OF APOSTACY.*

**QUAKER EDUCATION**

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

**GEORGE WHITEHEAD**



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**GEORGE KEITH**

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**1716**

March 27, Tuesday (Old Style): [George Keith](#), who had been serving as a rector at the parish of Edburton in Sussex, England, died at the age of about 77. Soon after his death, his will would be published in London as THE WILL OF MR. GEORGE KEITH — EDBURTON, IN SUSSEX, OCTOBER THE 28TH, 1710. An allegation would circulate that on his deathbed he had expressed a wish that he might have died while still a [Quaker](#). (A stone memorial in the churchyard describing him as “Rector 1705-16” is of much more recent creation.)



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1739

[Friend](#) William Fishbourne, who had been Mayor of Philadelphia in the 1719-1721 period and had at one point been the Treasurer of Pennsylvania colony, wrote SOME FEW AND SHORT HINTS OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO THE YEAR 1739 on 9 folio pages of cap paper. Here are extracts:

[William Penn](#), Esq., a judicious and wise man, religiously inclined, being desirous to retire to some other parts, for the more free liberty and exercise of his religious persuasion, and from some hardships and oppressions, which he and others suffered in England; by some proper measures, he obtained a grant from King Charles II, of the province which he called after his own name Pennsylvania. {i.e. Penn, and Sylvania, meaning a country covered with woods.} Having divided it into three counties, to wit: Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks, and laid the plan of Philadelphia city, he invited and encouraged those of his persuasion, and others, to accompany and settle the same; whereupon several readily agreed. He also framed an excellent form of government, and suitable schemes for such an undertaking. Sometime after, he, with many more, chiefly [Quakers](#), hired ships, and transported themselves and families; but when they came to the province they found little or no conveniences for their reception, nor much probability of getting sufficient food and other necessaries of life, but a large wilderness for some time without inhabitants, save a few families of Swedes settled on the Delaware, and the Indians, who very providentially were helpful and not hurtful; but peaceably permitted the English to settle among them. Want of proper conveniences and necessaries, at first view, must of course strike a great damp upon them who had known and left good habitations, &c. (for most of those, who had first come over, were not people of low circumstances, but substantial livers); notwithstanding which, being animated with their first good design and intention of promoting religion, far beyond any worldly gain or profit, they unanimously fell to an honest industry to provide for themselves the best they could, and they made caves in the back of the Delaware, where the city is now laid out, and cut down timber, to make huts and conveniences to live in; depending on providence for other necessaries, which for some time proved hard to get, (the western division of New Jersey near them being then but thin settled) however, some of the neighbouring colonies hearing of a people come to settle, came with such necessaries as they could spare, which was very scanty for the number of persons which wanted them, and they took money for them; for they were not empty handed. These hardships and difficulties continued several years; and having spent their money and other necessaries they brought with them, it seemed hard for some to bear; and they would often condole with one another, saying; they believed it would not do to stay, and they must seek some other place! But as they continued their



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industry, in a few years (having several artificers and tradesmen among them, which was their riches in fact!) they had got some few tolerable good houses in the city, and lands cleared for plantations, whereon they sowed and planted provisions, which was more plentiful every year, notwithstanding people continued coming in to settle; for the land being good and fertile, produced plentifully of excellent wheat and almost all other sorts of grain, with roots and fruits, and they got a stock of cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs; and in less than ten years the country produce became considerably more than the inhabitants wanted for their own consumption, although they were very much increased in numbers; so that they began to manufacture their wheat by bolting (having some few water-mills to grind the corn) which made excellent flour of several degrees. The first they sold for exportation; the other sorts made good bread and biscuit, and the bran made hearty food for working creatures. By this time a report had reached the West Indies that a number of people had settled a new country which produced great plenty of provisions, on which they sent several vessels to trade with them, and they brought quantities of coined silver and gold, besides the produce of those islands, to purchase provisions. By this means cash was plenty, for the number of people, and the inhabitants were enabled to build [thereby] vessels and to trade to sea. Thus providence caused the country to increase in wealth, peace and plenty from year to year; so that the first 40 years it was the admiration of all people, who saw or heard of its flourishing condition, in lands, improvements in building houses and shipping, manufactures of many kinds, increase in plenty, commerce and trade, the great number of inhabitants, the soil producing plentifully with their industry. Considerable numbers of shipping came yearly, besides vessels built not only for the inhabitants, but many others in remote parts, who readily disposed of their cargoes and procured their full loading of the produce of this province, which was transported to the English plantations, and other foreign nations, by which means, all useful necessaries they had occasion for, were imported amongst them; and in every sense, the country still increasing more to settlements and improvements; many thousands of foreigners and others came hither and settled, whereby the produce of almost all kinds was much more increased, as well as commerce and trade both at home and abroad; and much good harmony continued amongst the inhabitants considering what a large number of mixed people were got together. And it must be noted, that for many years, there subsisted a good concord and benevolent disposition amongst the people of all denominations, each delighting to be reciprocally helpful and kind in acts of friendship for one another, and [as it is said] there was no difference in forms of worship; for the Quakers, having built a large Meeting house about the centre of the city, [corner of 2nd Street and High Street?] all came there, until a mischievous man [George Keith] who had imbibed vile notions of sacred things, and had more learning than sincerity,



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and wanting to form a particular sect of his own, so divided the people, that they separated into different Societies; but at length he confounded himself and many of his adherents. The proprietor's [[William Penn](#)'s] first and principal care was to promote peace with all; and accordingly he established a friendly correspondence, by way of treaty with the Indians, at least twice a year, and strictly enjoined the inhabitants and surveyors, not to settle any land to which the Indians had a claim, until he had first, at his own cost, satisfied and paid them for the same. Which discreet method so effectually engaged their friendship, that they entirely loved him and his people, – when at the same time, several of the neighbouring colonies were at war and in great distress by the Indians. The proprietor, being called home to meet some grievous complaints and false insinuations, did not return till the year 1700, when he came with his family, to the great joy of the inhabitants in general, with intentions (as it was hoped) to settle therein; and often expressed his great pleasure of once more coming again, and seeing the flourishing and happy state of the province, where he greatly desired to continue. But his stay was short, for his enemies at home were still unwearied against him, and he embarked himself and family on board a mean ship in the winter season, and arrived safe in England, where he still retained his interest at court. As the chief part of the inhabitants were [Quakers](#), they, with others, were and are concerned in acts of government; but as the province increased and prospered in every respect, many of other persuasions came and settled here with worldly views; who have formerly attempted to wrest the civil power out of the Quakers' hands, as it is very probable they may, and will again. As they politically begin to think and observe, the country in its increased wealth and commerce cannot be safe, under the conduct of men, who from their principles [of religion] would continue it in a defenceless state and leave it an easy prey to any enemy. Thus not regarding [the fact of] the peaceable introduction and continuing from the first settlement, both in time of peace and war.



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Here also is a mention of a person who may be presumed to have been Friend [George Keith](#), found in a 9-folio-page manuscript authored by [Friend](#) William Fishbourne and entitled SOME FEW AND SHORT HINTS OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO THE YEAR 1739 (This Fishbourne was at one time mayor of Philadelphia, and at one time treasurer of the Pennsylvania colony):

Considerable numbers of shipping came yearly, besides vessels built not only for the inhabitants, but many others in remote parts, who readily disposed of their cargoes and procured their full loading of the produce of this province, which was transported to the English plantations, and other foreign nations, by which means, all useful necessaries they had

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occasion for, were imported amongst them; and in every sense, the country still increasing more to settlements and improvements; many thousands of foreigners and others came hither and settled, whereby the produce of almost all kinds was much more increased, as well as commerce and trade both at home and abroad; and much good harmony continued amongst the inhabitants considering what a large number of mixed people were got together. And it must be noted, that for many years, there subsisted a good concord and benevolent disposition amongst the people of all denominations, each delighting to be reciprocally helpful and kind in acts of friendship for one another, and [as it is said] there was no difference in forms of worship; for the [Quakers](#), having built a large Meeting house about the centre of the city, all came there, until a mischievous man who had imbibed vile notions of sacred things, and had more learning than sincerity, and wanting to form a particular sect of his own [[George Keith](#)], so divided the people, that they separated into different Societies; but at length he confounded himself and many of his adherents.

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**



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**1857**

A magnificent gift came to Philadelphia from England: “One of the members of Parliament in looking over the rubbish of a City curiosity shop” had discovered an oil on canvas painted by Peter Cooper *circa* 1720 that was entitled “The Southeast Prospect of the City of Philadelphia.” He had presented this “antique daub” to George Mifflin Dallas, the American minister at the Court of St. James, deprecating its value except as a curiosity, and Dallas of course was remanding it to its place of origin. Cooper’s effort now appears to be the oldest surviving canvas of any city in North America:



Here are the various descriptions of what [Friend George Keith](#)’s Quaker schism had amounted to in the previous century, as presented by John W. Watson in 1857 in *WATSON’S ANNALS OF PHILADELPHIA AND PENNSYLVANIA A COLLECTION OF MEMOIRS, ANECDOTES, AND INCIDENTS OF THE CITY AND ITS INHABITANTS AND OF THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS OF THE INLAND PART OF PENNSYLVANIA FROM THE DAYS OF THE FOUNDERS INTENDED TO PRESERVE THE RECOLLECTIONS OF OLDEN TIME, AND TO EXHIBIT SOCIETY IN ITS CHANGES OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, AND THE CITY AND COUNTRY IN THEIR LOCAL CHANGES AND IMPROVEMENTS*:

In 1684, Thomas Lloyd in writing a letter to the Friends’ Meeting at Dolaran, in North Wales, dated the 2d of 6 mo., says, that there were then 800 people at Friends’ Meeting in the city. At that time, says another writer, all denominations assembled with the Friends in much harmony and good fellowship, until discord and confusion was introduced by George Keith’s schism. In 1691 a scene of rare confusion was exhibited in Friends Meeting. The facts in the case have been told by Thomas Wilson, a public Friend, who was present. George Keith, who had just separated, sent T. Wilson and his companion, James Dickinson, a challenge to dispute. They readily agreed to meet, and many Friends of both parties assembled. George Keith railed much. He and his abettors requested another meeting, which was also granted. At another time George Keith went into Friends’ Meeting while James Dickinson was there, and preached fawningly, as though he and James Dickinson were in unity; but James stood up and confuted him. Then Keith withdrew in much wrath, and the people of other denominations present, being numerous, cried aloud – “Give way and let the devil come out, for the little man from England (J.D.) has got the day!” The Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, in their account of the services of George Keith as their Missionary, telling of course their opinion, in their own way say; that this Mr. Keith “first joined about the



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year 1691, with a party of [Quakers](#) in opposing some of their errors – especially in their notion of the sufficiency of the light within every man to salvation, without any thing else,” and the other party joined with Mr. Thomas Lloyd the deputy governor, and a great preacher among them; thus severally creating separate meetings in the province. It must have been a singular spectacle to have seen one who had been a plain public Friend, attired in drab and broad brim, cast off his garb, and go abroad among them in his black gown as a church minister. A convincement certainly of strange occurrence. It is but justice to suggest, that at that time, the Friends could not have gone over wholly to the doctrine of plenary illumination, because, that William Penn’s writings against Perot, Luff, and others, declare that such took the doctrine of the Holy Spirit speaking in men in a larger sense than was just, so that they ran out into extravagances thereby.

In 1702 – 8th of 9 mo. Isaac Norris’ letter says, “George Keith hath been twice here, but has not yet disturbed our Meeting as hath been his custom to the eastward. He is now the talk and news of the town; but has little to boast of in all his progress hitherto. His own party is like to fall with him. All his sermons are railings against the Friends.” During the time of this schism there came out a printed pamphlet of 24 pages against orthodox Friends, which might be deemed a curiosity for its rare and gross scurrility. It is without imprint, but shows from its context that it was done at Philadelphia about the year 1701. Ample evidence of the whole have been preserved in my MS. Annals in the City Library, on pages 190 to 193. There indeed they deserve to be buried, were it not that their style of abuse is so unique as to show a characteristic of some minds of that day, which we could not conceive of in modern times; besides they contain some local references which may possibly serve on some needful occasion to illustrate some local incidents. The whole has the appearance of being set forth as the venom of Keith’s adherents. It assails the characters, by name, of every leading man in Friends’ Society, making them severally immoral men (though sly) of the grossest kind. It is called “the Cage of unclean Birds” – because George Fox had so called false professors. I have purposely suppressed all the names, and refer to the whole now rather as a matter of amusement than of scandal. The Friends, then vilified, must have been endowed with much moderation, to have endured such a publication, or else the doctrine of libels was ill understood and without practice among them. Some of the facts are ludicrous enough. One, a minister too, is accused by name of packing his flour barrels with only good flour at the ends! and also of blowing in money scales to make his light money pass off as weight! It reproaches them of vain-glory in building “a great Cathedral Meeting Place at Philadelphia” – corner of Second and High streets. The Friends, who generally held a majority in the civil rule of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, found themselves more and more embarrassed as mixed population increased. They had difficulties in serving in



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judicial offices where oaths were required, and also in providing public defence against enemies. The feuds and animosities raised against Friends in the Assembly were very high, and went on increasing from 1701 to 1710. War with France occurred in the interval. A French privateer plundered Lewestown, – and several of them plundered and burnt vessels in the bay. In 1709, the city of Philadelphia was got into high commotion for a defence. "The hot church party" were all in favour of it. The people petitioned the Queen for defence, and objected at the same time to the passive principles of the Friends, as unfit for civil rule, &c. When I have seen so much correspondence as I have, in that day, on that subject, and have witnessed how perplexed the Friends were with their unruly charge – made up of many nations and many minds – I have thought them (to use a homely domestic figure) not unlike the perplexed hen with her duck-chickens, which perpetually countered her nature by taking to the water, and leaving her in embarrassment and distress! If they governed for a while, retaining therein their religious views, it was still a daily work of shifts and expedients to keep the approbation of other sects. It was, as Doctor Johnson says "like a dog who walks upon his hinder legs – he does not walk well, but we are surprised he walks at all!" James Logan, in speaking of these facts, in 1709 says, "The clamours and abuses from such men to the Friends in government tires them and makes them weary of the load. When the queen asks for our quota for Canada, Friends know not how to act or how to refuse, seeing that all the other colonies contribute more than is required." Isaac Norris, in 1709-10, speaking of these facts, says, "Those of the church grew very uneasy and unneighbourly in their expressions, because of the defenceless situation of the place. They are for a coercive law, that all may be obliged to bear arms, or else they will do nothing. They manage this craftily, in order to lay Friends aside in government, – the holding of a place in which is extremely difficult to Friends, and we can hardly judge which has the worst prospect – whether to hold it under such difficulties as daily fall in the way, or to resign it to some men who are of no honourable principles. Embarrassed and discordant as we are, I often think of the frogs' petition to Jupiter, and fear it must be a governor immediately from the crown that must set us to rights. We are a mixed people, who all claim a right to use their own way. Some Friends still in places and offices that cannot be exercised without great difficulties and sometimes full stops – so that a very great hardship falls upon the Assembly. To me it seems impracticable to do any thing that will please and hold!" In another place, to James Logan, he says, "We say our principles are not destructive or repugnant to civil government, and will admit of free liberty of conscience to all, yet to me it appears, (although I get into a labyrinth when I turn my thoughts that way) to be concerned in government and hold them, we must either be independent and entirely by ourselves, or, if mixed, partial to our own opinion, and not allow to others what we desire from



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them!" To illustrate some of the difficulties, supposed to exist in civil matters because of the religious objections of Friends to oaths, I give the following facts – to wit: In 1703, William Penn writes, that "the lords of trade spake to me of the insufficiency of the government of Pennsylvania – saying, the first of the council was not able to register ships, administer an oath, or perform some other requisites; but I told them this could not hinder government, while three or four of the council were churchmen, and of age and experience – and no matter who of the council transacted them, so that they were qualified to do it; – and yet, by our constitution, our Friends were so: – besides, I told them it was not to be thought that a colony and constitution, made by and for [Quakers](#), would leave themselves and their lives and fortunes, out of so essential a part of government as juries – nay, more, that we would not have gone thither to be so precarious in our security as to be deemed incapable of being jurymen – if so, that the coming of others shall overrule us who are the originals and made it a country." On one occasion, stated by James Logan, the grand jury being summoned of such as could swear, it was found the number present were insufficient. "On the sheriff's calling for more out of the tales, one and another, being offered the oath, declined it, some for one reason, and some for another. The design evidently was by those factious persons who contend for nothing more than our confusion. They would herein prevent all things that might take away occasion of complaint against us, and they hoped the delay of justice might prove a great one!" On another occasion it happened that only three of the five judges being present, and those only who could swear, "they administered an affirmation according to law, which gave cause of many discourses among the discontented. But through these men's restless endeavours, it is found extremely difficult fully to discharge the duties of government incumbent on us – they taking all advantages of throwing in our way whatever may perplex us, by reasons of oaths, and such other things as are inconsistent with the principles of most of us – besides, that many things occur in the administration according to the law of England, as well as immunities by our own law, which cannot well be executed by men of our profession. Such objections against us, being what they daily court, when, by their endeavours, they by any means bring them to bear, they greedily lay hold of them." William Penn in reply to these and similar statements, makes a remark in 1704, saying "I am grieved to think that you ever gave way to any other affirmation than that appointed by law in the province, by which you have given away a most tender point, not easily recoverable. My regard to the queen is known almost to partiality; but I shall never obey her letters against laws, into which she may be drawn by interested persons." James Logan was never averse to measures for protection – i.e. for defensive war; and there is reason to infer that Penn himself and some other Friends were of the same opinion. The idea gained ground as the colony increased, and therefore members were often found



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in the assemblies of the Friends' Society, who in the opinion of "the most straitest" of the sect, were too lax in their discipline of "testimony" &c. We find, therefore, that such a public Friend as John Churchman deems himself called to express his disapprobation of their public callings generally, as too exposing in its general tendency, for tender minds – and about the same time, the year 1758 we see a warning voice from "The Watchman," by a Friend in the Pennsylvania Journal, wherein he says "From the moment we Friends began to lose sight of our original institution, we erred greatly; for when we saw so much corruption interwoven in the affairs of this world, we were unfit to be concerned in them, and should have rested satisfied on a dependence on the son of the Lord, and what protection the laws of our country would have given us. But we must needs have that power in our own hands; and having so exceeded their native moderation and self-command, they knew no bounds – they grasped at more, by which means the life of our old and respected friend and governor, [William Penn](#), was made a life of trouble. Let us return to our original plan, and leave the concerns of this world entirely to the men of this world!"

...

In 1689, the Friends originated the Friends' public school in Philadelphia –the same which now stands in Fourth below Chestnut street. It was to be a grammar school, and to teach the learned languages. George Keith, a Scotch Friend and public preacher, (afterwards an Episcopal clergyman and a bitter foe to Friends!) became the first teacher, assisted by Thomas Makin, who in the

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next year became the principal.



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

There is another mention of Friend [George Keith](#) and his splinter group of antislavery [Quakers](#) later on in this Watson volume:

In 1693, the separate meeting of Friends under George Keith, assembling at the house of Philip James in Philadelphia, gave forth a paper declaring their sense of the duty of emancipation – “after some reasonable time of service” – Vide Gabriel Thomas. The large original proprietors of property in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania called “the Free Society of Traders” of 1682, although as a corporation they might be said, like others, “to be without souls” conceded an article very favourable to emancipation, saying “If the society should receive blacks for servants, they shall make them free at fourteen years’ end, upon condition that they will give unto the society’s ware-house two-thirds of what they are capable of producing on such a parcel of land as shall be allowed to them by the society, with a stock of necessary tools.” Then comes a proviso of rather singular character, saying “And if they will not accept of these terms they shall be servants till they will accept of it!” I have seen, among the earliest pamphlets extant of Philadelphia publication, one from the Friends’ meeting of Philadelphia, of the 13th of 8mo. 1683, giving “exhortation and caution to Friends concerning buying and keeping negroes.” The sum of the counsel was, that none should attempt “to buy except to set free.” This little address contained many of the arguments now usually set forth against slavery. In 1696, the [Yearly Meeting](#) of Friends having



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concerted some measures to discourage the bringing in of more slaves, and to preserve the morals of those they had, the subject was renewed in the year 1700 on the arrival of [William Penn](#), in consideration of his pressing upon the Philadelphia meeting his wishes concerning the same. Their sense of the subject was expressed as follows, to wit: "Our dear friend and governor, having laid before this meeting a concern that hath laid upon his mind for some time concerning the negroes and Indians, that Friends ought to be very careful in discharging a good conscience towards them in all respects, but more especially for the good of their souls; upon consideration whereof, this meeting concludes to appoint a meeting for negroes to be kept once a month, &c." At the same time, he introduced a bill into the assembly "for regulating negroes in their morals and marriages" – also another "for their trials and punishments." The former was defeated by the jealousies then in the house.

**JOHN F. WATSON, I, 1855**

**JOHN F. WATSON, II, 1857**

**“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,  
THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY**



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"  
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: January 9, 2014



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*ARRGH AUTOMATED RESEARCH REPORT*

*GENERATION HOTLINE*



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.  
Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.