

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

QUAKERISM IN THE 17TH-CENTURY

CONTEXT IN WHICH IT ORIGINATED



"I know histhry isn't thru, Hinnissy, because it ain't like what I see ivry day in Halsted Street. If any wan comes along with a histhry iv Greece or Rome that'll show me th' people fightin', gettin' dhrunk, makin' love, gettin' married, owin' th' grocery man an' bein' without hard coal, I'll believe they was a Greece or Rome, but not befur."



– Dunne, Finley Peter,
OBSERVATIONS BY MR. DOOLEY,
New York, 1902

1606

In this year or the next William Hathorne was born in England. He would in 1630 arrive at Salem as a Puritan Pilgrim. We have his holograph signature upon a warrant for the whipping out of town of Friend Anne Coleman for being a [Quaker](#). His son John Hathorne (1641-1717) would not actually judge at any [witchcraft](#) trial, but would conduct some of the preliminary hearings for that series of trials.

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE



Whipping Quakers at the Cart's Tail.



1630

[Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s great-great-great-grandfather William Hathorne (1606/07-1681) sailed on the *Arbella*, settling in Dorchester in New England and then moving to Salem. He would serve as a Major in wars against the Americans and become a Magistrate and Judge of the Puritans, and we have his holograph signature upon a warrant for the whipping out of town of Friend Anne Coleman for being a [Quaker](#):



naked from the waist upward, and bound to the tail of a cart, is dragged through the Main-street at the pace of a brisk walk, while the constable follows with a whip of knotted cords. A strong-armed fellow is that constable; and each time that he flourishes his lash in the air, you see a frown wrinkling and twisting his brow, and, at the same instant, a smile upon his lips. He loves his business, faithful officer that he is, and puts his soul into every stroke, zealous to fulfill the injunction of Major Hawthorne's warrant, in the spirit and to the letter. There came down a stroke that has drawn blood! Ten such stripes are to be given in Salem, ten in Boston, and ten in Dedham; and, with those thirty stripes of blood upon her, she is to be driven into the forest.... Heaven grant that, as the rain of so many years has wept upon it, time after time, and washed it all away, so there may have been a dew of mercy, to cleanse this cruel blood-stain out of the record of the persecutor's life!

This man's son [John Hathorne](#) (1641-1717) would not actually judge at any [witchcraft](#) trial, but would conduct some of the preliminary hearings for that series of trials.



1624

July: [George Fox](#) was born, the son of “righteous” [Christopher Fox](#), a Puritan weaver of Drayton-in-the-Clay in Leicestershire,¹ and [Mary Lago Fox](#)²:

That all may know the dealings of the Lord with me, and the various exercises, trials, and troubles through which He led me, in order to prepare and fit me for the work unto which He had appointed me, and may thereby be drawn to admire and glorify His infinite wisdom and goodness, I think fit (before I proceed to set forth my public travels in the service of Truth) briefly to mention how it was with me in my youth, and how the work of the Lord was begun, and gradually carried on in me, even from my childhood.

I was born in the month called July, 1624, at Drayton-in-the-Clay, in Leicestershire. My father's name was Christopher Fox; he was by profession a weaver, an honest man; and there was a Seed of God in him. The neighbours called him Righteous Christer. My mother was an upright woman; her maiden name was Mary Lago, of the family of the Lagos, and of the stock of the martyrs.

In my very young years I had a gravity and stayedness of mind and spirit not usual in children; insomuch that when I saw old men behave lightly and wantonly towards each other, I had a dislike thereof raised in my heart, and said within myself, "If ever I come to be a man, surely I shall not do so, nor be so wanton."

1. Rufus Jones explains: Now called Fenny Drayton; a little hamlet about five miles from Nuneaton, in a flat, though beautiful farming country. The house in which [George Fox](#) was born has long since vanished, and the few cottages which cluster here about the crossing of two roads are of modern structure. An obelisk with a long inscription, stands within a hundred yards or so of the site of the birthplace.

2. Rufus Jones explains: This martyred ancestor of Mary Lago was probably a member of the Glover family, of Mancetter, a few miles north of Drayton. (See article on [George Fox](#) in the DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY, which refers to Riching's MANCETTER MARTYRS, 1860.)

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'STIFF AS A TREE, PURE AS A BELL'³

'I am plenteuous in ioie in all oure tribulacione.'—ST. PAUL
(Wiclif's Translation).

*'Stand firm like a smitten anvil under the blows of a hammer;
be strong as an athlete of God, it is part of a great athlete
to receive blows and to conquer.'*—IGNATIUS.

*'He was valiant for the truth, bold in asserting it, patient in
suffering for it, unwearied in labouring in it, steady in his
testimony to it, immoveable as a rock.'*—T. ELLWOOD about G. FOX.

*'George Fox never lost his temper—he left that to his opponents:
and he had the most exasperating way of getting the best of an
argument. His Journal ... is like a little rusty gate which opens
right into the heart of the 17th Century, so that when we go in
by it—hey presto! we find ourselves pilgrims with the old Quaker
in the strangest kind of England.'*—L.M. MACKAY.

*'And there was never any persecution that came but we saw it was
for good, and we looked upon it to be good as from GOD. And there
was never any prisons or sufferings that I was in, but still it
was for bringing multitudes more out of prison.'*—G. FOX.

3. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



'STIFF AS A TREE, PURE AS A BELL'

When the days are lengthening in the spring, even though the worst of the winter may be over, there is often a sharp tooth in the March wind as it sweeps over the angry sea and bites into the north-eastern coast of England.

Children, warm and snug in cosy rooms, like to watch the gale and the damage it does as it hurries past. It amuses them to see the wind at its tricks, ruffling up the manes of the white horses far out at sea, blowing the ships away from their moorings in the harbour, and playing tricks upon the passers-by, when it comes ashore. Off fly stout old gentlemen's hats, round like windmills go the smart ladies' skirts and ribbons; even the milkman's fingers turn blue with cold. It is all very well for children, safe indoors, to laugh at the antics of the mischievous wind, even on the bleak north-eastern coast nowadays; but in times long ago, that same wind could be a more cruel playfellow still. Come back with me for two hundred and fifty years. Let us watch the tricks the wind is playing on the prisoners in the castle high up on Scarborough cliff in the year of our Lord 1666.

Though the keen, cutting blast is the same, a very different Scarborough lies around us from the Scarborough modern children know. There is a much smaller town close down by the water's edge, and a much larger castle covering nearly the whole of the cliff.

Nowadays, when children go to Scarborough for their holidays in the summer, as they run down the steep paths with their spades and buckets to dig on the beach, they are too busy to pay much attention to the high cliff that juts out against the sky above the steep red roofs of the old town. But if they do look up for a moment they notice a pile of grey stones at the very top of the hill. 'Oh, that is the old ruined castle,' they say to themselves; and then they forget all about it and devote themselves to the important task of digging a new castle of their own that shall not crumble into ruins in its turn, as even sand castles have an uncomfortable way of doing, if they are unskilfully made.

Those children are only modern children. They have not gone back, as you and I are trying to do, two hundred and fifty long years up the stream of time. If we are really to find out what Scarborough looked like then, we must put on our thinking caps and flap our fancy wings, and, shutting our eyes very tight, not open them again until that long-ago Scarborough is really clear before us. Then, looking up at the castle, what shall we see? The same hill of course, but so covered with stately buildings that we can barely make out its outline. Instead of one old pile of crumbling stones, roofless, doorless, windowless, there is a massive fortress towering over us, ringed round with walls and guarded with battlements and turrets. High above all stands the frowning Norman Keep, of which only some of the thick outer



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stones remain to-day. Scarborough Castle was a grand place, and a strong place too, in the seventeenth century.

In order to reach it, then as now, it was necessary to climb the long flights of stone steps that stretch up from the lower town near the water's edge to the high, arched gateway upon the Castle Hill. We will climb those steps, only of course the stones were newer and cleaner then, and less worn by generations of climbing feet. Up them we mount till we reach the gateway with its threatening portcullis, where the soldiers of King Charles the Second, in their jackboots, are walking up and down on guard, determined to keep out all intruders. Intruders we certainly are, seeing that we belong to another generation and another century. There is no entrance at that gateway for us. Yet except through that gateway there is no way into the castle, and all the windows on this side are high up in the walls, and barred and filled with strong thick glass.

Now let us go round to the far side of the cliff where the castle overlooks the sea. Here the fortress still frowns above us; but lower down, nearer our level, we can see some holes and caves scooped out of the solid rock, through which the wind blows and shrieks eerily. As these caves can only be reached by going through the castle, some of the prisoners are kept here for safety. The windows have no glass. They are merely holes in the rock, open to fog and snow and bitter wind. Another hole in the cliff does duty for a chimney after a fashion, but even if the prisoners are allowed to light a fire they are scarcely any warmer, for the whole cave becomes filled with smoke. And now we must flap our fancy wings still more vigorously, until somehow we stand outside one of those prison holes, scooped out of the cliff, and can look down and see what is to be seen inside it.

There is only one man in this particular prison cave, and what is he doing? Is he moving about to keep himself warm? At first he seems to be, for he walks from side to side without a moment's rest. Every now and then he stretches his arm out of the window, apparently throwing something away. He is certainly ill. His body and legs are badly swollen, and there are great lumps in the places where his joints and knuckles ought to be. Well then, if he is ill, why does he not lie still in bed and rest and get well? For even in this wretched cave-room there is something that looks like a bed in one corner. It has no white sheets or soft blankets, but still it has four legs and a sort of coverlet, and at least the prisoner could rest upon it, which would be better for him than dancing about. Look again! The bed stands under a gaping hole in the roof, and a stream of water is dripping steadily down upon it. The coarse coverings must be soaked through already, and the hard mattress too. It is really less like a bed than a damp and nasty little pond. No wonder the prisoner does not choose to lie there. But then, why not move the bed somewhere else? And what is that round thing like a platter in his hand, and what is he doing with it? Is he playing 'Turn the Trencher' to keep himself warm?

Look again! How could he move the bed? He is in a tiny cave, and



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all its walls are leaky. The bed must stand in that particular corner because there is nowhere else that it could be placed. Now look down at the floor. Notice how uneven it is, and the big pools of water standing on it, and then you will understand what the prisoner is doing. Indeed he is not playing 'Turn the Trencher'; he is trying to scoop up some of the water in that shallow platter, because he has nothing else in the room that will hold it. If he can do this fast enough, and can manage to pour enough of the water away out of one of the holes in the walls, he may be able to keep himself from being flooded out, and thus he may preserve one little dry patch of floor, dry enough for his swollen feet to stand on, till the storm is over. But it is like trying to bale water out of a very leaky boat; for always faster than he can scoop it up and pour it away, more rain comes pouring in steadily, dripping and drenching. The wind shrieks and whistles and the prisoner is numb with cold.

What a wicked man he must be, to be punished by being put in this dreadful place! Certainly, if he has committed some dreadful crime, he has found a terrible punishment. But does he look wicked? See, at last he is too stiff and weary to move about any longer. In spite of the rain and the wind he sinks down exhausted upon a rickety chair and draws it to the spot where there is the best chance of a little shelter. There he sits in silence for some time. He is soaked to the skin, as well as tired and stiff and hungry. There is a small mug by the door, but it is empty and there is not a sign of food. Some bitter water to drink and a small piece of bread are all the food he has had today, and that is all gone now, for it was so very little. In this place a small threepenny loaf of bread has sometimes to last for three weeks. This poor man must be utterly miserable and wretched. But is he? Let us watch him.

Do you think he can be a wicked man after all? Is not the prisoner being punished through some dreadful mistake? He looks kind and good, and, stranger still, he looks happy, even through all his sufferings in this horrible prison. His face has a sort of brightness in it, like the mysterious light there is sometimes to be seen in a dark sky, behind a thunderstorm. A radiance is about him too as if, in spite of all he is enduring, he has some big joy that shines through everything and makes it seem worth while.

He is actually 'letting the sunlight through,' even in this dismal place. Any one who can do that must be a very real and a very big saint indeed. We must just find out all that we can about him. Let us take a good look at him now, while we have the chance. Then we shall know him another time, when we meet him again, having all sorts of adventures in all sorts of places. It is impossible to see his eyes, as he sits by the bed, for they are downcast, but we can see that he has a long, nearly straight nose, and lips tightly pressed together. His hair is parted and hangs down on each side of his head, stiff and lank now, owing to the wet, but in happier days it must have hung in little curls round his neck, just below his ears. He is a tall man, with a big strong-looking body. In spite of the coarse



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clothes he wears, there is a strange dignity about him. You feel something drawing you to him, making you want to know more about him.

You feel somehow as if you were in the presence of some one who is very big, and that you yourself are very small, smaller perhaps than you ever felt in your life. Yet you feel ready to do anything for him, and, at the same time, you believe that, if only you could make him know that you are there, he would be ready to do anything for you. Even in this wretched den he carries himself with an air of authority, as if he were accustomed to command. Now, at last he is looking up; and we can see his eyes. Most wonderful eyes they are! Eyes that look as if they could pierce through all sorts of disguises, and read the deepest secrets of a man's heart. They are kind eyes too; and look as if they could be extraordinarily tender at times. They are something like a shepherd's eyes, as if they were accustomed to gazing out far and wide in search of strayed sheep and lost lambs. Yet they are also like the eyes of a Judge; thoroughly well able to distinguish right from wrong. It would be terrible to meet those eyes after doing anything the least bit crooked or shabby or untrue. They look as if they would know at the first glance just how much excuses were worth; and what was the truth. No wonder that once, when those eyes fell on a man who was arguing on the wrong side, he felt ashamed all of a sudden and cried out in terror: 'Do not pierce me so with thine eyes! Keep thine eyes off me!' Another time when this same prisoner was reasoning with a crowd of people, who did not agree with him, they all cried out with one accord: 'Look at his eyes, look at his eyes!' And yet another time when he was riding through an angry mob, in a city where men were ready to take his life, they dared not touch him. 'Oh, oh,' they cried, 'see, he shines! he glisters!'

Then what happened next? We do not want to look at the prisoner in fancy any longer. We want really to know about him: to hear the beginnings and endings of those stories and of many others. And that is exactly what we are going to do. The prisoner is going to tell us his own true story in his own real words. There is no need for our fancy wings any longer. They may shrivel up and drop off unheeded. For that prisoner is GEORGE FOX, and he belongs to English history. He has left the whole story of his life and adventures written in two large folio volumes that may still be seen in London. The pages are so old and the edges have worn so thin in the two hundred and fifty years since they were written, that each page has had to be most carefully framed in strong paper to keep it from getting torn. The ink is faded and brown, and the writing is often crabbed and difficult to read. But it can be read, and it is full of stories. In olden times, probably, the book was bound in a brown leather cover, but now, because it is very old and valuable, it has been clothed with beautiful red leather, on which is stamped in gold letters, the title:



GEORGE FOX'S JOURNAL.

Now let us open it at the right place, and, before any of the other stories, let us hear what the writer says about that dismal prison in Scarborough Castle: how long he stayed there, and how he was at last set free.

'One day the governor of Scarborough castle, Sir Jordan Crosland, came to see me. 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 it they could hardly find their way out again.... I told him 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 had made it somewhat tolerable, they removed me into a worse room, where I had neither chimney nor fire hearth.'

(This last is the room in the castle cliff that is still called 'George Fox's prison,' where we have been standing in imagination and looking in upon him. We will listen while he describes it again, so as to get accustomed to his rather old-fashioned English.)

'This being to the sea-side and lying much open, the wind drove in the rain forcibly, so that the water came over my bed, and ran about the room, that I was fain to skim it up with a platter. And when my clothes were wet, I had no fire to dry them; so that my body was benumbed with cold, and my fingers swelled, that one was grown as big as two. Though I was at some charge in this room also, yet I could not keep out the wind and rain.... 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.... 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.... The officers often threatened that I should be hanged over the wall. Nay, the deputy governor told me once, that the King, knowing that I had a 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. A while after they talked much 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, 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



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to me.

'There were among the prisoners two very bad men, who often sat drinking with the officers and soldiers; and because I would not sit and drink with them, it made them the worse against me. One time when these two prisoners were drunk, one of them (whose name was William Wilkinson, who had been a captain), came in and challenged me to fight with him. I seeing what condition he was in, got out of his way; and next morning, when he was more sober, showed him how unmanly a thing it was in him to challenge a man to fight, whose principle he knew it was not to strike; but if he was stricken on one ear to turn the other. I told him that if he had a mind to fight, he should have challenged some of the 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 that, 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 I had lain a 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 I was informed no man could deliver me but he. After this, John Whitehead being at London, and being acquainted with Esquire Marsh, 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, and endeavour to get a release for me. So John Whitehead ... drew up an account 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 this 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, therefore his royal pleasure was, that I should be discharged from my imprisonment. As soon as this order was obtained, John Whitehead came to Scarborough with it and delivered it to the Governor; who, upon receipt thereof, gathered the officers together, ... and being satisfied that I was a man of peaceable life, he discharged me freely, and gave me the following passport:-

"Permit the bearer hereof, GEORGE FOX, late a prisoner here, and now discharged by his majesty's order, quietly to pass about his lawful occasions, without any molestation. Given under my hand at Scarborough Castle, this first day of September 1666.- JORDAN CROSLAND, Governor of Scarborough Castle."

'After I was released, I would have made the Governor a present for his civility and kindness he had of late showed me; but he would not receive anything; saying "Whatever good he could for me and my friends, he would do it, and never do them any hurt." ... He continued loving unto me unto his dying day. The officers also and the soldiers were mightily changed, and became very



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respectful to me; when they had occasion to speak of me they would say, "HE IS AS STIFF AS A TREE, AND AS PURE AS A BELL; FOR WE COULD NEVER BOW HIM."



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HISTORICAL NOTES

Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

'STIFF AS A TREE, PURE AS A BELL.'

Historical; described as closely as possible from George Fox's own words in his JOURNAL, vol. ii. pp. 94, 100-104.



1635

[George Fox](#) would in this year turn eleven years of age, and at least by his own account he was a promising lad:

When I came to eleven years of age I knew pureness and righteousness; for while a child I was taught how to walk to be kept pure. The Lord taught me to be faithful in all things, and to act faithfully two ways, viz., inwardly, to God, and outwardly, to man; and to keep to Yea and Nay in all things. For the Lord showed me that, though the people of the world have mouths full of deceit, and changeable affords, yet I was to keep to Yea and Nay in all things; and that my words should lie few and savoury, seasoned with grace; and that I might not eat and drink to make myself wanton, but for health, using the creatures [created things] in their service, as servants in their places, to the glory of Him that created them.

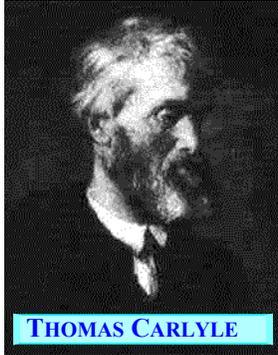
As I grew up, my relations thought to have made me a priest [clergyman in the established Church, or any minister who receives pay for preaching], but others persuaded to the contrary. Whereupon I was put to a man who was a shoemaker by trade, and dealt in wool. He also used grazing, and sold cattle; and a great deal went through my hands. While I was with him he was blessed, but after I left him he broke and came to nothing.

I never wronged man or woman in all that time; for the Lord's power was with me and over me, to preserve me. While I was in that service I used in my dealings the word Verily, and it was a common saying among those that knew me, "If George says verily, there is no altering him." When boys and rude persons would laugh at me, I let them alone and went my way; but people had generally a love to me for my innocency and honesty.

Rufus Jones comments that although this brief connection with a Nottingham shoemaker and cattle grazer has been effectively used by [Thomas Carlyle](#) in his famous characterization of Fox (*SARTOR RESARTUS*, Book iii., Chapter 1: "An Incident in Modern History"), there is simply no historical foundation whatever for such a conceit, any more than there is any historical foundation whatever for Carlyle's conceit that Fox lived in a hollow tree. The only known reference would be to a passage in Fox's writings, in which he comments that "I fasted much, walked abroad in solitary places many days; and often took my Bible, and sat in hollow trees and lonesome places till night came on," and this of course would be evidence merely for a practice of frequent retirement for private devotional meditation and prayer not at all uncommon in Fox's day and age, and as such entirely innocuous.

Also, it is merely conjectural, or imaginative, to suppose there to have been any connection between Fox's leather outfit and his earlier apprenticeship — we might as well suppose that when Fox stopped off at an inn in Nottingham for a steak and kidney pie, the steak and the kidney would perhaps have been contributed by a

descendant of a cow that the apprentice Fox had once herded!



THOMAS CARLYLE

Good morrow to thee,
You who live in a tree;
Dressed all in leather,
You teach decency.



As a type case of The-Toil-Worn-Craftsman-Hero, perhaps [Carlyle](#) offers us the Lord Protector [Oliver Cromwell](#), as type cases of The-Priestly-Great-Man, perhaps he offers us the Reverends Martin Luther and John Knox, and as a type case of The-Great-One-Who-Does-It-All, who combines the work of this material world with the work of the other immaterial one, perhaps he offers us (over and above [Jesus](#) the carpenter savior) his image of [George Fox](#) the worker in soles and souls. It is interesting that Carlyle supposes that he knows of no-one of this category in his own generation, when he is in contact with [Waldo Emerson](#) – and Emerson has been feeding him this and that piece of info about his Concord neighbor and confidant [Henry](#)



[Thoreau](#), who might have been eminently perceived as fitting into such shoes as these!

Two men I honour, and no third. First, the toil-worn Craftsman that with earth-made Implement laboriously conquers the Earth, and makes her man's. Venerable to me is the hard Hand; crooked, coarse; wherein notwithstanding lies a cunning virtue, indefeasibly royal, as of the Sceptre of this Planet. Venerable too is the rugged face, all weather-tanned, besoiled, with its rude intelligence; for it is the face of a Man living manlike. O, but the more venerable for thy rudeness, and even because we must pity as well as love thee! Hardly-entreated Brother! For us was thy back so bent, for us were thy straight limbs and fingers so deformed: thou were our Conscript, on whom the lot fell, and fighting our battles wert so marred. For in thee too lay a god-created Form, but it was not to be unfolded; encrusted must it stand with the thick adhesions and defacements of Labour: and thy body, like thy soul, was not to know freedom. Yet toil on, toil on: **thou** art in thy duty, be out of it who may; thou toilest for the altogether indispensable, for daily bread.

A second man I honour, and still more highly: Him who is seen toiling for the spiritually indispensable; not daily bread, but the bread of Life. Is not he too in his duty; endeavouring towards inward Harmony; revealing this, by act or by word, through all his outward endeavours, be they high or low? Highest of all, when his outward and his inward endeavour are one: when we can name him Artist; not earthly Craftsman only, but inspired Thinker, who with heaven-made Implement conquers Heaven for us! If the poor and humble toil that we have Food, must not the high and glorious toil for him in return, that he have Light, have Guidance, Freedom, Immortality? —These two, in all their degrees, I honour: all else is chaff and dust, which let the wind blow whither it listeth.

Unspeakably touching is it, however, when I find both dignities united; and he that must toil outwardly for the lowest of man's wants, is also toiling inwardly for the highest. Sublimier in this world know I nothing than a Peasant Saint, could such now anywhere be met with. Such a one will take thee back to Nazareth itself; thou wilt see the splendour of Heaven spring forth from the humblest depths of Earth, like a light shining in great darkness.





'PURE FOY, MA JOYE'⁴

'Outwardly there was little resemblance between George Fox and Francis of Assisi, between the young Leicestershire Shepherd of the XVIIth Century and the young Italian merchant of the XIIIth, but they both felt the power of GOD and yielded themselves wholly to it: both left father and mother and home: both defied the opinions of their time: both won their way through bitter opposition to solid success: both cast themselves "upon the infinite love of GOD": both were most truly surrendered souls; but Francis submitted himself to established authority, Fox only to the spirit of GOD speaking in the single soul.'

'In solitude and silence Fox found GOD and heard Him. He proclaimed that the Kingdom of GOD is the Kingdom of a living Spirit Who holds converse with His people.'—BISHOP WESTCOTT.

'Some place their religion in books, some in images, some in the pomp and splendour of external worship, but some with illuminated understandings hear what the Holy Spirit speaketh in their hearts'—THOMAS À KEMPIS.

'Lord, when I look upon mine own life it seems Thou hast led me so carefully, so tenderly, Thou canst have attended to none else; but when I see how wonderfully Thou hast led the world and art leading it, I am amazed that Thou hast had time to attend to such as I.'—AUGUSTINE.

4. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



'PURE FOY, MA JOYE'

'He is stiff as a tree and pure as a bell, and we could never bow him.' So spoke the rough soldiers of Scarborough Castle of their prisoner, George Fox, after he had been set at liberty. A splendid thing it was for soldiers to say of a prisoner whom they had held absolutely in their power. But a tree does not grow stiff all at once. It takes many years for a tiny seedling to grow into a sturdy oak. A bell has to undergo many processes before it gains its perfect form and pure ringing note. And a whole lifetime of joys and sorrows had been needed to develop the 'stiffness' (or steadfastness, as we should call it now) and purity of character that astonished the soldiers in their prisoner. There will not be much story in this history of George Fox's early days, but it is the foundation-stone on which most of the later stories will be built.

It was in July 1624, the last year in which James the First, King of England, ruled in his palace at Whitehall, that far away in a quiet Leicestershire village their first baby was born to a weaver and his wife. They lived in a small cottage with a thatched roof and wooden shutters, in a village then known as 'Drayton-in-the-Clay,' because of the desolate waters of the marshlands that lay in winter time close round the walls of the little hamlet. Even though the fens and marshes have now long ago been drained and turned into fertile country, the village is still called 'Fenny Drayton.' The weaver's name was Christopher Fox. His wife's maiden name had been Mary Lago; and the name they gave to their first little son was George.

Mary Lago came 'of the stock of the martyrs': that is to say, either her parents or her grand-parents had been put to death for their faith. They had been burnt at the stake, probably, in one of the persecutions in the reign of Queen Mary. From her 'martyr stock' Mary Lago must have learned, when she was quite a little girl, to worship God in purity of faith. Later on, after she had become the mother of little George, it was no wonder that her baby son sitting on her knee, looking up into her face, or listening to her stories, learned from the very beginning to try to be 'Pure as a Bell.'

Mary Lago's husband, Christopher Fox, did not come 'of the stock of the martyrs,' but evidently he had inherited from his ancestors plenty of tough courage and sturdy sense. Almost the only story remembered about him is that one day he stuck his cane into the ground after listening to a long dispute and exclaimed: 'Now I see that if a man will but stick to the truth it will bear him out.'

When little George grew old enough to scramble down from his mother's knee and to walk with unsteady steps across the stone-flagged floor of the cottage, there was his weaver father sitting at his loom, making a pleasant rhythmic sound that filled the small house with music. As the boy watched the skilful hands sending the flying shuttle in and out among the threads,

he learned from his father, not only the right way to weave good reliable stuff, but also how to weave the many coloured threads of everyday life into a strong character. The village people called his father 'Righteous Christer,' which shows that he too must have been 'stiff as a tree' in following what he knew to be right; for a name like that is not very easily earned where village eyes are sharp and village tongues are shrewd.



THE BOYHOOD OF GEORGE FOX

Less than a mile from the weaver's cottage stood the Church and the Manor House side by side. The churchyard had a wall of solid red bricks, overshadowed by a border of solemn old yew-trees. The Manor House was encircled by a moat on which graceful white swans swam to and fro. For centuries the Purefoy family had been Squires of Drayton village. They had inhabited the Manor House while they were alive, and had been buried in the churchyard close by after they were dead. The present Squire was a certain COLONEL GEORGE PUREFOY. It may have been after him that 'Righteous Christer' called his eldest son George, or it may



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have been after that other George, 'Saint George for Merrie England,' whose image killing the Dragon was to be seen engraved on each rare golden 'noble' that found its way to the weaver's home. Christopher and Mary Fox were both of them possessed of more education than was usual among country people at that time, when reading and writing were still rare accomplishments. 'Righteous Christer' was an important man in the small village. Besides being a weaver, he was also a churchwarden, and was able to sign his own name in bold characters, as may still be seen to-day in the parish registers, where his fellow-churchwarden, being unable to read or write, was only able to sign his name with a cross. Unfortunately this same register, which ought to record the exact day of July 1624 on which little George was baptized here in the old church, no longer mentions him, since, more than a hundred years after his time, the wife of the Sexton of Fenny Drayton, running short of paper to cover her jam-pots, must needs lay hands on the valuable Church records and tear out a few priceless pages just here. So, although several other brothers and sisters followed George and came to live in the weaver's cottage during the next few years, we know none of their ages or birthdays, until we come to the record of the baptism of the youngest sister Sarah. Happily her page came last of all, after the Sexton's jam was finished, and thus Sarah's name escaped being made into the lid of a jam-pot. But we will hope that the weaver and his wife remembered and kept all their children's birthdays on the right days, even though they are forgotten now. However that may have been, George's parents 'endeavoured to train him up, as they did their other children, in the common way of worship—his mother especially being eminent for piety: but even from a child he was seen to be of another frame of mind from his brethren, for he was more religious, retired, still and solid, and was also observing beyond his age. His mother, seeing this extraordinary temper and godliness, which so early did shine through him, so that he would not meddle with childish games, carried herself indulgent towards him.... Meanwhile he learned to read pretty well, and to write as much as would serve to signify his meaning to others.'

When he saw older people behaving in a rowdy, frivolous way, it distressed him, and the little boy used to say to himself: 'If ever I come to be a man, surely I will not be so wanton.'

'When I came to eleven years of age,' he says himself in his Journal, 'I knew pureness and righteousness; for while I was a child I was taught how to walk so as to be kept pure, and to be faithful in two ways, both inwardly to God, and outwardly to man, and to keep to Yea and Nay in all things.'

At that time there was a law obliging everybody to attend Church on Sundays, and as the services lasted for several hours at a time, the weaver's children doubtless had time to look about them, and learned to know the stones of the old church well. When the Squire and his family were at home they sat in the Purefoy Chapel in the North Aisle. From this Chapel a door in the wall opened on to a path that led straight over the drawbridge across the moat to the Manor House. It must have been



interesting for all the village children to watch for the opening and shutting of that door. But up in the chancel there was, and still is, something even more interesting: the big tomb that a certain Mistress Jocosa or Joyce Purefoy had put up to the memory of her husband, who had died in the days of good Queen Bess.

'PURE FOY, MA JOYE,' the black letters of the family motto, can still be read on a marble scroll. If George in his boyhood ever asked his mother what the French words meant, Mary Fox, who was, we are told, 'accomplished above her degree in the place where she lived,' may have been able to tell him that they mean, in English, 'Pure faith is my Joy'; or that, keeping the rhyme, they might be translated as follows:-

'MY FAITH PURE, MY JOY SURE.'

Then remembering what had happened in her own family, surely she would add, 'And I, who come of martyr stock, know that that is true. Even if you have to suffer for it, my son, even if you have to die for it, keep your Faith pure, and your Joy will be sure in the end.'

Then Righteous Christer would take the little lad up on his shoulder and show him the broken spear above the tomb, the crest of the Purefoys, and tell him its story. Hundreds of years before, one of the Squires of this family had defended his liege lord on the battle-field at the risk of his own life, and even after his weapon, a spear, had been broken in his hand. His lord, out of gratitude for this, had given his faithful follower, not only the right to wear the broken spear in token of his valour ever after as a crest, but also by his name and by his motto to proclaim to all men the PURE FAITH (PUREFOY) that had given him this sure and lasting joy. Ever since, for hundreds of years, the Purefoy family had handed down, by their name, by their motto, and by the broken spear on their crest, this noble tradition of loyalty and allegiance—enshrined like a shining jewel in the centre of the muddy village of Drayton-in-the-Clay. This was not the only battle story the boy must have known well. A few miles from Fenny Drayton is 'the rising ground of Market Bosworth,' better known as Bosworth Field. As he grew older George loved to wander over the fields that surrounded his birthplace. He 'must have often passed the site of Henry's camp, perhaps may have drunk sometimes at the well at which Richard is said to have quenched his thirst.' But although his home was near this old battlefield, the boy grew up in a peaceful England. Probably no one in Fenny Drayton imagined that in a very few years the smiling English meadows would once more be drenched in blood. George Fox in his country home was brought up to follow country pursuits, and was especially skilful in the management of sheep. He says in his Journal: 'As I grew up, my relations thought to have made me a priest, but others persuaded to the contrary. Whereupon I was put to a man who was a shoemaker by trade, and dealt in wool. He also used grazing and sold cattle; and a great deal went through my hands. While I was with him he was blest, but after I left him, he broke and came to nothing.



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I never wronged man or woman in all that time.... While I was in that service, I used in my dealings the word "Verily," and it was a common saying among those that knew me, "if George says Verily, there is no altering him." When boys and rude persons would laugh at me, I let them alone, but people generally had a love to me for my innocence and honesty.

'When I came towards 19 years of age, being upon business at a Fair, one of my cousins, whose name was Bradford, a professor, having another professor with him, asked me to drink part of a jug of beer with them. I, being thirsty, went with them, for I loved any that had a sense of good. When we had drunk a glass apiece, they began to drink healths and called for more drink, agreeing together that he that would not drink should pay for all. I was grieved that they should do so, and putting my hand into my pocket took out a groat and laid it on the table before them, saying, "If it be so, I will leave you." So I went away, and when I had done my business I returned home, but did not go to bed that night, nor could I sleep, but sometimes walked up and down and prayed and cried unto the Lord, who said to me: "Thou must forsake all, young and old, keep out of all and be a stranger to all."

'Then at the command of God, the 9th of the 7th month,⁵ 1643, I left my relations, and broke off all familiarity or fellowship with young or old.'

The old-fashioned English of the 'Journal' makes this story rather puzzling at the first reading, because several words have changed in meaning since it was written. The name 'professors,' did not then mean learned men who teach or lecture in a University, but any men who 'professed' to be particularly religious and good. These 'professionally religious people' are generally known as 'the Puritans,' and it was meeting with these bad specimens among them who 'professed' a religion they did not attempt to practise, that so dismayed George Fox. Here at any rate 'Pure Faith' was not being kept either to God or men. He must find a more solid foundation on which to rest his own soul's loyalty and allegiance. Over the porch of the Church at Fenny Drayton is painted now, not the Purefoy motto, but the words: 'I will go forth in the strength of the Lord God.' It was from this place that George Fox set forth on the long search for a 'Pure Faith' that, when he found it, was to bring both to him and to many thousands of his countrymen a 'Sure Joy.'

Why Righteous Christer and his wife did not help George more at this time remains a puzzle. They may have been afraid lest he was making a terrible mistake in leaving the worship they knew and followed, or they may have guessed that God was really calling him to do some work for Him bigger than they could understand, and may have felt that they could help their boy best by leaving him free to follow the Voice that spoke to him in the depths of his own heart, even if he had to fight his own battles unaided. Or possibly their thoughts were too full of all the actual battles that were filling the air just then to think any other troubles important. For our Quaker Saints are not

5. The 7th month would be September, because the years then began with March.



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legendary people; they are a real part of English History. All through the years of George's boyhood the struggle between King Charles the First and his Parliament had been getting more tense and embittered. The abolition of the Star Chamber (May 1640), the attempted arrest of the five Members (October 1642), the trial and death, first of Strafford (May 1641) and then of Laud (January 1645)—all these events had been convulsing the great heart of the English nation during the long years while young George had been quietly keeping his master's sheep and cattle in his secluded Leicestershire village.

A year before he left home the long-dreaded Civil War had at last broken out. But the Civil War that broke out in the soul of the young shepherd lad, the struggle between good and evil when he saw his Puritan cousin tempting other people to drink and carouse, was to him a more momentous event than all the outward battles that were raging. His Journal hardly mentions the rival armies of King and Parliament that were marching through the land. Yet in reading of his early struggles in his own spirit, we must always keep in the background of our minds the thought of the great national struggle that was raging at the same time. It was not in the orderly, peaceful, settled England of his earliest years that the boy grew to manhood, but in an England that was being torn asunder by the rival faiths and passions of her sons. Men's minds were filled with the perplexities of great national problems of Church and State, of tyranny and freedom. No wonder that at such a time everyone was too busy to spare much sympathy or many thoughts for the spiritual perplexities of one obscure country lad.

Right into the very middle, then, of this troubled, seething England, George Fox plunged when he left his home at Fenny Drayton. The battle of Marston Moor was fought the following year, July 1644, and Naseby the summer after that. But George was not heeding outward battles. Up and down the country he walked, seeking for help in his spiritual difficulties from all the different kinds of people he came across; and there were a great many different kinds. The England of that day was not only torn by Civil War, it was also split up into innumerable different sects, now that the attempt to force everyone to worship according to one prescribed fashion was at length being abandoned. In one small Yorkshire town it is recorded that there were no less than forty of these sects worshipping in different ways about this time, while new sects were continually arising. Perhaps it was a generous wish to give the professors another chance and not to judge the whole party from the bad specimens he had met, that made George go back to the Puritans for help. At first they made much of the young enquirer; but, alas! they all had the same defect as those he had met already. Their spoken profession sounded very fine, but they did not carry it out in their lives.

'They sought to be acquainted with me, but I was afraid of them, for I was sensible they did not possess what they professed.' In other words, their faith did not ring true. The professors were certainly not 'Pure as a Bell.'



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George Fox's test was always the same, both for his own religion and other people's: 'Is this faith real? Is it true? Can you actually live out what you profess to believe? And do you? Is your faith pure? Is your joy sure?'

Finding that, in the case of the professors, a sorrowful 'No' was the only answer that their lives gave to these questions, George says: 'A strong temptation to despair came over me. I then saw how Christ was tempted, and mighty troubles I was in. Sometimes I kept myself retired in my chamber, and often walked solitary in the Chace to wait upon the Lord.'

It must not be forgotten that part of the Puritan worship consisted in making enormously long prayers in spoken words, and preaching sermons that lasted several hours at a time. George Fox became more and more sure that this was not the worship God wanted from him, as he thought over these matters in solitude under the trees of Barnet Chace.

After a time he went back to his relations in Leicestershire. They saw the youth was unhappy, and very naturally thought it would be far better for him to settle down and have a happy home of his own than to go wandering about the country in distress about the state of his soul.

'Being returned into Leicestershire, my relations would have had me married; but I told them I was but a lad and must get wisdom.' Other people said: 'No, don't marry him yet. Put him into the auxiliary band among the soldiery. Once he gets fighting, that will soon knock the notions out of his head.'

Young George would not consent to this plan either. He had his own battle to fight, his own victory to win, unaided and alone. He did not yet know that it was useless for him to seek for outward help. Being still only a lad of nineteen he thought that surely there must be someone among his elders who could help him, if only he could find out the right person. Having failed with the professors, he determined next to consult the priests and see if they could advise him in his perplexities. 'Priests' is another word that has changed its meaning almost as much as 'professors' has done. By 'priests' George Fox does not mean Anglican or Roman Catholic clergy, but simply men of any denomination who were paid for preaching. At this particular time the English Rectories and Vicarages were mostly occupied by Presbyterians and Independents. It was they who preached and who were paid for preaching in the village churches, which is what he means by calling them 'priests' in his Journal.

In these stories there is no need to think of George Fox as arguing or fighting against real Christianity in any of the churches. He was fighting, rather, against sham religion, formality and hypocrisy wherever he found them. In that great fight all who truly love Truth and God are on the same side, even though they are called by different names. So remember that these old labels that he uses for his opponents have changed their meaning very considerably in the three hundred years that have passed since his birth. Remember too that the world had had at that time nearly three hundred years less in which to learn good manners than it has now. The manners and customs of the day



were much rougher than those of modern times. However much we may disagree with people, there is no need for us to tell them so in the same sort of harsh language that was too often used by George Fox and his contemporaries.

To these Presbyterian priests, therefore, George went next to ask for counsel and help. The first he tried was the Reverend Nathaniel Stephens, the priest of his own village of Fenny Drayton. At first Priest Stephens and young George seemed to get on very well together. Another priest was often with Stephens, and the two learned men would often talk and argue with the boy, and be astonished at the wise answers he gave. 'It is a very good, full answer,' Stephens once said to George, 'and such an one as I have not heard.' He applauded the boy and spoke highly of him, and even used the answers he gave in his own sermons on Sundays. This was a compliment, but it cost him George's friendship and respect, because he felt it was a deceitful practice. The Journal says: 'What I said in discourse to him on week-days, he would preach of on first days, which gave me a dislike to him. This priest afterwards became my great persecutor.'

Priest Stephens' wife was also very much opposed to Fox, and it is said that on one occasion she 'very unseemly plucked and haled him up and down, and scoffed and laughed.' Fox always felt that this priest and his wife were his bitter foes; but other people described Priest Stephens as 'a good scholar and a useful preacher, in his younger days a very hard student, in his old age pleasant and cheerful.' So, as generally happens, there may have been a friendly side to this couple for those who took them the right way.

After this, Fox continues, 'I went to another ancient priest at Mancetter in Warwickshire, and reasoned with him about the ground of despair and temptations; but he was ignorant of my condition; he bade me take tobacco and sing psalms. Tobacco was a thing I did not love, and psalms I was not in a state to sing; I could not sing. Then he bid me come again and he would tell me many things; but when I came he was angry and pettish; for my former words had displeased him. He told my troubles, sorrows and griefs to his servants so that it got among the milk-lasses. It grieved me that I should have opened my mind to such a one. I saw they were all miserable comforters, and this brought my troubles more upon me. Then I heard of a priest living about Tamworth, which was accounted an experienced man, and I went seven miles to him; but I found him like an empty hollow cask. I heard also of one called Dr. Craddock of Coventry, and went to him. I asked him the ground of temptations and despair, and how troubles came to be wrought in man? He asked me, "Who was Christ's Father and Mother?" I told him Mary was His Mother, and that He was supposed to be the son of Joseph, but He was the Son of God. Now, as we were walking together in his garden, the alley being narrow, I chanced, in turning, to set my foot on the side of a bed, at which the man was in a rage, as if his house had been on fire. Thus all our discourse was lost, and I went away in sorrow, worse than I was when I came. I thought them miserable



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comforters, and saw they were all as nothing to me; for they could not reach my condition. After this I went to another, one Macham, a priest in high account. He would needs give me some physic, and I was to have been let blood; but they could not get one drop of blood from me, either in arms or head (though they endeavoured to do so), my body being, as it were, dried up with sorrows, grief and troubles, which were so great upon me that I could have wished I had never been born, or that I had been born blind, that I might never have seen wickedness or vanity; and deaf, that I might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord's name blasphemed. When the time called [Christmas](#) came, while others were feasting and sporting themselves, I looked out poor widows from house to house, and gave them some money. When I was invited to marriages (as I sometimes was) I went to none at all, but the next day, or soon after, I would go to visit them; and if they were poor, I gave them some money; for I had wherewith both to keep myself from being chargeable to others, and to administer something to the necessities of those who were in need.'

Three years passed in this way, and then at last the first streaks of light began to dawn in the darkness. They came, not in any sudden or startling way, but little by little his soul was filled with the hope of dawn:

Silently as the morning
Comes on when night is done,
Or the crimson streak, on ocean's cheek,
Grows into the great sun.

He says, 'About the beginning of the year 1646, as I was going into Coventry, a consideration arose in me how it was said, "All Christians are believers, both Protestants and Papists," and the Lord opened to me, that if all were believers, then they were all born of God, and were passed from death unto life, and that none were true believers but such, and though others said they were believers, yet they were not.'

Possibly George Fox was looking up at the 'Three Tall Spires' of Coventry when this thought came to him, and remembering in how many different ways Christians had worshipped under their shadow: first the Latin Mass, then the order of Common Prayer, and now the Puritan service. 'At another time,' he says, 'as I was walking in a field on a first day morning, the Lord opened to me "That being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ:" and I wondered at it because it was the common belief of people. But I saw it clearly as the Lord had opened it to me, and was satisfied and admired the goodness of the Lord, who had opened the thing to me this morning.... So that which opened in me struck I saw at the priests' ministry. But my relations were much troubled that I would not go with them to hear the priest; for I would go into the orchard or the fields with my Bible by myself.... I saw that to be a true believer was another thing than they looked upon it to be ... so neither them nor any of the dissenting people could I join with.



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'At another time it was opened in me, "That God who made the world did not dwell in temples made with hands." This at the first seemed strange, because both priests and people used to call their temples or churches dreadful places, holy ground and the temples of God. But the Lord showed me clearly that He did not dwell in these temples which men had made, but in people's hearts.'

In this way George Fox had found out for himself three of the foundation truths of a pure faith:-

1st. That all Christians are believers, Protestants and Papists alike.

2nd. That Christ was come to teach His people Himself.

3rd. That the Temple in which God wishes to dwell is in the hearts of His children.

Now that George Fox was sure of these three things, it troubled him less if he was with people whose beliefs he could not share. The first set of people he came among believed that women had no souls, 'no more than a goose has a soul' added one of them in a light, jesting tone. George Fox reproved them and told them it was a wrong thing to say, and added that Mary in her song said, 'My soul doth magnify the Lord, My spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour,' so she must have had a soul. George by this time had learned to know his Bible so well in the long quiet hours out of doors, when it had been his only companion, that it was easy to him to find the exact quotation he wanted in an argument. It was said of him, later on, by wise and learned men, that if the Bible itself were ever to be lost it might almost be found again in the mouth of George Fox, so well did he know it.

The next set of people he came to were great dreamers. They guided their lives in the daytime according to the dreams they had happened to dream during the night. And I should think a fine mess they must have made of things! George helped these dreamers to know more of realities, till, later on, many of them came out of their dream-world and became Friends.

After this at last he came upon a set of people who really did seem to understand him and to care for the same things that he did. They were called 'Shattered Baptists,' because they had broken off from the other Baptists in the neighbourhood who 'did the Lord's work negligently' and did not act up to what they professed. This was the very same fault that had driven George forth from among the professors at the beginning of his long quest. It is easy to imagine that he and these people were happy together. 'With these,' he says, 'I had some meetings and discourses, but my troubles continued and I was often under great temptations. I fasted much, walked abroad in solitary places many days, and often took my Bible and sat in hollow trees and lonesome places till night came on, and frequently in the night walked about by myself.... O the everlasting love of God to my soul, when I was in great distress! when my troubles and torments were great, then was His love exceeding great.... When



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all my hopes in all men were gone so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could I tell what to do, then, O then, I heard a Voice which said, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition." When I heard it, my heart did leap for joy.'

This message was like the rising of the sun to George Fox. The long night of darkness was over now, the sun had risen, and though there might be clouds and storms ahead of him still he had come out into the full clear light of day.

'My desires after the Lord grew stronger,' he writes, 'and zeal in the pure knowledge of God and of Christ alone, without the help of any man, book, or writing.... Then the Lord gently led me along and let me see His love which was endless and eternal, surpassing all the knowledge that men have in the natural state or can get by history and books. That love let me see myself as I was without him.... At another time I saw the great love of God, and was filled with admiration at the infiniteness of it.' The truths that George Fox is trying to express are difficult to put into words. It is the more difficult for us to understand what he means because his language is not quite the same as ours. Other words besides 'priest' and 'professor' have altered their meanings. When he speaks of having had things 'opened' to him, we should be more likely to say he had had them revealed to him, or had had a revelation. Perhaps these 'openings' and 'seeings' that he describes, though they meant much to him, do not sound to us now like very great discoveries. They are only what we have been accustomed to hear all our lives. But then, whom have we to thank for that? In large measure George Fox himself.

In the immense bush forests that cover an unexplored country or continent the first man who attempts to make a track through them has the hardest task. He has to guess the right direction, to cut down the first trees, to 'blaze a trail,' to help every one who follows him to find the way a little more easily. That man is called a Pioneer. George Fox was a pioneer in the spiritual world. He discovered a true path for himself, a path leading right through the thick forest of human selfishness and sin and out into the bright sunshine beyond. In his lonely Quest through those years of struggle he was indeed 'blazing a trail' for us. If the track we tread nowadays is smooth and easy to tread, that is because of the pioneers who have gone before us. Our ease has been gained through their labours and sufferings and steadfastness.

The track was not fully clear even yet to George Fox. He had more to learn before he could make the right path plain to others; more to learn, but chiefly more to suffer. To strengthen him beforehand for those sufferings, he was given an assurance that never afterwards entirely left him. 'I saw the Infinite Love of God. I saw also that there was an ocean of darkness and death; but an infinite ocean of light and love which flowed over the ocean of darkness. In that also I saw the infinite love of God, and I had great openings.' The Quest was ended. Faith was pure, and Joy was sure at last.

'Now was I come up in spirit, through the flaming sword, into



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the Paradise of God. All things were made new, and all the creation gave another smell to me beyond what words can utter. I knew nothing but pureness, innocency, and righteousness, being renewed up to the image of God by Christ Jesus.... Great things did the Lord lead me into, and wonderful depths were opened to me, beyond what can by words be declared; but as people come into subjection by the Spirit of God, and grow up in the Image and Power of the Almighty they may receive the word of wisdom that opens all things, and come to know the hidden unity in the Eternal Being.'

'Thus travelled I in the Lord's service, as He led me.'



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HISTORICAL NOTES

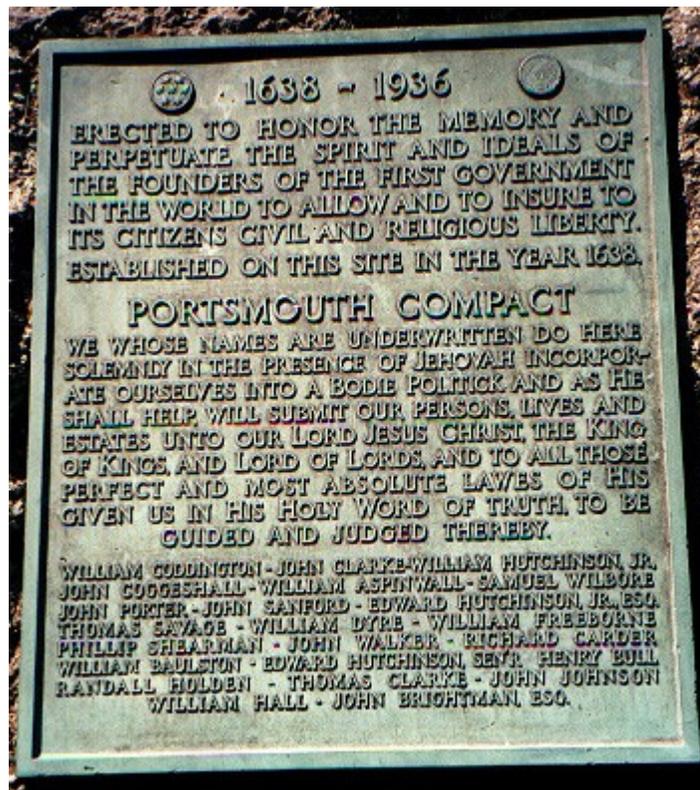
Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

'PURE FOY, MA JOYE.'

Historical. See George Fox's JOURNAL (Ellwood Edition), pp. 1-17. See also Sewel's 'HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS,' and 'BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM,' by W.C. Braithwaite. See 'GEORGE FOX,' by Thomas Hodgkin (Leaders of Religion Series), for description of Fenny Drayton village, manor house, church, and neighbourhood. See also W. Penn's PREFACE TO GEORGE FOX'S JOURNAL (Ellwood Edition), pp. xxiv and xxv, for details of parentage, childhood, and youth.

1638

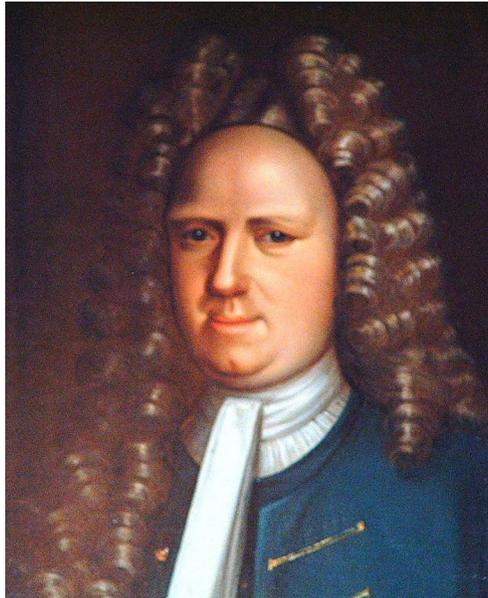
An outpost was established at [Pawtuxet](#) in what would become [Rhode Island](#), by William Harris and the Arnold family. Other nonconformists coming down into the bay region, such as William Hutchinson and [Anne Hutchinson](#) and [William Coddington](#), were founding Pocasset (now [Portsmouth](#)) and signing the “Portsmouth Compact.”



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

[William Coddington](#) was chosen as governor.



According to John Farmer, the 1st (white) settlers of [Rhode Island](#) were:

- [Roger Williams](#)
- William Aspinwall
- Arther Fenner
- John Thockmorton
- Samuel Wildbore
- Henry Reddock
- William Arnold
- John Porter
- Thomas Sucklin
- William Harris
- John Sandford
- Christopher Smith
- Stuckey Westcot
- Edward Hutchinson
- Richard Pray
- Thomas Olney, Senior
- Thomas Savage
- Nicholas Power
- Thomas Olney, Junior
- William Dyre
- Stephen Northrup
- John Greene
- William Freeborn
- Edward Hart
- Richard Waterman
- Philip Sherman
- Benjamin Herendon



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

- Thomas James
- John Walker
- Edward Inman
- Robert Cole
- Richard Carder
- John Jones
- William Carpenter
- William Baulston
- James Matthewson
- Francis Weston
- Henry Bull
- Henry Neale
- Ezekiel Holleman
- William Coddington
- William Man
- Robert Williams
- John Clark
- _____ Jinckes
- John Smith
- Edward Cope
- Roger Mawry
- Hugh Bewitt
- [Chad Brown](#)
- Edward Manten
- William Wickenden
- Daniel Brown
- Shadrach Manton
- John Field
- Henry Brown
- George Shepherd
- [Thomas Hopkins](#)
- [John Brown](#)
- Edward Smith
- William Hawkins
- Samuel Bennett
- Benjamin Smith
- William Hutchinson
- Hugh Bewett (the mason)
- John Smith
- Edward Hutchinson, Jun
- Adam Goodwin
- John Smith, Sr.
- John Coggeshall
- Henry Fowler
- John Smith, Jr.
- John Smith (Jamaica)
- Epenetus Olney
- Lawrence Wilkinson
- Daniel Williams



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

- Christopher Onthawk
- Joshua Verin
- John Sayles
- Richard Scott (this [Baptist](#) would become a [Friend](#), very likely the 1st in [Rhode Island](#))
- Joan Tyler
- Joshua Winsor
- Valentine Whitman
- George Way
- William White
- Thomas Walling
- John Warren
- John Whipple
- Matthew Waller
- Robert Williams
- Joseph Williams
- William Wickenden
- Robert R. West
- Pardon Tillighast

HDT

WHAT?

INDEX

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM



March 22: Part of the problem was that [Mary Dyer](#), a woman associated with Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#), had given birth to a child, stillborn, characterized by Governor John Winthrop as a “monster.” The Reverend John Cotton, repentant, confided to the court his role in the secret burial. When exhumed, the body had seemed to lack a skull. Goody Hawkins, who assisted at the birth, was summoned to provide a description of the child as born. The baby’s “thornback” birth defect was being ascribed by the Puritans to the influence of antinomianism.

The group led by Mistress Hutchinson was expelled by an ecclesiastical court upon a charge of “traducing the ministers,” and she herself was excommunicated and ordered “as a Leper to withdraw yorselwe owt of the Congregation.”



Forasmuch as yow, Mrs. Huchinson, have highly transgressed & offended, & forasmuch as yow have soe many ways troubled the Church wth yor Erors & have drawen away many a poor soule, & have upheld yor Revelations: & forasmuch as yow have made a Lye, &c. Therfor in the name of our Lord Je: Ch: & in the name of the Church I doe not only pronownce yow worthy to be cast owt, but I doe cast yow out & in the name of Ch. I dow deliver you up to Sathan, that yow may learne no more to blaspheme, to seduce & to lye, & I dow account yow from this time forth to be a Hethen & a Publican & soe to be held of all the Bretheren & Sisters, of this Congregation, & of others: thefor I command yow in the name of Ch: Je: & of this Church as a Leper to wthdraw yorselwe owt of the Congregation; that as formerly yow have dispised & contemned the Holy Ordinances of God, & turned yor Backe one them, soe yow may now have no part in them nor benefit by them.

She would take refuge by abandoning Boston for Paumanok Long Island in New York, and a number of people influenced by her heresy would take refuge, initially with the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) at [Providence](#) Plantations and then at [Portsmouth](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#), an island also known as Rhodes Island.⁶



RHODE ISLAND RELIGION



A

Chronological TABLE

*Of the most remarkable passages in that part of
America, known to us by the name of NEW-
ENGLAND.*

Anno Dom.

1638. *New-Haven* Colony began.

Mrs. *Hutchinson* and her erroneous companions banished
the *Massachusetts* Colony.

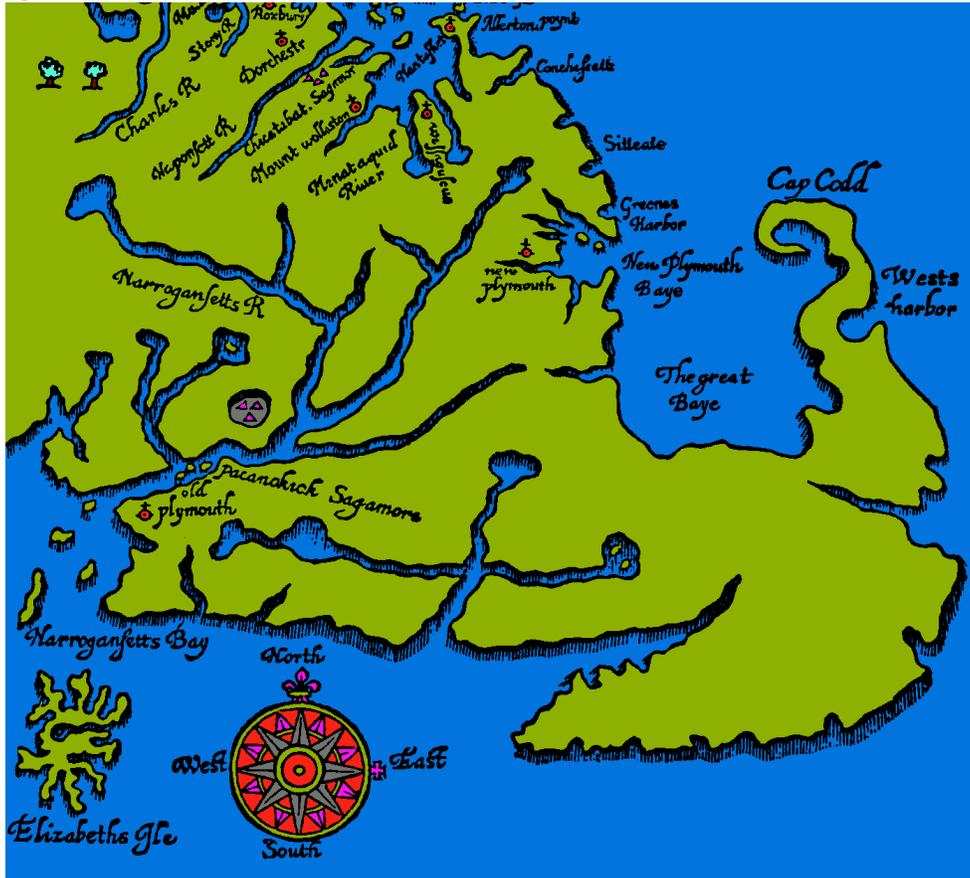
A terrible Earth quake throughout the Country.¹

Mr. *John Harvard*, the Founder of *Harvard* College
(at *Cambridge* in *New-England*) Deceased, gave 700 *l.* to
the erecting of it.

¹ Compare Winthrop, N.E., vol. i. p. 265; Johnson's Wonder-working Prov. lib. ii. c. 12, *cit.* Savage; and Morton's Memorial, by Davis, p. 209, and note, p. 289.

6. So named because mistaken with [Block Island](#), which had originally been compared as similar in coastal outline on the map, or in appearance from the sea, or in some respect or other, to the much larger island of Rhodes, of the Eastern Mediterranean.

[William Dyer](#) and [Mary Dyer](#) were of course among those who sought refuge in [Rhode Island](#) on this [Narragansett](#) turf.



Note that at this point the Dyer family had not yet been tainted by [Quakerism](#) — the Reverend [Williams](#), in tolerating them at this point, was not by that fact tolerating Quakers.⁷ It may be that the Reverend’s track record was good, overall, at least for that era, but in fact he didn’t like Quakers in the same way he didn’t like Papists, which in our own day and age would be taken as a sign of religious intolerance rather than as a sign of religious tolerance:

They admit no interpreter but themselves, for the spirit within, they say, gave forth the Scripture, and is above the Scripture, ... and that all they do and say is scripture — Papists and Quakers most horribly and hypocritically trample it under their proud feet.

7. In addition, this is often overlooked but in fact in the Dyer family, only [Mary Dyer](#) and her son Will ever became [Quakers](#).



1639

[William Hall](#), an inhabitant of [Newport, Rhode Island](#), joined with several others to found the town of [Portsmouth](#). William was spelling his name Haule.

A house was constructed for Friend Nicholas Easton, eventually facing Farewell Street, the first dwelling constructed in [Newport, Rhode Island](#). This dwelling would burn in 1641 and be replaced, and upon the death of Nicholas Easton in 1676, it and the property on which it stood would be bequeathed to the Newport [Friends](#). This piece of land eventually would be used in 1699 for the [Great Meetinghouse](#) of the Friends.

At [Portsmouth](#), [Samuell Gorton](#) joined Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#) in ousting [William Coddington](#). Upon Coddington's return to power Gorton would himself get turned out.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

In this year the Gortons had their daughter whom they named Mahershalalhashbaz.⁸

The most wonderful name and one which was the least likely to have been selected from all the names appearing in the Bible was that of Mahershalalhashbaz, and there were, previous to 1680, two persons in the Colony bearing this name, one a daughter of Samuel Gorton of Warwick, whose peculiarities brought on him no end of troubles, while the other was a son of Mary Dyer, she who was hung for the crime of being a Quaker, on the grounds now comprising the beautiful Public Garden and Common in Boston.

8. Cf. ISAIAH 8:1-3, where the longest name in the BIBLE usually appears as "*Maher-shalal-hash-baz*." In Hebrew this meant "To speed to the spoil, he hasteneth the prey."

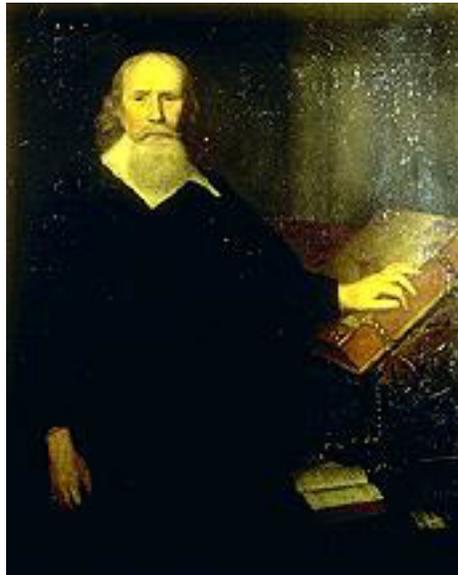
1640

Walter Clarke was born, son of Friend Jeremiah (Jeremy) Clarke and Friend Frances Latham Clarke.

After touring New England, including Rhode Island, a Mr. Lechford reported for the benefit of the stay-at-home English that “at the island ... there is a church where one Master Clarke is pastor.” (He would add, while back in England revising his manuscript for the press, that he had since heard that this church was no more — there had arisen a controversy respecting BIBLE authority and the existence upon earth of a visible church, which had caused some members of the congregation to become first Seekers and then Quakers.)

BAPTISTS

AQUIDNECK ISLAND



JOHN CLARKE

a group of Massachusetts dissenters, who eventually would become Quakers, resettled themselves at Gravesend, Brooklyn, Paumanacke (Paumanok Long Island) in order to live under the protection of the Dutch government.

David Pietersz De Vries leased out Staten Island for use as a pig farm because his plantation there had failed

to attract settlers. When a few of the pigs were mysteriously unlocatable, Governor Willem Kieft sent 100 armed men to the island, who killed several Raritan tribespeople, including a sachem. In retaliation the Raritan burned a farm and killed four Dutch workmen. When a Dutch immigrant ship was wrecked on Sandy Hook, New Jersey, its crew and passengers managed to get ashore and set out for Manhattan Island. Penelope van Princis Kent (1622-1732) of Amsterdam, however, needed to remain behind with her seriously ill husband John Kent. A party of Raritan found them on the beach and killed the husband. They stripped and wounded Penelope and left her for dead. This would come to be known as the "Pig War."

Penelope would be carried by Lenni Lenape natives to New Amsterdam, where she would remarry, with Richard Stout, return to New Jersey, bear ten children, and survive to the age of 110.



The story goes on to relate that all the shipwrecked people were safely landed from the stranded ship. But Penelope's husband who had been sick for most of the voyage was taken so ill after getting on shore that he could not travel with the rest and for that reason could not march. The others were so afraid of the Indians that they would not remain until he recovered but hastened away to New Amsterdam promising to send relief as soon as they arrived. The wife alone remained behind with her husband. They were left on the beach and the others had not been long gone before a company of Indians coming down to the water



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

side discovered them and hastening to the spot soon killed the man and cut and mangled the woman in such a manner that they left her for dead. They departed after having stripped them of all their clothing. The wife's skull was fractured and her left shoulder so hacked that she could never use that arm like the other she was also cut across the abdomen so that the bowels protruded these she kept in with her hands. After the Indians were gone the wife revived and crawled to a hollow tree or log where she remained for shelter several days one account says seven subsisting on what she could find to eat. The Indians had left some fire on the beach and this she kept burning for warmth. At length two Indians an old man and a young one coming to the shore saw her. The Indians as she afterward learned disputed what should be done with her the elderly man was for keeping her alive while the younger was for killing her. The former had his way and taking her on his shoulders carried her to a place near where Middletown now stands and dressed her wounds and soon healed them. After this Benedict says he carried her to New Amsterdam and made a present of her to her countrymen.

1640 Events of the English Civil War:

- **16th March:** Meeting of the Dublin parliament.
- **13th April:** Meeting of the Short Parliament.
- **15th May:** Parliament was dissolved.
- **20th August:** The 2nd bishops war.
- **28th August:** The King's army was defeated at Newburn, and peers petitioned the King for a new Westminster Parliament.
- **26th October:** The treaty of Ripon with the Scots.
- **3rd November:** Meeting of the Long Parliament.
- **11th November:** The Earl of Strafford was arrested.

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

- 21st November: The Archbishop of Canterbury was arrested.



ROUNDHEADS



CAVALIERS

1641

1641 Events of the English Civil War:

- 16th February: The Triennial Act.
- 3rd May: The 1st Army Plot was revealed.
- 10th May: The Act of Attainder against Strafford.
- 12th May: Strafford was executed.
- 24th June: The Ten Propositions.
- 14th August: King Charles I went to Edinburgh to ratify the treaty of London.
- 23rd October: An Irish rebellion broke out.
- 30th October: The 2nd Army Plot was revealed.

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

- 1st December: The Grand Remonstrance was presented to King Charles I.



In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), the dwelling of Friend Nicholas Easton burned. This house would be replaced, and upon the death of Nicholas Easton in 1676, it and the property on which it stood would be bequeathed to the Newport [Friends](#). This piece of land eventually would be used in 1699 for the [Great Meetinghouse](#) of the Friends.

June 2: William Hunt, an English settler, became a freeman of Concord. His wife's name was Elizabeth, and they had or would have four sons, Samuel Hunt, Nehemiah Hunt, Isaac Hunt, and William Hunt, and several daughters, of whom perhaps the youngest was Hannah Hunt. This family had evidently been preceded in Concord by William Hunt, Junior, who was already a freeman before his father (he also would die before his father). They purchased their land from the Reverend Peter Bulkeley, on and around Punkatasset Hill. Their homes would stand on what is now Monument Street, between the house that is now numbered #709 and the barn complex that now stands at #775.



In Concord, Thomas Flint and Simon Willard were again deputies and representatives to the General Court.

[Friend John Ellis, Sr.](#) became a freeman of Dedham MA.

November 10: In Dedham MA, [Friend John Ellis, Sr.](#) got married with [Susan Lumber.](#)

1642

1642 Events of the English Civil War:

- 5th January: King Charles I failed to arrest 6 of his leading opponents.
- 5th March: The Militia Ordinance.
- 23rd April: Hotham barred Hull to the king.
- 1st June: The Nineteen Propositions.
- 11th June: The Commissions of Array.
- 15th July: There was fighting in Manchester.
- 4th August: The Battle of Marshall's Elm.
- 22nd August: The royal standard was raised at Nottingham.
- 22d September: The Episcopacy was suspended.
The Royalists won the Battle of Powick Bridge.
- 23rd October: The initial battle of Edgehill.
- 12th November: The Storm of Brentford.

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

- 13th November: The Royalists turned back at Turnham Green.



1643

1643 Events of the English Civil War:

- 1st February: Negotiations opened at Oxford.
- 23rd February: Queen Henrietta returned from Europe with arms and ammunition.
- 27th March: The 1st Ordinance for Sequestration.
- 14th April: The Oxford talks broke down.
- 24th May: The Treatise of Monarchy was published.
- 24th June: The Battle of Chalgrove Field.
- 30th June: The Battle of Adwalton Moor.
- 1st July: The Westminster Assembly of Divines met.
- 5th July: The Battle of Lansdown.
- 13th July: The Battle of Roundway Down.
- 27th July: The army of Oliver Cromwell won at Gainsborough.
- 6th September: The Earl of Essex relieved Gloucester.
- 20th September: The Parliamentarians won the 1st battle at Newbury.
- 25th September: The Solemn League and Covenant.
- 11th October: The Battle of Winceby.

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

- 8th December: John Pym died.



ROUNDHEADS



CAVALIERS

March: In [Rhode Island](#), [John Hicks](#) was brought into court and bound for £10. “to keep the peace for beating his wife, Harwood [*sic*] Hicks...” [Horod](#) would declare to the court that “there happened a difference between ... John Hickes & myself, & he went away to the Dutch [in Flushing on Paumanok Long Island], carrying with him most of my estate, which had been sent to me by my mother...” He took their children, Hannah Hicks and Thomas Hicks, and possibly a 3d child, with him (this was a father’s unchallengeable and unquestionable right under existing law). Although the court ordered that his estranged wife should have the considerable property given her by her mother, the husband would never return it:

[T]hat he was a man of mean mind & disposition is evident, not only for the treatment of [Horod] in Rhode Island, but his slanderous letter ... after he ran away.... In the matter of property it is of record that he attempted to appropriate to his own use the estate of his third wife, much as he did Horod’s, but was thwarted by the quick action of her children by a former marriage....

Horod would become a [Quaker](#). Destitute, she would turn to [George Gardiner](#), who had been Constable in [Newport](#) for 1638-1642, was Ensign in 1644, and would be Commissioner in 1662, “for my maintenance.” Horod would share a bed with George for 18 to 20 years and the couple would produce a number of children, Benoni, Henry, George, William, Nicholas, Dorcas, Rebecca, Samuel, and Joseph (at that time in that place, common law marriage was neither illegal nor unusual).

Before June 1: In Flushing on *Paumanok* Long Island, [John Hicks](#) petitioned for divorce from his estranged wife [Horod](#) Long Hicks on grounds of a lack of marital faithfulness: “.....but if there be any way to bee used to untie the Knott, which was at first by man tyed, that so the World may be satisfied, I am willing thereunto, for the Knott of affection on her part have been untied long since, & her whoredome have freed my conscience....”



June 1: In Flushing on *Paumanok* Long Island, Governor Peter Stuyvesant for the court of New Amsterdam granted to [John Hicks](#) a divorce from his estranged wife [Horod](#) Long Hicks on the basis of false testimony (his vast exaggeration of the length of time since separation):

“...We the councillors of New Netherland having seen & read the request of John Hicks, sheriff on Long Island, in which he remonstrates & presents that his wife Hardwood Longh [*sic*] has ran away from him about 9 years ago with someone else with whom

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

she has been married & by him 5 or 6 children...."





1644

[George Fox](#) was at this point experiencing spiritual difficulties.⁹

During the time I was at Barnet a strong temptation to despair came upon me. I then saw how Christ was tempted, and mighty troubles I was in. Sometimes I kept myself retired to my chamber, and often walked solitary in the Chase to wait upon the fjord. I wondered why these things should come to me. I looked upon myself, and said, "Was I ever so before?" Then I thought, because I had forsaken my relations I had done amiss against them.

So I was brought to call to mind all my time that I had spent, and to consider whether I had wronged any; but temptations grew more and more, and I was tempted almost to despair; and when Satan could not effect his design upon me that way, he laid snares and baits to draw me to commit some sin, whereof he might take advantage to bring me to despair.

I was about twenty years of age when these exercises came upon me; and some years I continued in that condition, in great trouble; and fain I would have put it from me. I went to many a priest to look for comfort, but found no comfort from them.

From Barnet I went to London, where I took a lodging, and was under great misery and trouble there; for I looked upon the great professors of the city of London, and saw all was dark and under the chain of darkness. I had an uncle there, one Pickering, a Baptist; the Baptists were tender [the persons to whom Fox applies this word are religiously inclined, serious, and earnest in their search for spiritual realities] then; yet I could not impart my mind to him, nor join with them; for I saw all, young and old, where they were. Some tender people would have had me stay, but I was fearful, and returned homeward into Leicestershire, having a regard upon my mind to my parents and relations, lest I should grieve them, for I understood they were troubled at my absence.

27th Day, 5th Month: A parcel of land in [Portsmouth](#), [Rhode Island](#) was granted by the town to [William Hall](#).

9. From his return home in this year [George Fox](#) would later date the beginning of his religious society (see the 1831 Philadelphia edition of his EPISTLES, Volume I, page 10).

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

1645

1645 Events of the English Civil War:

- 4th January: Ordinance for Directory of Worship.
- 10th January: Archbishop William Laud was executed.
- 29th January: Uxbridge negotiations opened.
- 2nd February: The Royalists won the Battle of Inverlochy.
- 17th February: The New Model Army Ordinance.
- 3rd April: The Self Denying Ordinance.
- 9th May: The Royalists won the Battle of Auldearn.
- 30th May: The Storm of Leicester.
- 14th June: The Parliamentarians won the Battle of Naseby.
- 10th July: The Parliamentarians won the Battle of Langport.
- 1st August: The Parliamentarians won the Battle of Colby Moor.
- 15th August: The Royalists won the Battle of Kilsyth.
- 25th August: Glamorgan's Treaty with the Irish.
- 10th September: The Fall of Bristol.
- 13th September: The Battle of Philiphaugh.
- 20th September: Glamorgan's second Treaty.
- 24th September: The Parliamentarians won the Battle of Rowton Heath.
- 1st November: The Parliamentarians won the Battle of Mold.



ROUNDHEADS



CAVALIERS



[George Fox](#) was continuing to experience great spiritual difficulties, and at this point first ran across the Richard Abell who later would become his “great persecutor”.¹⁰

Being returned into Leicestershire, my relations would have had me married; but I told them I was but a lad, and must get wisdom. Others would have had me join the auxiliary band among the soldiery, but I refused, and was grieved that they offered such things to me, being a tender youth. Then I went to Coventry, where I took a chamber for awhile at a professor's house, till people began to be acquainted with me, for there were many tender people in that town. After some time I went into my own country again, and continued about a year, in great sorrow and trouble, and walked many nights by myself.

Then the priest of Drayton, the town of my birth, whose name was Nathaniel Stephens, came often to me, and I went often to him; and another priest sometimes came with him; and they would give place to me, to hear me; and I would ask them questions, and reason with them. This priest, Stephens, asked me why Christ cried out upon the cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" and why He said, "If it be possible, let this cup pass from me; yet not my will, but thine, be done"? I told him that at that time the sins of all mankind were upon Him, and their iniquities and transgressions, with which He was wounded; which He was to bear, and to be an offering for, as He was man; but died not, as He was God; so, in that He died for all men, tasting death for every man, He was an offering for the sins of the whole world.

This I spoke, being at that time in a measure sensible of Christ's sufferings. The priest said it was a very good, full answer, and such a one as he had not heard. At that time he would applaud and speak highly of me to others; and what I said in discourse to him on week-days, he would preach of on First days, which gave me a dislike to him. This priest afterwards became my great persecutor.

After this I went to another ancient priest at Mancetter, in Warwickshire, and reasoned with him about the ground of despair and temptations. But he was ignorant of my condition; he bade me take tobacco and sing psalms. Tobacco was a thing I did not love, and psalms I was not in a state to sing; I could not sing. He bade me come again, and he would tell me many things; but when I came he was angry and pettish, for my former words had displeased him. He told my troubles, sorrows, and griefs to his servants, so that it got out among the milk-lasses. It grieved me that I should have opened my mind to such a one. I saw they were all miserable comforters, and this increased my troubles upon me. I heard of a priest living about Tamworth, who was accounted an experienced man. I went seven miles to him, but found him like an empty, hollow cask.

10. Rufus Jones comments that it is difficult to find out where [George Fox](#)'s ample funds were coming from. He reports in the original MS of the JOURNAL, page 17, a remark his relatives made about him when he left home: "When hee went from us hee had a greate deale of Gould and sillver about him." He is always well supplied. He goes to inns, always has a good horse, wears clean linen and frequently gives to charity. In signed papers in the Spence collection he gives orders for the disposal of money invested "in ships and trade," as well as of a thousand acres of land in Pennsylvania which [William Penn](#) had assigned to him!



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

I heard also of one called Dr. Cradock, of Coventry, and went to him. I asked him the ground of temptations and despair, and how troubles came to be wrought in man? He asked me, "Who were Christ's father and mother?" I told him, Mary was His mother, and that He was supposed to be the Son of Joseph, but He was the Son of God.

Now, as we were walking together in his garden, the alley being narrow, I chanced, in turning, to set my foot on the side of a bed, at which the man was in a rage, as if his house had been on fire. Thus all our discourse was lost, and I went away in sorrow, worse than I was when I came. I thought them miserable comforters, and saw they were all as nothing to me, for they could not reach my condition.

After this I went to another, one Macham, a priest in high account. He would needs give me some physic, and I was to have been let blood; but they could not get one drop of blood from me, either in arms or head (though they endeavoured to do so), my body being, as it were, dried up with sorrows, grief and troubles, which were so great upon me that I could have wished I had never been born, or that I had been born blind, that I might never have seen wickedness or vanity; and deaf, that I might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord's name blasphemed. When the time called Christmas came, while others were feasting and sporting themselves I looked out poor widows from house to house, and gave them some money. When I was invited to marriages (as I sometimes was), I went to none at all; but the next day, or soon after, I would go and visit them, and if they were poor I gave them some money; for I had wherewith both to keep myself from being chargeable to others and to administer something to the necessities of those who were in need.

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

1646

1646 Events of the English Civil War:

- January: The exposure of King Charles I's secret treaty with the Kilkenny government.
- 3rd February: Chester surrendered to the Parliamentarians.
- 21st March: The Parliamentarians won the Battle of Stow-on-the-Wold.
- 5th May: King Charles I surrendered to the Scots besieging Newark.
- 5th June: Confederation forces won the Battle of Benburb.
- July: Parliament presented King Charles I with the Newcastle propositions.
- 4th August: The treaty between Kilkenny and Ormund.



ROUNDHEADS



CAVALIERS



[George Fox](#) continued his spiritual peregrinations:¹¹

About the beginning of the year 1646, as I was going to Coventry, and approaching towards the gate, a consideration arose in me, how it was said that "All Christians are believers, both Protestants and Papists"; and the Lord opened to me that if all were believers, then they were all born of God, and passed from death to life; and that none were true believers but such; and, though others said they were believers, yet they were not. At another time, as I was walking in a field on a First-day morning, the Lord opened unto me that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ; and I wondered at it, because it was the common belief of people. But I saw it clearly as the Lord opened it unto me, and was satisfied, and admired the goodness of the Lord, who had opened this thing unto me that morning. This struck at priest Stephens's ministry, namely, that "to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to make a man fit to be a minister of Christ." So that which opened in me I saw struck at the priest's ministry.

But my relations were much troubled that I would not go with them to hear the priest; for I would go into the orchard or the fields, with my Bible, by myself. I asked them, "Did not the Apostle say to believers that they needed no man to teach them, but as the anointing teacheth them?" Though they knew this was Scripture, and that it was true, yet they were grieved because I could not be subject in this matter, to go to hear the priest with them. I saw that to be a true believer was another thing than they looked upon it to be; and I saw that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge did not qualify or fit a man to be a minister of Christ; what then should I follow such for? So neither them, nor any of the dissenting people, could I join with; but was as a stranger to all, relying wholly upon the Lord Jesus Christ.

At another time it was opened in me that God, who made the world, did not dwell in temples made with hands. This at first seemed a strange word, because both priests and people used to call their temples, or churches, dreadful places, holy ground, and the temples of God. But the Lord showed me clearly that He did not dwell in these temples which men had commanded and set up, but in people's hearts; for both Stephen and the apostle Paul bore testimony that He did not dwell in temples made with hands, not even in that which He had once commanded to be built, since He put an end to it; but that His people were His temple, and He dwelt in them.

This opened in me as I walked in the fields to my relations' house. When I came there they told me that Nathaniel Stephens, the priest, had been there, and told them he was afraid of me, for going after new lights. I smiled in myself, knowing what the Lord had opened in me concerning him and his brethren; but I told not my relations, who, though they saw beyond the priests, yet went to hear them, and were grieved because I would not go also. But I brought them Scriptures, and told them there was an anointing within man to teach him, and that the Lord would teach His people Himself.



I had also great openings concerning the things written in the Revelations; and when I spoke of them the priests and professors would say that was a sealed book, and would have kept me out of it. But I told them Christ could open the seals, and that they were the nearest things to us; for the epistles were written to the saints that lived in former ages, but the Revelations were written of things to come.

After this I met with a sort of people that held women have no souls, (adding in a light manner), No more than a goose. But I reprov'd them, and told them, that was not right; for Mary said, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour."

Removing to another place, I came among a people that relied much on dreams. I told them, except they could distinguish between dream and dream, they would confound all together; for there were three sorts of dreams; multitude of business sometimes caused dreams, and there were whisperings of Satan in man in the night season; and there were speakings of God to man in dreams. But these people came out of these things, and at last became Friends.

Now, though I had great openings, yet great trouble and temptation came many times upon me; so that when it was day I wished for night, and when it was night I wished for day; and by reason of the openings I had in my troubles, I could say as David said, "Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge." When I had openings they answered one another and answered the Scriptures; for I had great openings of the Scriptures: and when I was in troubles, one trouble also answered to another.

11. Rufus Jones points out that "Friends" is here used for the first time in the JOURNAL as the name of the new denomination. It is not possible to determine when the name was adopted or why it was chosen. When the JOURNAL was written the term had already become fixed and [George Fox](#) uses it without comment or explanation, referring it back to a period before it came into use as the name of the Society. At first the word "friends" was probably used in an untechnical sense for those who were **friendly**, and little by little it hardened into a name. At the very beginning, Jones points out, they were calling themselves "Children of the Light."



April 26: In Dedham MA, [Friend John Ellis, Sr.](#) and [Susan Lumber Ellis](#) had [John Ellis, Jr.](#)

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

1647

1647 Events of the English Civil War:

- 30th January: The Scots surrendered King Charles I to the English.
- 21st March: The 1st Saffron Walden meeting of Members of Parliament with army officers.
- 15th April: The 2nd Saffron Walden meeting of Members of Parliament with army officers.
- 28th April: Agitators addressed the House of Commons.
- 7th May: The 3rd Saffron Walden meeting of Members of Parliament with army officers.
- 4th June: King Charles I was removed to Newmarket.
- 5th June: The Solemn Engagement.
- 16th June: The New Model Army moved against Eleven Members.
- 14th July: The Declaration of the New Model Army.
- 23rd July: The Heads of Proposals was submitted to King Charles I.
- 30th July: The Speaker and Independent MPs fled to the Army.
- 6th August: The Army occupied London.
- 8th August: The Battle of Dangan Hill.
- 20th August: The Null and Void Ordinance.
- 7th September: The Hampton Court Proposals.
- 15th October: The Case of the Army Truly Stated.
- 28th October: The Agreement of the People.
The Putney Debates began.
- 11th November: The Four Bills.
- 24th December: The Four Bills were presented to King Charles I.
- 25th December: There were riots due to the abolition of [Christmas](#).
- 26th December: King Charles I and the Scots entered into The Engagement.



ROUNDHEADS



CAVALIERS



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

The usual story has it that as a teenager, [George Fox](#) had wandered, before becoming a shoemaker in his home town of Fenny Drayton in Leicestershire, and that in this year this shoemaker began preaching and the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was formed. You are supposed to imagine the man in leathern breeches at work cobbling your soul.

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

Like most of our simple stories, this is a falsehood.

** About the beginning of the year 1647 I was moved of the Lord to go into Derbyshire, where I met with some friendly people, and had many discourses with them. Then, passing into the Peak country, I met with more friendly people, and with some in empty high notions. Travelling through some parts of Leicestershire, and into Nottinghamshire, I met with a tender people and a very tender woman, whose name was Elizabeth Hooton. With these I had some meetings and discourses; but my troubles continued, and I was often under great temptations. I fasted much, walked abroad in solitary places many days, and often took my Bible, and sat in hollow trees and lonesome places till night came on; and frequently in the night walked mournfully about by myself; for I was a man of sorrows in the time of the first workings of the Lord in me.*

FOX'S JOURNAL:

It would appear that the above passage is the source for the conceit offered by Thomas Carlyle, that Fox lived in a hollow tree. However, the passage would of course be evidence merely for a practice of frequent retirement for private devotional meditation and prayer not at all uncommon in Fox's day and age, and as such entirely innocuous.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

During all this time I was never joined in profession of Religion with any, but gave up myself to the Lord, having forsaken all evil company, taken leave of father and mother, and all other relations, and travelled up and down as a stranger in the earth, which way the Lord inclined my heart; taking a chamber to myself in the town where I came, and tarrying, sometimes more, sometimes less, in a place. For I durst not stay long in a place, being afraid both of professor and profane, lest, being a tender young man, I should be hurt by conversing much with either. For this reason I kept much as a stranger, seeking heavenly wisdom and getting knowledge from the Lord, and was brought off from outward things to rely on the Lord alone.

Though my exercises and troubles were very great, yet were they not so continual but that I had some intermissions, and I was sometimes brought into such an heavenly joy that I thought I had been in Abraham's bosom. As I cannot declare the misery I was in, it was so great and heavy upon me, so neither can I set forth the mercies of God unto me in all my misery. O the everlasting love of God to my soul, when I was in great distress! When my troubles and torments were great, then was His love exceeding great. Thou, Lord, makest a fruitful field a barren wilderness, and a barren wilderness a fruitful field! Thou bringest down and settest up! Thou killest and makest alive! all honour and glory be to thee, O Lord of Glory! The knowledge of Thee in the Spirit is life; but that knowledge which is fleshly works death.

While there is this knowledge in the flesh, deceit and self will conform to anything, and will say Yes, Yes, to that it doth not know. The knowledge which the world hath of what the prophets and apostles spake, is a fleshly knowledge; and the apostates from the life in which the prophets and apostles were have got their words, the Holy Scriptures, in a form, but not in the life nor spirit that gave them forth. So they all lie in confusion; and are making provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof, but not to fulfil the law and command of Christ in His power and Spirit. For that they say they cannot do; but to fulfil the lusts of the flesh, that they can do with delight.

Now, after I had received that opening from the Lord, that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not sufficient to fit a man to be a minister of Christ, I regarded the priests less, and looked more after the Dissenting people. Among them I saw there was some tenderness; and many of them came afterwards to be convinced, for they had some openings.

FOX'S JOURNAL



** But as I had forsaken the priests, so I left the separate preachers also, and those esteemed the most experienced people; for I saw there was none among them all that could speak to my condition. When all my hopes in them and in all men were gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could I tell what to do, then, oh, then, I heard a voice which said, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition"; and when I heard it, my heart did leap for joy.*

*Then the Lord let me see why there was none upon the earth that could speak to my condition, namely, that I might give Him all the glory. For all are concluded under sin, and shut up in unbelief, as I had been; that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence who enlightens, and gives grace, and faith, and power. Thus when God doth work, who shall hinder it? and **this I knew experimentally.***

My desire after the Lord grew stronger, and zeal in the pure knowledge of God, and of Christ alone, without the help of any man, book, or writing. For though I read the Scriptures that spoke of Christ and of God, yet I knew Him not, but by revelation, as He who hath the key did open, and as the Father of Life drew me to His Son by His Spirit. Then the Lord gently led me along, and let me see His love, which was endless and eternal, surpassing all the knowledge that men have in the natural state, or can obtain from history or books; and that love let me see myself, as I was without Him.

I was afraid of all company, for I saw them perfectly where they were, through the love of God, which let me see myself. I had not fellowship with any people, priests or professors, or any sort of separated people, but with Christ, who hath the key, and opened the door of Light and Life unto me. I was afraid of all carnal talk and talkers, for I could see nothing but corruptions, and the life lay under the burthen of corruptions.

When I myself was in the deep, shut up under all, I could not believe that I should ever overcome; my troubles, my sorrows, and my temptations were so great that I thought many times I should have despaired, I was so tempted. But when Christ opened to me how He was tempted by the same devil, and overcame him and bruised his head, and that through Him and His power, light, grace, and Spirit, I should overcome also, I had confidence in Him; so He it was that opened to me when I was shut up and had no hope nor faith. Christ, who had enlightened me, gave me His light to believe in; He gave me hope, which He Himself revealed in me, and He gave me His Spirit and grace, which I found sufficient in the deeps and in weakness.

Thus, in the deepest miseries, and in the greatest sorrows and temptations, that many times beset me, the Lord in His mercy did keep me. I found that there were two thirsts in me – the one after the creatures, to get help and strength there, and the other after the Lord, the Creator, and His Son Jesus Christ. I saw all the world could do me no good; if I had had a king's diet, palace, and attendance, all would have been as nothing; for nothing gave me comfort but the Lord by His power. At another time I saw the great love of God, and was filled with admiration at the infiniteness of it.



One day, when I had been walking solitarily abroad, and was come home, I was taken up in the love of God, so that I could not but admire the greatness of His love; and while I was in that condition, it was opened unto me by the eternal light and power, and I therein clearly saw that all was done and to be done in and by Christ, and how He conquers and destroys this tempter the devil, and all his works, and is atop of him; and that all these troubles were good for me, and temptations for the trial of my faith, which Christ had given me.

The Lord opened me, that I saw all through these troubles and temptations. My living faith was raised, that I saw all was done by Christ the life, and my belief was in Him.

When at any time my condition was veiled, my secret belief was stayed firm, and hope underneath held me, as an anchor in the bottom of the sea, and anchored my immortal soul to its Bishop, causing it to swim above the sea, the world, where all the raging waves, foul weather, tempests and temptations are. But O! then did I see my troubles, trials, and temptations more clearly than ever I had done. As the light appeared all appeared that is out of the light; darkness, death, temptations, the unrighteous, the ungodly; all was manifest and seen in the light.

I heard of a woman in Lancashire that had fasted two and twenty days, and I travelled to see her; but when I came to her I saw that she was under a temptation. When I had spoken to her what I had from the Lord, I left her, her father being one high in profession.

Passing on, I went among the professors at Duckingfield and Manchester, where I stayed awhile, and declared truth among them. There were some convinced who received the Lord's teaching, by which they were confirmed and stood in the truth. But the professors were in a rage, all pleading for sin and imperfection, and could not endure to hear talk of perfection, and of a holy and sinless life. But the Lord's power was over all, though they were chained under darkness and sin, which they pleaded for, and quenched the tender thing in them.

About this time there was a great meeting of the Baptists, at Broughton, in Leicestershire, with some that had separated from them, and people of other notions went thither, and I went also. Not many of the Baptists came, but many others were there. The Lord opened my mouth, and the everlasting truth was declared amongst them, and the power of the Lord was over them all. For in that day the Lord's power began to spring, and I had great openings in the Scriptures. Several were convinced in those parts and were turned from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God, and many were raised up to praise God. When I reasoned with professors and other people, some became convinced.

I went back into Nottinghamshire, and there the Lord showed me that the natures of those things, which were hurtful without, were within, in the hearts and minds of wicked men. The natures of dogs, swine, vipers, of Sodom and Egypt, Pharaoh, Cain, Ishmael, Esau, etc.; the natures of these I saw within, though people had been looking without. I cried to the Lord, saying, "Why should I be thus, seeing I was never addicted to commit those evils?" and the Lord answered, "That it was needful I should have a sense of all conditions, how else should I speak to all conditions!" and in this I saw the infinite love of God.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

** I saw, also, that there was an ocean of darkness and death; but an infinite ocean of light and love, which flowed over the ocean of darkness. In that also I saw the infinite love of God, and I had great openings.*

Then came people from far and near to see me; but I was fearful of being drawn out by them; yet I was made to speak, and open things to them. There was one Brown, who had great prophecies and sights upon his death-bed of me. He spoke only of what I should be made instrumental by the Lord to bring forth And of others he spoke, that they should come to nothing, which was fulfilled on some, who then were something in show. When this man was buried a great work of the Lord fell upon me, to the admiration of many, who thought I had been dead, and many came to see me for about fourteen days. I was very much altered in countenance and person, as if my body had been new moulded or changed. My sorrows and troubles began to wear off, and tears of joy dropped from me, so that I could have wept night and day with tears of joy to the Lord, in humility and brokenness of heart.

I saw into that which was without end, things which cannot be uttered, and of the greatness and infinitude of the love of God, which cannot be expressed by words. For I had been brought through the very ocean of darkness and death, and through and over the power of Satan, by the eternal, glorious power of Christ; even through that darkness was I brought, which covered over all the world, and which chained down all and shut up all in death. The same eternal power of God, which brought me through these things, was that which afterwards shook the nations, priests, professors and people.

Then could I say I had been in spiritual Babylon, Sodom, Egypt, and the grave; but by the eternal power of God I was come out of it, and was brought over it, and the power of it, into the power of Christ. I saw the harvest white, and the seed of God lying thick in the ground, as ever did wheat that was sown outwardly, and none to gather it; for this I mourned with tears.

A report went abroad of me, that I was a young man that had a discerning spirit; whereupon many came to me, from far and near, professors, priests, and people. The Lord's power broke forth, and I had great openings and prophecies, and spoke unto them of the things of God, which they heard with attention and silence, and went away and spread the fame thereof.

Then came the tempter and set upon me again, charging me that I had sinned against the Holy Ghost; but I could not tell in what. Then Paul's condition came before me, how after he had been taken up into the third heaven, and seen things not lawful to be uttered, a messenger of Satan was sent to buffet him. Thus by the power of Christ I got over that temptation also.

FOX'S JOURNAL:



THE ANGEL OF BEVERLEY¹²

'To instruct young lasses and maidens in whatever things was useful in the creation.'—R. ABRAHAM.

'It was the age of long discourses and ecstatic exercises.'—MORLEY'S CROMWELL.

'George Fox's preaching, in those early years, chiefly consisted of some few, but powerful and piercing words, to those whose hearts were already in some measure prepared to be capable of receiving this doctrine.'—SEWEL'S HISTORY.

'But at the first conviction when friends could not put off their hats to people, nor say you to a particular but thee and thou; and could not bowe nor use the world's fashions nor customs ... people would not trade with them nor trust them ... but afterwards people came to see friends honesty and truthfulness.'—G. FOX.

'The light which shows us our sins is that which heals us.'—G. FOX.

'GOD works slowly.'—BISHOP WESTCOTT.

12. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



THE ANGEL OF BEVERLEY

Among all the children of Drayton village who watched eagerly for the door to open into the Purefoy Chapel on Sundays, when the Squire's family were at home, none watched for it more intently than blue-eyed Cecily, the old huntsman's granddaughter. Cecily's parents were both dead, and she lived with her grandfather in one of the twin lodges that guarded the Manor gates. Old Thomas had fought at the Squire's side abroad in years gone by. Now, aged and bent, he, too, watched for that door to open, as he sat in his accustomed place in the church with Cecily by his side. Old Thomas's eyes followed his master lovingly, when Colonel Purefoy entered, heading the little procession,—a tall, erect, soldierly-looking man, though his hair was decidedly grey, and grey too was the pointed beard that he still wore over a small ruff, in the fashion of the preceding reign.

Close behind him came his wife. The village people spoke of her as 'Madam,' since, although English born, and, indeed, possessed of considerable property in her own native county of Yorkshire, she was attached to the Court of Queen Henrietta Maria, and had caught something of the foreign grace of her French mistress. But it was the two children for whose coming Cecily waited most eagerly, as they followed their parents. Edward Purefoy, the heir, a tall, handsome boy, came in first, leading by the hand his dainty little sister Jocosa, who seemed too fairy-like to support the stately family name, and who was generally known by its shorter form of Joyce.

Last of all came a portly waiting-maid, carrying a silky-haired spaniel on a cushion under each arm. These petted darlings, King Charles' own special favourites, were all the rage at Court at this time, and accompanied their masters and mistresses everywhere, even to church, where—fortunate beings—they were allowed to slumber peacefully on cushions at their owners' feet throughout the long services, when mere human creatures were obliged at any rate to endeavour to keep awake.

Cecily had no eyes to spare, even for the pet-dogs, on the eventful Sunday when the Squire and his family first appeared again at church after an unusually long absence. For there was little Mistress Jocosa, all clad in white satin, like a princess in a fairy tale, and as pretty as a picture. And so the great Court painter, Sir Anthony Vandyck, must have thought, seeing he had chosen to paint her portrait and make a picture of her himself in this same costume, with its stiff, straight, shining skirt, tight bodice, pointed lace collar, and close-fitting transparent cap that covered, but could not hide, the waves of dark crisp hair. When Cecily discovered that a string of pearls was clasped round the other little girl's neck, she gave a long gasp of delight, a gasp that ended in an irrepressible sigh. For, a moment later, this dazzling vision, with its dancing eyes, delicate features, and glowing cheeks, was lost to sight.



All through the remainder of the service it stayed hidden in the depths of the high old family pew, whence nothing could be seen save the top of the Squire's silver head, rising occasionally, like an erratic half moon, over the edge of the dark oak wood. Not another glimpse was to be had of the white satin princess; there was no one to look at but the ordinary village folk whom Cecily could see every day of her life: young George Fox, for instance, the Weaver's son, who was staring straight before him as usual, paying not the smallest heed to the entrance of all these marvellous beings. Fancy staring at the marble tomb erected by a long dead Lady Jocosa, and never even noticing her living namesake of to-day, with all her sparkles and flushes! Truly the Weaver's son was a strange lad, as the whole village knew.

A strange boy indeed, Joyce Purefoy thought in her turn, as, passing close by him on her way out of church, she happened to look up and to meet the steady gaze of the young eyes that were at the same time so piercing and yet so far away. She could not see his features clearly, since the sun, pouring in through a tall lancet window behind him, dazzled her eyes. Yet, even through the blurr of light, she felt the clear look that went straight through and found the real Joyce lying deep down somewhere, though hidden beneath all the finery with which she had hoped to dazzle the village children.

Late that same evening it was no fairy princess but a contrite little girl who approached her mother's side at bed-time.

'Forgive me, mother mine, I did pick just a few cherries from the tree above the moat,' she whispered hesitatingly 'I was hot and they were juicy. Then, when you and my father crossed the bridge on our way to church and asked me had I taken any, I,—no—I did not exactly forget, but I suppose I disremembered, and I said I had not had one.'

'Jocosa!' exclaimed her mother sternly: 'What! You a Purefoy and my daughter, yet not to be trusted to tell the truth! For the cherries, they are a small matter, I gave you plenty myself later, but to lie about even a trifle, it is that, that I mind.' The little girl hung her head still lower. 'I know,' she said, 'it was shameful. Yet, in truth, I did confess at length.'

'True,' answered her mother, 'and therefore thou art forgiven, and without a punishment; only remember thy name and take better heed of thy Pure Faith another time. What made thee come and tell me even now?'

'The sight of the broken spear in church,' stammered the little girl. 'That began it, and then I partly remembered....'

She got no further. Even to her indulgent mother (and Madam Purefoy was accounted an unwontedly tender parent in those days), Joyce could not explain how it was, that, as the glance from those grave boyish eyes fell upon her, out of the sunlit window, her 'disremembering' became suddenly a weight too heavy to be borne.

Jocosa Purefoy never forgot that Sunday, or her childish fault. The visits of the Squire and his family to the old Manor House were few and far between. The estates in Yorkshire that Madam



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Purefoy had brought to her husband on her marriage were the children's real home. It was several years after this before Cecily saw her fairy princess again. The next glimpse was even more fleeting than their appearance in church, just a mere flash at the lodge gates as Jocosa and her brother cantered past on their way out for a day's hunting. Old Thomas, sitting in his arm-chair in the sun, looked critically and enviously at the man-servant who accompanied them. 'Too young-too young,' he muttered. His own hunting days were long past, but he could not bear, even crippled with rheumatism as he was, that any one but he, who had taught their father to sit a horse, should ride to hounds with his children.

Cecily had some envious thoughts too. 'I should like very well to wear a scarlet riding-dress and fur tippet, and a long red feather in my hat, and go a-hunting on old Snowball, instead of having to stop at home and take care of grandfather and mind the house.'

After she had closed the heavy iron gates with a clang, she pressed her nose between the bars and looked wistfully along the straight road, carried on its high causeway above the fens, down which the gay riders were swiftly disappearing.

But, in spite of envious looks, the gaiety of the day was short-lived. During the very first run, Snowball put her foot into a rabbit-hole, and almost came down. 'Lamed herself, sure enough,' said the man-servant grimly. No more hunting for Snowball that day. The best that could be hoped was that she might be able to carry her little mistress's light weight safely home, at a walking pace, over the few miles that separated them from Drayton. Joyce could not return alone, and Edward would not desert his sister, though he could not repress a few gloomy remarks on the homeward way.

'To lose such a splendid dry day at this season! Once the weather breaks and the floods are out, there will be no leaving the Manor House again for weeks, save by the causeway over the fens!'

Thus it was a rather melancholy trio that returned slowly by the same road over which the ponies' feet had scampered gaily an hour or two before.

When the chimneys of Drayton were coming in sight, a loud 'Halloo' made the riders look round. A second fox must have led the hunt back in their direction after all. Sure enough, a speck of ruddy brown was to be seen slinking along beneath a haystack in the distance. Already the hounds were scrambling across the road after him, while, except for the huntsman, not a solitary rider was as yet to be seen anywhere.

The temptation was too strong for Edward. The brush might still be his, if he were quick.

'We are close at home. You will come to no harm now, sister,' he called. Then, raising his whip, he was off at a gallop, beckoning peremptorily to the groom to follow him. Not without a shade of remorse for deserting his little mistress, the man-servant obediently gave Snowball's bridle to Joyce, and set spurs to his horse. Then, as he galloped away, he salved his conscience with the reflection that 'after all, young Master's



neck is in more danger than young Missie's, now home is in sight.'

Joyce, left alone, dismounted, in order to lead Snowball herself on the uneven road across the fens. It was difficult to do this satisfactorily, owing to the pony's lameness, and her long, clinging skirt, over which she was perpetually tripping. Therefore, looking down over the hedgeless country for someone to help her, it was with real relief that she caught sight of a tall youth close at hand, in a pasture where sheep and cattle were grazing. All her life Joyce was accustomed to treat the people she met with the airs of a queen. Therefore, 'Hey! boy,' she called imperiously, 'come and help me! quick!'

She had to call more than once before the youth looked up, and when he did, at first he made no motion in response. Then, seeing that the pony really was limping badly, and that the little lady was obviously in difficulty, and was, moreover, a very little lady still, in spite of her peremptory tones, he changed his mind. Striding slowly towards her, he rather reluctantly closed the book he had been reading, and placed it in his pocket. Then, without saying a single word, he put out his hand and taking Snowball's bridle from Joyce he proceeded to lead the pony carefully and cleverly over the stones.

The silence remained unbroken for a few minutes: the lad buried in his own thoughts, grave, earnest and preoccupied; the dainty damsel, her skirt held up now, satisfactorily, on both sides, skipping along, with glancing footsteps, as she tried to keep up with her companion's longer paces, and at the same time to remember why this tall, silent boy seemed to her vaguely familiar. She could not see his face, for it was turned towards Snowball, and Joyce herself scarcely came up to her companion's elbow.

They passed a cottage, set back at some distance from the road and half hidden by a cherry-tree with a few late leaves upon it, crimsoned by the first touch of November frost. A cherry-tree! The old memory flashed back in a moment.

'I know who you are,' exclaimed Joyce, 'even though you don't speak a word. And I know your name. You are Righteous Christer the Weaver's son, and you are called George, like my father. You have grown so big and tall I did not know you at first, but now I do. Where do you live?'

The boy pointed in the direction of the cottage under the cherry-tree. The gentle whirr of the loom stole through the window as they approached.

'And I have seen you before,' Joyce went on, 'a long time ago, the last time we were here, on Sunday. It was in church,' she concluded triumphantly.

'Aye, in yon steeple-house,' answered her companion moodily, and with no show of interest. 'Very like.' His eyes wandered from the thatched roof of the cottage to where, high above the tall old yew-trees, a slender spire pointed heavenward.

Joyce laughed at the unfamiliar word. 'That is a church, not a steeple-house,' she corrected. 'Of course it has a steeple, but wherefore give it such a clumsy name?'



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Her companion made no reply. He seemed absorbed in a world of his own, though still leading the pony carefully.

Joyce, piqued at having her presence ignored even by a village lad, determined to arouse him. 'Moreover, I have heard Priest Stephens speak of you to my father,' she went on, with a little pin-prick of emphasis on each word, though addressing her remarks apparently to no one in particular, and with her dainty head tilted in the air.

Her companion turned to her at once. 'What said the Priest?' he enquired quickly.

'The Priest said, "Never was such a plant bred in England before!" What his words meant I know not—unless he was thinking of the proverb of certain plants that grow apace,' she added maliciously, looking up with a gleam of fun at the tall figure beside her. 'And my father said....'

Colonel Purefoy's remark was not destined to be revealed, for they had reached the tall gateway by this time. Old Thomas, seeing his little mistress approaching, accompanied only by the Weaver's son, and with Snowball obviously damaged, had hobbled to meet them in spite of his rheumatics. Close at hand was Cecily, brimful of excitement at the sight of her fairy princess actually stopping at their own cottage door. The tall youth handed the pony's bridle to the old man, and was departing with evident relief, when a clear, imperious voice stopped him—

'Good-bye and good-day to you, Weaver's son, and thanks for your aid,' said Jocosa, like a queen dismissing a subject.

The tall figure looked down upon the patronizing little lady, as if from a remote height. 'Mayest thou verily fare well,' he said, almost with solemnity, and then, without removing his hat or making any gesture of respect, he turned abruptly and was gone.

'A strange boy,' Joyce said to herself a few minutes later as she stood on the stone bridge that crossed the moat in front of the Manor House. 'I did not like him; in fact I rather disliked him—but I should like to see him again and find out what he meant by his "steeple-house" and "verily."'

Cecily, left behind at the Lodge, very happy because her fairy princess had actually thrown her a smile as she passed, was still following the distant figure on the bridge with wistful eyes, as Joyce busily searched her pockets for a few stray crumbs with which to feed the swans in the moat. The scarlet riding-dress, glossy tippet, and scarlet feather in the big brown hat were all faithfully reflected in the clear water below, except where the swans interrupted the vivid picture with dazzling snowy curves and orange webbed feet.

More critical eyes than Cecily's were also watching Joyce. High up on the terrace, where a few late roses and asters were still in bloom, two figures were leaning over the stone parapet, looking down over the moat. 'A fair maiden, indeed,' a voice was saying, in low, polished tones. The next moment the sound of her own name made the girl look up. There, coming towards her, at the very top of the flight of shallow stone steps that led from the terrace to the low stone bridge, she saw her father, and



with him a stranger, dressed, not like Colonel Purefoy, in a slightly archaic costume, but in the very latest fashion of King Charles's Court at Whitehall.

'My father come home already! and a stranger with him! What an unlucky chance after the misadventure of the morning!'

Throwing her remaining crumbs over the swans in a swift shower, Joyce made haste up the stone steps, to greet the two gentlemen with the reverence always paid by children to their elders in those days.

Somewhat to her surprise, her father bent down and kissed her cheek. Then, taking her hand, he led her towards the stranger, and presented her very gravely. 'My daughter, Jocosa: my good friend, Sir Everard Danvers.' 'Exactly as if I had been a grown-up lady at Court,' thought Joyce, delighted, with the delight of thirteen, at her own unexpected importance. Her father had never paid her so much attention before. Well, at least he should see that she was worthy of it now. And Joyce dropped her lowest, most formal, curtsey, as the stranger bowed low over her hand. To curtsey at the edge of a flight of steps, and in a clinging riding skirt, was an accomplishment of which anyone might be proud. Was the stranger properly impressed? He appeared grave enough, anyhow, and a very splendid figure in his suit of sky-blue satin, short shoulder cape, and pointed lace collar. He was a strikingly handsome man, of a dark-olive complexion, with good features, and jet-black hair; but strangely enough, the sight of him made Joyce turn back to her father, feeling as if she had never understood before the comfort of his quiet, familiar face. Even the old-fashioned ruff gave her a sense of home and security. She would tell him about the morning's disasters now after all. But Colonel Purefoy's questions came first. 'How now, Jocosa, and wherefore alone? My daughter rides with her brother in my absence,' he added, turning to his companion.

'Father,—Snowball,...' began Joyce bravely, her colour rising as she spoke.

'Talk not of snowballs,' interrupted Sir Everard gallantly, 'it may be November by the calendar, but here it is high summer yet, with roses all abloom.' He pointed to her crimsoning cheeks.

They quickly flushed a deeper crimson, evidently to the stranger's amusement. 'Why here comes Maiden's Blush, Queen of all the Roses' he went on, in a teasing voice. Then, turning to Colonel Purefoy, 'By my faith, Purefoy,' he said, 'my scamp of a nephew is a lucky dog.'

Joyce's bewilderment increased. What did it all mean? Was he play-acting? Why did they both treat her so? The stranger's punctilious politeness had flattered her at first, but, since the mocking tone stole into his voice she felt that she hated him, and looked round hoping to escape. Sir Everard was too quick for her. In that instant he had managed to possess himself of her hand, and now he was kissing it with exaggerated homage and deference, yet still with that mocking smile that seemed to say—'Like it, or like it not, little I care.'

Joyce had often seen people kiss her mother's hand, and had thought, as she watched the delightful process, how much she



should enjoy it, when her own turn came. She knew better now: it was not a delightful process at all, it was simply hateful. A new Joyce suddenly woke up within her, a frightened, angry Joyce, who wanted to run away and hide. All her new-born dignity vanished in a moment. Scarcely waiting for her father's amused permission: 'There then, maiden, haste to thy mother: she has news for thee'—she flew along the terrace and in at the hall door. As she fled up the oak staircase that led to her mother's withdrawing-room, she vainly tried to shut her ears to the sounds of laughter that floated after her from the terrace below.

Madam Purefoy was seated, half hidden behind her big, upright embroidery frame, in one of the recesses formed by the high, deeply mullioned windows. Thin rays of autumn sunshine filled the tapestried room with pale, clear light. There was no possibility of mistaking the colours of the silks that lay in their varied hues close under her hand. Why, then, had this skilful embroideress deliberately threaded her needle with a shade of brilliant blue silk? Why was she carefully using it to fill in a lady's cheek without noticing, apparently, that anything was wrong? Yet, at the first sound of Joyce's light footfall on the stairs she laid down her needle and listened, and held out her arms, directly her daughter appeared, flushed and agitated, in the doorway, waiting for permission to enter. Mothers were mothers, it seems, even in the seventeenth century. In another minute Joyce was in her arms, pouring out the whole history of the morning. By this time Snowball's lameness had faded behind the remembrance of the encounter on the terrace.

'Who is that man, mother? A courtier, I know, since he wears such beautiful clothes. But wherefore comes he here? I thought I liked him, until he kissed my hand and laughed at me, and then I detested him. I hope I shall never see him again.' And she hid her face.

Before speaking, Mistress Purefoy left her seat and carefully closed the casement, in order that their voices might not reach the ears of anyone on the terrace below. Then, taking Joyce on her knee as if she had been still a child, she explained to her that the stranger, Sir Everard Danvers, was a well-known and favourite attendant of the Queen's. 'And it is by her wish that he comes hither for thee, Mignonne.'

'For me?' Joyce grew rosier than ever; 'I am too young yet to be a Maid of Honour as thou wert in thy girlhood. What does her Majesty know about me?' she questioned.

'Only that thou art my daughter, and that she is my very good friend. Her Majesty knows also that, in time, thou wilt inherit some of my Yorkshire estates; and therefore she hath sent Sir Everard to demand thy hand in marriage for his nephew and ward, the young Viscount Danvers, whose property marches with ours. Moreover, seeing that the times are unsettled, her Majesty hath signified her pleasure that not a mere betrothal, but the marriage ceremony itself, shall take place as soon as possible in the Chapel Royal at St. James's, since the young Viscount, thy husband to be, is attached to her suite.'



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'But I am not fourteen yet,' faltered Joyce, ''tis full soon to be wed.' A vista of endless court curtsies and endless mocking strangers swam before her eyes, and prevented her being elated with the prospect that would otherwise have appeared so dazzling.

Her mother stifled a sigh. 'Aye truly,' she replied, 'thy father and I have both urged that. But her Majesty hath never forgotten the French fashion of youthful marriages, and is bent on the scheme. She says, with truth, that thou must needs have a year or two's education after thy marriage for the position thou wilt have in future to fill at Court, and 'tis better to have the contract settled first.'

Education! To be married at thirteen might be a glorious thing, but to be sent back, a bride, for a year or two of education thereafter was a dismal prospect.

That night there were tears of excitement and dismay on the pillow of the Viscountess-to-be as she thought of the alarming future. Yet she woke up, laughing, in the morning sunlight, for she had dreamt that she was fastening a coronet over her brown hair.

The wedding festivities a few weeks later left nothing to be desired. Day after day Joyce found herself the caressed centre of a brilliant throng that held but one disappointing figure—her boy bridegroom. 'He has eyes like a weasel, and a nose like a ferret,' was the bride's secret criticism, when the introduction took place. But, after all, the bridegroom was one of the least important parts of the wedding: far less important than the Prince of Wales, who led her out to dance, and whom she much preferred: far less important also than the bridegroom's cousin, Abigail, a bold, black-eyed girl who took country-bred Joyce under her protection at once, and saved her from many a mistake. Abigail was already at the school to which Joyce was to be sent. She herself was betrothed, though not as yet married, to my Lord Darcy, and was therefore able to instruct Joyce herself in many of the needful accomplishments of her new position.

The school days that followed were not unhappy ones, since, far better than their books, both girls loved their embroidery work and other 'curious and ingenious manufactures,' especially the new and fashionable employment of making samplers, which had just been introduced. But when, in a short time, the Civil Wars broke out, their peaceful world collapsed like a house of cards. The 'position' of the young Viscountess and her husband vanished into thin air. One winter at Court the young couple spent together, it is true, when the King and Queen were in Oxford, keeping state that was like a faint echo of Whitehall.

All too soon the fighting began again. In one of the earliest battles young Lord Danvers was severely wounded and sent home maimed for life. His days at Court and camp were over. Summoning his wife to nurse him, he returned to his estate near Beverley in Yorkshire, where the next few years of Joyce's life were spent, to her ill-concealed displeasure.

Her husband's days were evidently numbered, and as he grew



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weaker, he grew more exacting. Patience had never been one of Joyce's strong points, and, though she did her best, time often dragged, and she mourned the cruel fate that had cast her lot in such an unquiet age. Instead of wearing her coronet at Court, here she was moping and mewed up in a stiff, puritanical countryside.

After the triumph of the Parliamentarians, things grew worse. It would have gone hard with the young couple had not a neighbour of theirs, of much influence with the Protector, one Justice Hotham, made representations as to the young lord's dying state and so ensured their being left unmolested.

Justice Hotham was a fatherly old man with a genius for understanding his neighbours, especially young people. He was a good friend to Joyce, and perpetually urged her to cherish her husband while he remained with her. Judge then of the good Justice's distress, when, one fine day, a note was brought to him from his wilful neighbour to say that she could bear her lot no longer, that her dear friend Abigail, Lady Darcy, was now on her way to join the Queen in France, and had persuaded Joyce to leave her husband and accompany her thither.

The Justice looked up in dismay: a dismay reflected on the face of the waiting-woman to whom Joyce had entrusted her confidential letter. This was a certain blue-eyed Cecily, now a tall and comely maiden, who had followed her mistress from her old home at Drayton-in-the-Clay.

'She must be stopped,' said the good Judge. 'Spending the night with Lady Darcy at the Inn at Beverley is she, sayest thou? And thou art to join her there? Hie thee after her then, and delay her at all costs. Plague on this gouty foot that ties me here! Maiden, I trust in thee to bring her home.'

Cecily needed no second bidding. 'She will not heed me. No mortal man or woman can hinder my lady, once her mind is made up. Still I will do my best,' was her only answer to the Judge; while 'It would take an angel to stop her! May Heaven find one to do the work and send her home, or ever my lord finds out that she has forsaken him,' she prayed in the depths of her faithful heart.

Was it in answer to her prayer that the rain came down in such torrents that for two days the roads were impassable? Cecily was inclined to think so. Anyhow, Joyce and Abigail, growing tired of the stuffy inn parlour while the torrents descended, and having nothing to do, seeing that the day was the Sabbath, and therefore scrupulously observed without doors in Puritan Beverley, strolled through the Minster, meaning to make sport of the congregation and its ways thereafter. The sermon was long and tedious, but it was nearing its end as they entered. At the close a stranger rose to speak in the body of the Church, a tall stranger, who stood in the rays of the sun that streamed through a lancet window behind him. His first words arrested careless Joyce, though she paid small heed to preaching as a rule.

More than the words, something vaguely familiar in the tones of the voice and the piercing gaze that fell upon her out of the flood of sunlight, awoke in her the memory of that long ago Sunday of her childhood, of her theft of the cherries, of her



'disremembering,' and then of her mother's words, 'You, a Purefoy, to forget to be worthy of your name.'

Alas! where was her Pure Faith now? The preacher seemed to be speaking to her, to her alone: yet, strangely enough, to almost every heart in that vast congregation the message went home. Did the building itself rock and shake as if filled with power? The real Joyce was reached again: the real Joyce, though hidden now under the weight of years of self-pleasing, a heavier burden than any childish finery. Certainly reached she was, though Lady Darcy preserved through it all her cynical smile, and made sport of her friend's earnestness. Nevertheless Lady Darcy went to France alone. Lady Danvers returned to her husband—too much accustomed to be left alone, poor man, to have been seriously disquieted by her absence. For the remainder of his short life his wife did her best to tend him dutifully. But she did leave him for an hour or two the day after her return, in order to go and throw herself on her knees beside kind old Justice Hotham, and confess to him how nearly she had deserted her post.

'And then what saved you?' enquired the wise old man, smoothing back the wavy hair from the wilful, lovely face that looked up to him, pleading for forgiveness.

'I think it was an angel,' said Joyce simply—'an angel or a spirit. It rose up in Beverley Minster: it preached to us of the wonderful things of God: words that burned. The whole building shook. Afterwards it passed away.'

Little she guessed that George Fox, the Weaver's son, the Judge's guest, seated in a deep recess of the long, panelled library, was obliged to listen to every word she spoke. Joyce never knew that the angel who had again enabled her to keep her 'Faith pure' was no stranger to her. Neither did it occur to him, whose thoughts were ever full of weightier matters than wilful woman's ways, that he had met this 'great woman of Beverley,' as he calls her, long before.

Only waiting-maid Cecily, who had prayed for an angel; Cecily, who had recognised the Weaver's son the first moment she saw him at the inn door; Cecily who had found in him, also, the messenger sent by God in answer to her prayer—wise Cecily kept silence until the day of her death.

George Fox says in his Journal:

'I was moved of the Lord to go to Beverley steeple-house, which was a place of high profession. Being very wet with rain, I went first to an inn. As soon as I came to the door, a young woman of the house said, "What, is it you? Come in," as if she had known me before, for the Lord's power bowed their hearts. So I refreshed myself and went to bed. In the morning, my clothes being still wet, I got ready, and, having paid for what I had, went up to the steeple-house where was a man preaching. When he had done, I was moved to speak to him and to the people in the mighty power of God, and turned them to their teacher, Christ Jesus. The power of the Lord was so strong that it struck a mighty dread among the people. The Mayor came and spoke a few words to me, but none had power to meddle with me, so I passed out of the town, and the next day went to Justice Hotham's. He



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was a pretty tender man and had some experience of God's workings in his heart. After some discourse with him of the things of God he took me into his closet, where, sitting together, he told me he had known that principle these ten years, and was glad that the Lord did now send his servants to publish it abroad among the people. While I was there a great woman of Beverley came to Justice Hotham about some business. In discourse she told him that "The last Sabbath day," as she called it, "an Angel or Spirit came into the church at Beverley and spoke the wonderful things of God, to the astonishment of all that were there: and when it had done, it passed away, and they did not know whence it came or whither it went; but it astonished all, priests, professors and magistrates." This relation Justice Hotham gave me afterwards, and then I gave him an account that I had been that day at Beverley steeple-house and had declared truth to the priest and people there.'



HISTORICAL NOTES

Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

'THE ANGEL OF BEVERLEY.'

This is a purely imaginary story, written for a ten-year-old listener who begged for 'more of a story about him when he was young.' The connection of a member of the Purefoy family with the 'Great Lady of Beverley' has no foundation in fact. On visiting Fenny Drayton, since writing the story, I find, however, that there were a brother and sister Edward and Joyce Purefoy, who lived a few years earlier than the date of this tale. They may still be seen in marble on a tomb in the North Aisle with their father, the Colonel Purefoy of that day, who does wear a ruff as described in the story. It is not impossible that the Colonel Purefoy of George Fox's JOURNAL may also have had a son and daughter of the same names as described in my account, but I have no warrant for supposing this and am anxious that this imaginary tale should not be supposed to possess the same kind of authenticity as most of the other stories. Priest Stephens' remark about George Fox, and the scenes in Beverley Minster and at Justice Hotham's house, are, however, historical.

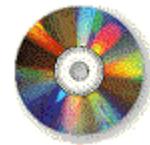
In [Rhode Island](#), John Coggeshall was in charge.¹³ The legislature voted to make sodomy a capital offense, although lesbianism seems to have been OK.

The legislature also enacted that:

[Witchcraft](#) is forbidden by this present assembly to be used in this colony; and the penalty imposed by the authority that we are subject to is death.



"Don't think you are going to conceal faults by concealing evidence that they ever existed."



– [Dwight David Eisenhower](#)

October 14: According to [George Fox](#) the name "Quaker" was first given to himself and his followers by Justice Bennet at Derby in 1650 "because I bid them, Tremble at the Word of the Lord." It would appear, however, from an OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY entry in regard to this term "[Quaker](#)," that this was not its first application. According to a letter of intelligence written on this date in London, the term "Quakers" had previously been applied to the members of some foreign religious sect:

I heare of a Sect of woemen (they are at Southworke) come from beyond Sea, called Quakers, and these swell, shiver, and shake, and when they come to themselves (for in all this fitt Mahomett's holy-ghost hath bin conversing with them) they begin to preache what hath bin delivered to them by the Spiritt.

– CLARENDON MSS #2624

This Justice Bennet may have been recycling a term already familiar and appropriate as descriptive of Fox's earlier adherents (cf. quotations. 1654, 1694, and see quaking vbl. sb. and ppl. a. 2). If this could help us understand Friend George, perhaps by displaying a situation in which he mythified history by inappropriately placing himself at its center, it wouldn't be mere etymology. One of the possibilities would be that these women of Southworke who were from "beyond Sea" were not Moslems but merely refugee [Huguenots](#), and that the reference to the spirit of "Mahomett" in the quotation is a mere pejorative aspersion.

13. What relationship did he have with Friend Joshua Coggeshall? Once, while Friend Joshua was visiting Plymouth from Rhode Island, the authorities there confiscated his horse — it seems they had made it against the law for any "strange [Quaker](#)" to ride within their colony.

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1648

1648 Events of the English Civil War:

- 3rd January: The vote on No Addresses.
- 23rd March: Laugharne's revolt in Wales.
- 8th May: The Battle of St Fagans.
- 24th May: The House of Commons voted to negotiate with King Charles II.
- 26th May: The failure of the Kentish revolt.
- 27th May: The Navy revolted against the Parliament.
- 1st June: The Battle of Maidstone.
- 8th June: The rising in Essex.
- 13th June: Colchester Castle was seized.
- 10th July: The Battle of St Neots.
- 17th August: The Battle of Preston.
- 18th August: The Battle of Wigan.
- 24th August: Repeal of the vote on No Addresses.
- 25th August: The Duke of Hamilton surrendered.
- 27th August: Colchestre Castle surrendered.
- 11th September: The Leveller's Humble Petition.
- 18th September: The Newport Treaty talks began.
- 29th October: The assassination of Rainsborough.
- 16th November: The Remonstrance of the Army.
- 2nd December: The Army occupied London.
- 6th December: Pride's Purge.



ROUNDHEADS



CAVALIERS

[George Fox](#) was preaching.



“Vale of Beavor,” Nottinghamshire

George Fox



After this I went to Mansfield, where was a great meeting of professors and people. Here I was moved to pray; and the Lord's power was so great that the house seemed to be shaken. When I had done, some of the professors said it was now as in the days of the apostles, when the house was shaken where they were. After I had prayed, one of the professors would pray, which brought deadness and a veil over them; and others of the professors were grieved at him and told him it was a temptation upon him. Then he came to me, and desired that I would pray again; but I could not pray in man's will.

Soon after there was another great meeting of professors, and a captain, whose name was Amor Stoddard, came in. They were discoursing of the blood of Christ; and as they were discoursing of it, I saw, through the immediate opening of the invisible Spirit, the blood of Christ. And I cried out among them, and said, "Do ye not see the blood of Christ? See it in your hearts, to sprinkle your hearts and consciences from dead works, to serve the living God"; for I saw it, the blood of the New Covenant, how it came into the heart.

This startled the professors, who would have the blood only without them, and not in them. But Captain Stoddard was reached, and said, "Let the youth speak; hear the youth speak"; when he saw they endeavoured to bear me down with many words.

There was also a company of priests, that were looked upon to be tender; one of their names was Kellett; and several people that were tender went to hear them. I was moved to go after them, and bid them mind the Lord's teaching in their inward parts. That priest Kellett was against parsonages then; but afterwards he got a great one, and turned a persecutor.

Now, after I had had some service in these parts, I went through Derbyshire into my own county, Leicestershire, again, and several tender people were convinced.

Passing thence, I met with a great company of professors in Warwickshire, who were praying, and expounding the Scriptures in the fields. They gave the Bible to me, and I opened it on the fifth of Matthew, where Christ expounded the law; and I opened the inward state to them, and the outward state; upon which they fell into a fierce contention, and so parted; but the Lord's power got ground.

Then I heard of a great meeting to be at Leicester, for a dispute, wherein Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists and Common-prayer-men were said to be all concerned. The meeting was in a steeple-house; and thither I was moved by the Lord God to go, and be amongst them. I heard their discourse and reasonings, some being in pews, and the priest in the pulpit; abundance of people being gathered together.



* At last one woman asked a question out of Peter, What that birth was, viz., a being born again of incorruptible seed, by the Word of God, that liveth and abideth for ever? And the priest said to her, "I permit not a woman to speak in the church"; though he had before given liberty for any to speak. Whereupon I was wrapped up, as in a rapture, in the Lord's power; and I stepped up and asked the priest, "Dost thou call this (the steeple-house) a church? Or dost thou call this mixed multitude a church?" For the woman asking a question, he ought to have answered it, having given liberty for any to speak.

But, instead of answering me, he asked me what a church was? I told him the church was the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living stones, living members, a spiritual household, which Christ was the head of; but he was not the head of a mixed multitude, or of an old house made up of lime, stones and wood.

This set them all on fire. The priest came down from his pulpit, and others out of their pews, and the dispute there was marred. I went to a great inn, and there disputed the thing with the priests and professors, who were all on fire. But I maintained the true church, and the true head thereof, over their heads, till they all gave out and fled away. One man seemed loving, and appeared for a while to join with me; but he soon turned against me, and joined with a priest in pleading for infant-baptism, though himself had been a Baptist before; so he left me alone. Howbeit, there were several convinced that day; the woman that asked the question was convinced, and her family; and the Lord's power and glory shone over all.

After this I returned into Nottinghamshire again, and went into the Vale of Beavor. As I went, I preached repentance to the people. There were many convinced in the Vale of Beavor, in many towns; for I stayed some weeks amongst them.

One morning, as I was sitting by the fire, a great cloud came over me, and a temptation beset me; and I sat still. It was said, "All things come by nature"; and the elements and stars came over me, so that I was in a manner quite clouded with it. But as I sat still and said nothing, the people of the house perceived nothing. And as I sat still under it and let it alone, a living hope and a true voice arose in me, which said, "There is a living God who made all things." Immediately the cloud and temptation vanished away, and life rose over it all; my heart was glad, and I praised the living God.

After some time I met with some people who had a notion that there was no God, but that all things come by nature. I had a great dispute with them, and overturned them, and made some of them confess that there is a living God. Then I saw that it was good that I had gone through that exercise [experience]. We had great meetings in those parts; for the power of the Lord broke through in that side of the country.

Returning into Nottinghamshire, I found there a company of shattered Baptists, and others. The Lord's power wrought mightily, and gathered many of them. Afterwards I went to Mansfield and thereaway, where the Lord's power was wonderfully manifested both at Mansfield and other towns thereabouts.



In Derbyshire the mighty power of God wrought in a wonderful manner. At Eton, a town near Derby, there was a meeting of Friends, where appeared such a mighty power of God that they were greatly shaken, and many mouths were opened in the power of the Lord God. Many were moved by the Lord to go to steeple-houses, to the priests and people, to declare the everlasting truth unto them.

At a certain time, when I was at Mansfield, there was a sitting of the justices about hiring of servants; and it was upon me from the Lord to go and speak to the justices, that they should not oppress the servants in their wages. So I walked towards the inn where they sat; but finding a company of fiddlers there, I did not go in, but thought to come in the morning, when I might have a more serious opportunity to discourse with them.

But when I came in the morning, they were gone, and I was struck even blind, that I could not see. I inquired of the innkeeper where the justices were to sit that day; and he told me, at a town eight miles off. My sight began to come to me again; and I went and ran thitherward as fast as I could. When I was come to the house where they were, and many servants with them, I exhorted the justices not to oppress the servants in their wages, but to do that which was right and just to them; and I exhorted the servants to do their duties, and serve honestly. They all received my exhortation kindly; for I was moved of the Lord therein.

Moreover, I was moved to go to several courts and steeple-houses at Mansfield, and other places, to warn them to leave off oppression and oaths, and to turn from deceit to the Lord, and to do justly. Particularly at Mansfield, after I had been at a court there, I was moved to go and speak to one of the most wicked men in the country, one who was a common drunkard, a noted whore-master, and a rhyme-maker; and I reproved him in the dread of the mighty God, for his evil courses.

When I had done speaking, and left him, he came after me, and told me that he was so smitten when I spoke to him, that he had scarcely any strength left in him. So this man was convinced, and turned from his wickedness, and remained an honest, sober man, to the astonishment of the people who had known him before.

Thus the work of the Lord went forward, and many were turned from the darkness to the light, within the compass of these three years, 1646, 1647 and 1648. Diverse meetings of Friends, in several places, were then gathered to God's teaching, by his light, Spirit, and power; for the Lord's power broke forth more and more wonderfully.

Now I was come up in spirit through the flaming sword, into the paradise of God. All things were new; and all the creation gave unto me another smell than before, beyond what words can utter. I knew nothing but pureness, and innocency, and righteousness; being renewed into the image of God by Christ Jesus, to the state of Adam, which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me; and it was showed me how all things had their names given them according to their nature and virtue.



I was at a stand in my mind whether I should practise physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of things were so opened to me by the Lord. But I was immediately taken up in spirit to see into another or more steadfast state than Adam's innocency, even into a state in Christ Jesus that should never fall. And the Lord showed me that such as were faithful to Him, in the power and light of Christ, should come up into that state in which Adam was before he fell; in which the admirable works of the creation, and the virtues thereof, may be known, through the openings of that divine Word of wisdom and power by which they were made. Great things did the Lord lead me into, and wonderful depths were opened unto me, beyond what can by words be declared; but as people come into subjection to the Spirit of God, and grow up in the image and power of the Almighty, they may receive the Word of wisdom that opens all things, and come to know the hidden unity in the Eternal Being.

Thus I travelled on in the Lord's service, as He led me. When I came to Nottingham, the mighty power of God was there among Friends. From thence I went to Clawson, in Leicestershire, in the Vale of Beavor; and the mighty power of God appeared there also, in several towns and villages where Friends were gathered.

While I was there the Lord opened to me three things relating to those three great professions in the world, - law, physic, and divinity (so called). He showed me that the physicians were out of the wisdom of God, by which the creatures were made; and knew not the virtues of the creatures, because they were out of the Word of wisdom, by which they were made. He showed me that the priests were out of the true faith, of which Christ is the author, - the faith which purifies, gives victory and brings people to have access to God, by which they please God; the mystery of which faith is held in a pure conscience. He showed me also that the lawyers were out of the equity, out of the true justice, and out of the law of God, which went over the first transgression, and over all sin, and answered the Spirit of God that was grieved and transgressed in man; and that these three, - the physicians, the priests, and the lawyers, - ruled the world out of the wisdom, out of the faith, and out of the equity and law of God; one pretending the cure of the body, another the cure of the soul, and the third the protection of the property of the people. But I saw they were all out of the wisdom, out of the faith, out of the equity and perfect law of God.

And as the Lord opened these things unto me I felt that His power went forth over all, by which all might be reformed if they would receive and bow unto it. The priests might be reformed and brought into the true faith, which is the gift of God. The lawyers might be reformed and brought into the law of God, which answers that [indwelling Spirit] of God which is [in every one, is] transgressed in every one, and [which yet, if heeded] brings one to love his neighbour as himself. This lets man see that if he wrongs his neighbour, he wrongs himself; and teaches him to do unto others as he would they should do unto him. The physicians might be reformed and brought into the wisdom of God, by which all things were made and created; that they might receive a right knowledge of the creatures, and understand their virtues, which the Word of wisdom, by which they were made and are upheld, hath given them.



The spirit getting the better of young [George Fox](#), he disrupted a minister's sermon and needed to be punished.

George Fox

Now, as I went towards Nottingham, on a Firstday, in the morning, going with Friends to a meeting there, when I came on the top of a hill in sight of the town, I espied the great steeple-house. And the Lord said unto me, "Thou must go cry against yonder great idol, and against the worshippers therein."

I said nothing of this to the Friends that were with me, but went on with them to the meeting, where the mighty power of the Lord was amongst us; in which I left Friends sitting in the meeting, and went away to the steeple-house. When I came there, all the people looked like fallow ground; and the priest (like a great lump of earth) stood in his pulpit above.

He took for his text these words of Peter, "We have also a more sure Word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts." And he told the people that this was the Scriptures, by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions.

Now the Lord's power was so mighty upon me, and so strong in me, that I could not hold, but was made to cry out and say, "Oh, no; it is not the Scriptures!" and I told them what it was, namely, the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried; for it led into all truth, and so gave the knowledge of all truth. The Jews had the Scriptures, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright morning star. They persecuted Christ and His apostles, and took upon them to try their doctrines by the Scriptures; but they erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they tried without the Holy Ghost.

As I spoke thus amongst them, the officers came and took me away, and put me into a nasty, stinking prison; the smell whereof got so into my nose and throat that it very much annoyed me.

But that day the Lord's power sounded so in their ears that they were amazed at the voice, and could not get it out of their ears for some time after, they were so reached by the Lord's power in the steeple-house. At night they took me before the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of the town; and when I was brought before them, the mayor was in a peevish, fretful temper, but the Lord's power allayed him. They examined me at large; and I told them how the Lord had moved me to come. After some discourse between them and me, they sent me back to prison again. Some time after, the head sheriff, whose name was John Reckless, sent for me to his house. When I came in, his wife met me in the hall, and said, "Salvation is come to our house." She took me by the hand, and was much wrought upon by the power of the Lord God; and her husband, and children, and servants were much changed, for the power of the Lord wrought upon them.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

I lodged at the sheriff's, and great meetings we had in his house. Some persons of considerable condition in the world came to them, and the Lord's power appeared eminently amongst them.

This sheriff sent for the other sheriff, and for a woman they had had dealings with in the way of trade; and he told her, before the other sheriff, that they had wronged her in their dealings with her (for the other sheriff and he were partners), and that they ought to make her restitution. This he spoke cheerfully; but the other sheriff denied it, and the woman said she knew nothing of it. But the friendly sheriff said it was so, and that the other knew it well enough; and having discovered the matter, and acknowledged the wrong, done by them, he made restitution to the woman, and exhorted the other sheriff to do the like. The Lord's power was with this friendly sheriff, and wrought a mighty change in him; and great openings he had.

The next market-day, as he was walking with me in the chamber, he said, "I must go into the market, and preach repentance to the people." Accordingly he went in his slippers into the market, and into several streets, and preached repentance to the people. Several others also in the town were moved to speak to the mayor and magistrates, and to the people exhorting them to repent. Hereupon the magistrates grew very angry, sent for me from the sheriff's house and committed me to the common prison.

When the assize came on, one person was moved to come and offer up himself for me, body for body, yea, life also; but when I should have been brought before the judge, the sheriff's man being somewhat long in bringing me to the sessions-house, the judge was risen before I came. At which I understood the judge was offended, and said, "I would have admonished the youth if he had been brought before me": for I was then imprisoned by the name of a youth. So I was returned to prison again, and put into the common jail.

The Lord's power was great among Friends; but the people began to be very rude: wherefore the governor of the castle sent soldiers, and dispersed them. After that they were quiet. Both priests and people were astonished at the wonderful power that broke forth. Several of the priests were made tender, and some did confess to the power of the Lord.

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

1649

1649 Events of the English Civil War:

- 4th January: The assumption of full power by House of Commons.
- 20th January: The commencement of the trial of King Charles I.
- 30th January: The execution of Charles I.
- 5th February: King Charles II was proclaimed in Scotland.
- 8th February: The Eikon Basilike was printed.
- 14th February: The Council of State.
- 17th March: The abolition of the monarchy.



- 19th March: The abolition of the House of Lords.
- 27th April: The execution of Lockyer the mutineer.
- 15th May: A mutiny was suppressed at Burford.
- 19th May: England proclaimed itself a Commonwealth.
- 2nd August: The Battle of Rathmines.
- 11th September: The Drogheda slaughter.

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

- 11th October: The Wexford slaughter.



ROUNDHEADS



CAVALIERS



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

After a Royalist uprising leading to a 2d civil war during Summer 1648, [Oliver Cromwell](#) supervised King Charles I's trial and execution. The Commonwealth, in which England was to be governed as a republic, was established and would last until 1660; [Cromwell](#) harshly suppressed Catholic rebellion in Ireland.¹⁴ Amidst this turmoil Friend [George Fox](#) was preaching:

Abundance was opened concerning these things; how all lay out of the wisdom of God, and out of the righteousness and holiness that man at the first was made in. But as all believe in the Light, and walk in the Light, – that Light with which Christ hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world, – and become children of the Light, and of the day of Christ, all things, visible and invisible, are seen, by the divine Light of Christ, the spiritual heavenly man, by whom all things were created.

Moreover, when I was brought up into His image in righteousness and holiness, and into the paradise of God He let me see how Adam was made a living soul; and also the stature of Christ, the mystery that had been hid from ages and generations: which things are hard to be uttered, and cannot be borne by many. For of all the sects in Christendom (so called) that I discoursed with, I found none who could bear to be told that any should come to Adam's perfection, – into that image of God, that righteousness and holiness, that Adam was in before he fell; to be clean and pure, without sin, as he was. Therefore how shall they be able to bear being told that any shall grow up to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, when they cannot bear to hear that any shall come, whilst upon earth, into the same power and Spirit that the prophets and apostles were in? – though it be a certain truth that none can understand their writings aright without the same Spirit by which they were written.

Now the Lord God opened to me by His invisible power that every man was enlightened by the divine Light of Christ, and I saw it shine through all; and that they that believed in it came out of condemnation to the Light of life, and became the children of it; but they that hated it, and did not believe in it were condemned by it, though they made a profession of Christ. This I saw in the pure openings of the Light without the help of any man; neither did I then know where to find it in the Scriptures; though afterwards, searching the Scriptures, I found it. For I saw, in that Light and Spirit which was before the Scriptures were given forth, and which led the holy men of God to give them forth, that all, if they would know God or Christ, or the Scriptures aright, must come to that Spirit by which they that gave them forth were led and taught.

On a certain time, as I was walking in the fields, the Lord said unto me, "Thy name is written in the Lamb's book of life, which was before the foundation of the world": and as the Lord spoke it, I believed, and saw in it the new birth. Some time after the Lord commanded me to go abroad into the world, which was like a briery, thorny wilderness. When I came in the Lord's mighty power with the Word of life into the world, the world swelled and made a noise like the great raging waves of the sea. Priests and professors, magistrates and people, were all like a sea when I came to proclaim the day of the Lord amongst them, and to preach repentance to them.

14. The Puritan prisoner Samuëll More was of course set free by Lord Protector Cromwell. Eventually he would become a Member of Parliament. In his will there would be no mention of the four inconvenient small children whom he had so coldly sent to transportation.



I was sent to turn people from darkness to the Light, that they might receive Christ Jesus; for to as many as should receive Him in His Light, I saw He would give power to become the sons of God; which power I had obtained by receiving Christ. I was to direct people to the Spirit that gave forth the Scriptures, by which they might be led into all truth, and up to Christ and God, as those had been who gave them forth.

Yet I had no slight esteem of the holy Scriptures. They were very precious to me; for I was in that Spirit by which they were given forth; and what the Lord opened in me I afterwards found was agreeable to them. I could speak much of these things, and many volumes might be written upon them; but all would prove too short to set forth the infinite love, wisdom, and power of God, in preparing, fitting, and furnishing me for the service to which He had appointed me; letting me see the depths of Satan on the one hand, and opening to me, on the other hand, the divine mysteries of His own everlasting kingdom.

When the Lord God and His Son Jesus Christ sent me forth into the world to preach His everlasting gospel and kingdom, I was glad that I was commanded to turn people to that inward Light, Spirit, and Grace, by which all might know their salvation and their way to God; even that Divine Spirit which would lead them into all truth, and which I infallibly knew would never deceive any.

But with and by this divine power and Spirit of God, and the Light of Jesus, I was to bring people off from all their own ways, to Christ, the new and living way; and from their churches, which men had made and gathered, to the Church in God, the general assembly written in heaven, of which Christ is the head. And I was to bring them off from the world's teachers, made by men, to learn of Christ, who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life, of whom the Father said, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye Him"; and off from all the world's worships, to know the Spirit of Truth in the inward parts, and to be led thereby; that in it they might worship the Father of spirits, who seeks such to worship Him. And I saw that they that worshipped not in the Spirit of Truth, knew not what they worshipped.

And I was to bring people off from all the world's religions, which are vain, that they might know the pure religion; might visit the fatherless, the widows, and the strangers, and keep themselves from the spots of the world. Then there would not be so many beggars, the sight of whom often grieved my heart, as it denoted so much hard-heartedness amongst them that professed the name of Christ.

I was to bring them off from all the world's fellowships, and prayings, and singings, which stood in forms without power; that their fellowship might be in the Holy Ghost, and in the Eternal Spirit of God; that they might pray in the Holy Ghost, and sing in the Spirit and with the grace that comes by Jesus; making melody in their hearts to the Lord, who hath sent His beloved Son to be their Saviour, and hath caused His heavenly sun to shine upon all the world, and His heavenly rain to fall upon the just and the unjust, as His outward rain doth fall, and His outward sun doth shine on all.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

I was to bring people off from Jewish ceremonies, and from heathenish fables, and from men's inventions and worldly doctrines, by which they blew the people about this way and the other, from sect to sect; and from all their beggarly rudiments, with their schools and colleges for making ministers of Christ, – who are indeed ministers of their own making, but not of Christ's; and from all their images, and crosses, and sprinkling of infants, with all their holy-days (so called), and all their vain traditions, which they had instituted since the Apostles' days, against all of which the Lord's power was set: in the dread and authority of which power I was moved to declare against them all, and against all that preached and not freely, as being such as had not received freely from Christ.

Moreover, when the Lord sent me forth into the world, He forbade me to put off my hat to any, high or low; and I was required to Thee and Thou all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, great or small. And as I travelled up and down I was not to bid people Good morrow, or Good evening; neither might I bow or scrape with my leg to any one; and this made the sects and professions to rage. But the Lord's power carried me over all to His glory, and many came to be turned to God in a little time; for the heavenly day of the Lord sprung from on high, and broke forth apace, by the light of which many came to see where they were.

Oh, the blows, punchings, beatings, and imprisonments that we underwent for not putting off our hats to men! Some had their hats violently plucked off and thrown away, so that they quite lost them. The bad language and evil usage we received on this account are hard to be expressed, besides the danger we were sometimes in of losing our lives for this matter; and that by the great professors of Christianity, who thereby discovered they were not true believers.

And though it was but a small thing in the eye of man, yet a wonderful confusion it brought among all professors and priests; but, blessed be the Lord, many came to see the vanity of that custom of putting off the hat to men, and felt the weight of Truth's testimony against it.

About this time I was sorely exercised in going to their courts to cry for justice, in speaking and writing to judges and justices to do justly; in warning such as kept public houses for entertainment that they should not let people have more drink than would do them good; in testifying against wakes, feasts, May-games, sports, plays, and shows, which trained up people to vanity and looseness, and led them from the fear of God; and the days set forth for holidays were usually the times wherein they most dishonoured God by these things.

In fairs, also, and in markets, I was made to declare against their deceitful merchandise, cheating, and cozening; warning all to deal justly, to speak the truth, to let their yea be yea, and their nay be nay, and to do unto others as they would have others do unto them; forewarning them of the great and terrible day of the Lord, which would come upon them all.

FOX'S JOURNAL:



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

I was moved, also, to cry against all sorts of music, and against the mountebanks playing tricks on their stages; for they burthened the pure life, and stirred up people's minds to vanity. I was much exercised, too, with school-masters and school-mistresses, warning them to teach children sobriety in the fear of the Lord, that they might not be nursed and trained up in lightness, vanity, and wantonness. I was made to warn masters and mistresses, fathers and mothers in private families, to take care that their children and servants might be trained up in the fear of the Lord, and that themselves should be therein examples and patterns of sobriety and virtue to them.

The earthly spirit of the priests wounded my life; and when I heard the bell toll to call people together to the steeple-house, it struck at my life; for it was just like a market-bell, to gather people together, that the priest might set forth his ware for sale. Oh, the vast sums of money that are gotten by the trade they make of selling the Scriptures, and by their preaching, from the highest bishop to the lowest priest! What one trade else in the world is comparable to it? notwithstanding the Scriptures were given forth freely, and Christ commanded His ministers to preach freely, and the prophets and apostles denounced judgment against all covetous hirelings and diviners for money.

But in this free Spirit of the Lord Jesus was I sent forth to declare the Word of life and reconciliation freely, that all might come to Christ, who gives freely, and who renews up into the image of God, which man and woman were in before they fell, that they might sit down in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.

FOX'S JOURNAL

George Fox



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

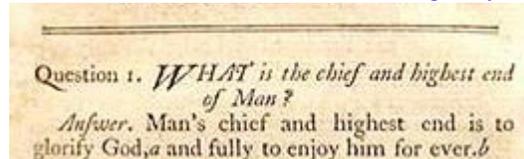
EARLY QUAKERISM

[Sir Henry Vane](#) returned to public life as a member of the Council of State that had almost exclusive direction of the British Navy, and the conduct of foreign wars.

SIR HENRY VANE THE YOUNGER

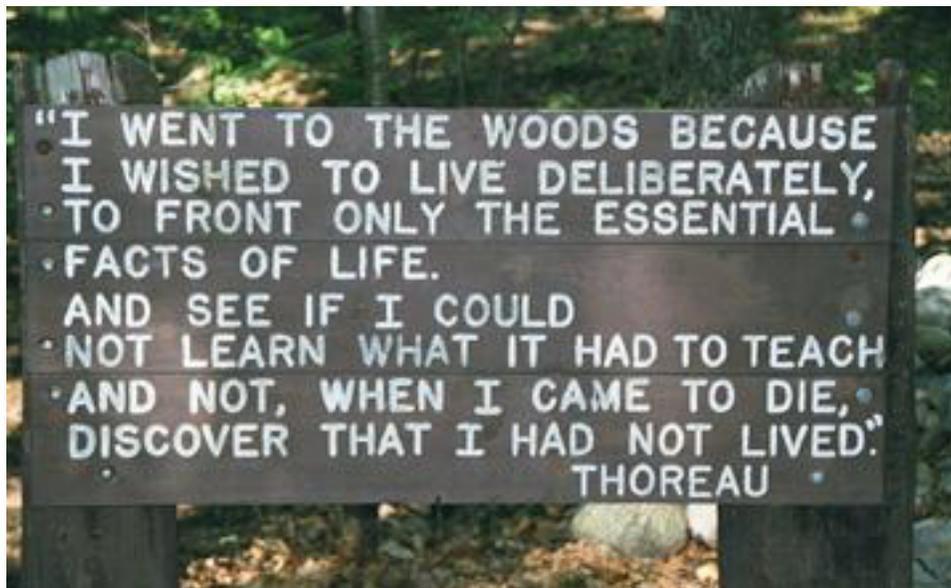
In the previous year THE SHORTER CATECHISM, prepared by the Westminster Assembly of Divines primarily for the instruction of children, had been authorized by the English parliament. During this year this article of faith was authorized by the Scottish parliament as well. There were 107 questions and answers the first being the famed

Q1. WHAT IS THE CHIEF END OF MAN? A. Man's chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy him forever.¹⁵



15. With the restoration of monarchy in 1660 the official standing of this document would of course evaporate.

WALDEN: I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived. I did not wish to live what was not life living is so dear; nor did I wish to practice resignation, unless it was quite necessary. I wanted to live deep and suck out all the marrow of life, to live so sturdily and Spartan-like as to put to rout all that was not life, to cut a broad swath and shave close, to drive life into a corner, and reduce it to its lowest terms, and, if it proved to be mean, why then to get the whole and genuine meanness of it, and publish its meanness to the world; or if it were sublime, to know it by experience, and be able to give a true account of it in my next excursion. For most men, it appears to me, are in a strange uncertainty about it, whether it is of the devil or of God, and have *somewhat hastily* concluded that it is the chief end of man here to "glorify God and enjoy him forever."





George Fox

Friend [George Fox](#) served out his term for disrupting another's sermon, and went on preaching.

After I was set at liberty from Nottingham jail, where I had been kept prisoner a pretty long time I travelled as before, in the work of the Lord.

Coming to Mansfield-Woodhouse, I found there a distracted woman under a doctor's hand, with her hair loose about her ears. He was about to let her blood, she being first bound, and many people about her, holding her by violence; but he could get no blood from her.

I desired them to unbind her and let her alone, for they could not touch the spirit in her by which she was tormented. So they did unbind her; and I was moved to speak to her, and in the name of the Lord to bid her be quiet; and she was so. The Lord's power settled her mind, and she mended. Afterwards she received the truth, and continued in it to her death; and the Lord's name was honoured.

Many great and wonderful things were wrought by the heavenly power in those days; for the Lord made bare His omnipotent arm, and manifested His power, to the astonishment of many, by the healing virtue whereby many have been delivered from great infirmities. And the devils were made subject through His name; of which particular instances might be given, beyond what this unbelieving age is able to receive or bear.

Now while I was at Mansfield-Woodhouse, I was moved to go to the steeplehouse there, and declare the truth to the priest and people; but the people fell upon me in great rage, struck me down, and almost stifled and smothered me; and I was cruelly beaten and bruised by them with their hands, and with Bibles and sticks. Then they haled me out, though I was hardly able to stand, and put me into the stocks, where I sat some hours; and they brought dog-whips and horse-whips, threatening to whip me.

After some time they had me before the magistrate, at a knight's house, where were many great persons; who, seeing how evilly I had been used, after much threatening, set me at liberty. But the rude people stoned me out of the town, for preaching the Word of life to them.

I was scarcely able to move or stand by reason of the ill usage I had received; yet with considerable effort I got about a mile from the town, and then I met with some people who gave me something to comfort me, because I was inwardly bruised; but the Lord's power soon healed me again. That day some people were convinced of the Lord's truth, and turned to His teaching, at which I rejoiced.

Then I went into Leicestershire, several Friends accompanying me. There were some Baptists in that country, whom I desired to see and speak with, because they were separated from the public worship. So one Oates, who was one of their chief teachers, and others of the heads of them, with several others of their company, came to meet us at Barrow; and there we discoursed with them.



One of them said that what was not of faith was sin, whereupon I asked them what faith was and how it was wrought in man. But they turned off from that, and spoke of their baptism in water. Then I asked them whether their mountain of sin was brought down and laid low in them and their rough and crooked ways made smooth and straight in them, – for they looked upon the Scriptures as meaning outward mountains and ways. But I told them they must find these things in their own hearts; at which they seemed to wonder

We asked them who baptized John the Baptist, and who baptized Peter, John and the rest of the apostles, and put them to prove by Scripture that these were baptized in water; but they were silent. Then I asked them, "Seeing Judas, who betrayed Christ, and was called the son of perdition, had hanged himself, what son of perdition was that of which Paul spoke, that sat in the temple of God, exalted above all that is called God? and what temple of God was that in which this son of perdition sat?" And I asked them whether he that betrays Christ within himself be not one in nature with that Judas that betrayed Christ without. But they could not tell what to make of this, nor what to say to it. So, after some discourse, we parted; and some of them were loving to us.

On the First-day following we came to Bagworth, and went to a steeple-house, where some Friends were got in, and the people locked them in, and themselves, too, with the priest. But, after the priest had done, they opened the door, and we went in also, and had service for the Lord amongst them. Afterwards we had a meeting in the town, amongst several that were in high notions.

Passing thence, I heard of a people in prison at Coventry for religion. As I walked towards the jail, the word of the Lord came to me, saying, "My love was always to thee, and thou art in my love." And I was ravished with the sense of the love of God, and greatly strengthened in my inward man. But when I came into the jail where those prisoners were, a great power of darkness struck at me; and I sat still, having my spirit gathered into the love of God.

At last these prisoners began to rant, vapour, and blaspheme; at which my soul was greatly grieved. They said that they were God; but we could not bear such things. When they were calm, I stood up and asked them whether they did such things by motion, or from Scripture. They said, "From Scripture." Then, a Bible lying by, I asked them for that Scripture; and they showed me that place where the sheet was let down to Peter; and it was said to him that what was sanctified he should not call common or unclean. When I had showed them that that Scripture made nothing for their purpose, they brought another, which spake of God's reconciling all things to Himself, things in heaven and things in earth. I told them I owned that Scripture also; but showed them that it likewise was nothing to their purpose.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Then, seeing they said that they were God, I asked them if they knew whether it would rain to-morrow. They said they could not tell. I told them God could tell. I asked them if they thought they should be always in that condition, or should change. They answered that they could not tell. "Then," said I, "God can tell, and He doth not change. You say you are God, and yet you cannot tell whether you shall change or no." So they were confounded, and quite brought down for the time.

** After I had reproved them for their blasphemous expressions, I went away; for I perceived they were Ranters. I had met with none before; and I admired the goodness of the Lord in appearing so unto me before I went amongst them. Not long after this one of these Ranters, whose name was Joseph Salmon, published a recantation; upon which they were set at liberty.*



TAMING THE TIGER¹⁶

'The state of the English law in the 17th century with regard to prisons was worthy of Looking Glass Land. The magistrates' responsibility was defined by ... the justice. "They were to commit them to prison but not to provide prisons for them." This duty devolved upon the gaoler, who was an autocrat and responsible to no authority. It frequently happened that he was a convicted & branded felon, chosen for the position by reason of his strength & brutality. Prisoners were ... required to pay for this enforced hospitality, & their first act must be to make the most favourable terms possible with their gaoler landlord or his wife, for food & lodging.'—M.R. BRAILSFORD.

'You are bidden to fight with your own selves, with your own desires, with your own affections, with your own reason, and with your own will; and therefore if you will find your enemies, never look without.... You must expect to fight a great battle.'—JOHN EVERARD. 1650.

'The real essential battlefield is always in the heart itself. It is the victory over ourselves, over the evil within, which alone enables us to gain any real victory over the evil without.'—E.R. CHARLES.

'They who defend war, must defend the dispositions that lead to war, and these are clean against the gospel.'—ERASMUS.

16. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



TAMING THE TIGER

Perhaps some boys and girls have said many times since the War began: 'I wish Friends did not think it wrong to fight for their King and Country. Why did George Fox forbid Quakers to fight for the Right like other brave men? Is it not right to fight for our own dear England?'

But did George Fox ever forbid other people to fight? He was not in the habit of laying down rules for other people, even his own followers. Let us see what he himself did when, as a young man, he was faced with this very same difficulty, or an even more perplexing one, since it was our own dear England itself in those days that was tossed and torn with Civil War.

First of all, listen to the story of a man who tamed a Tiger:— Far away in India, a savage, hungry Tiger, with stealthy steps and a yellow, striped skin, came padding into a defenceless native village, to seek for prey. In the early morning he had slunk out of the Jungle, with soft, cushioned paws that showed no signs of the fierce nails they concealed. All through the long, hot day he had lain hidden in the thick reeds by the riverside; but at sunset he grew hungry, and sprang, with a great bound, up from his hiding-place. Right into the village itself he came, trampling down the patches of young, green corn that the villagers had sown, and that were just beginning to spring up, fresh and green, around the mud walls of their homes. All the villagers fled away in terror at the first glimpse of the yellow, striped skin. The fathers and mothers snatched up their brown babies, the older children ran in front screaming, 'Tiger! Tiger!' Young and old they all fled away, as fast as ever they could, into the safest hiding-places near at hand.

One man alone, a Stranger, did not fly. He remained standing right in the middle of the Tiger's path, and fearlessly faced the savage beast. With a howl of rage, the Tiger prepared for a spring. The man showed no sign of fear. He never moved a muscle. Not an eyelash quivered. Such unusual behaviour puzzled the Tiger. What could this strange thing be, that stood quite still in the middle of the path? It could hardly be a man. Men were always terrified of tigers, and fled screaming when they approached. The Tiger actually stopped short in its spring, to gaze upon this perplexing, motionless Being who knew no fear. There he stood, perfectly silent, perfectly calm, gazing back at the Tiger with the look of a conqueror. Several long, heavy minutes passed. At length the villagers, peeping out from their hiding-places, looking between the broad plantain leaves or through the chinks of their wooden huts, beheld a miracle. They saw, to their amazement, the Tiger slink off, sullen and baffled, to the jungle, while the Stranger remained alone and unharmed in possession of the path. At first they scarcely dared to believe their eyes. It was only gradually, as they saw that the Tiger had really departed not to return, that they ventured to creep back, by twos and threes first of all, and then in



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little timid groups, to where the Stranger stood. Then they fell at his feet and embraced his knees and worshipped him, almost as if he had been a god. 'Tell us your Magic, Sahib,' they cried, 'this mighty magic, whereby you have managed to overcome the Monarch of the Jungle and tame him to your will.'

'I know no magic,' answered the Stranger, 'I used no spells. I was able to overcome this savage Tiger only because I have already learned how to overcome and tame THE TIGER IN MY OWN HEART.'

That was his secret. That is the story. And now let us return to George Fox.

Think of the England he lived in when he was a young man, the distracted England of the Civil Wars. Think of all the tiger spirits of hatred that had been unloosed and that were trampling the land. The whole country lay torn and bleeding. Some bad men there were on both sides certainly; but the real misery was that many good men on each side were trying to kill and maim one another, in order that the cause they believed to be 'the Right' might triumph.

'Have at you for the King!' cried the Cavaliers, and rushed into the fiercest battle with a smile.

'God with us!' shouted back the deep-voiced Puritans. 'For God and the Liberties of England!' and they too laid down their lives gladly.

Far away from all the hurly-burly, though in the very middle of the clash of arms, George Fox, the unknown Leicestershire shepherd lad, went on his way, unheeded and unheeding. He, too, had to fight; but his was a lonely battle, in the silence of his own heart. It was there that he fought and conquered first of all, there that he tamed his own Tiger at last—more than that, he learned to find God.

'One day,' he says in his Journal, 'when I had been walking solitarily abroad and was come home, I was taken up into the love of God, and it was opened to me by the eternal light and power, and I therein clearly saw that all was to be done in and by Christ, and how He conquers and destroys the Devil and all his works and is atop of him.' He means that he saw that all the outward fighting was really part of one great battle, and that to be on the right side in that fight is the thing that matters eternally to every man.

Another time he writes: 'I saw into that which was without end, things which cannot be uttered and of the greatness and infiniteness of the love of God, which cannot be expressed by words, for I had been brought through the very ocean of darkness and death, and through and over the power of Satan by the eternal glorious power of Christ; even through that darkness was I brought which covered over all the world and shut up all in the death.... And I saw the harvest white and the seed of God lying thick in the ground, as ever did wheat that was sown outwardly, and I mourned that there was none to gather it.'

When George Fox speaks of the 'seed,' he means the tender spot that there must always be in the hearts of all men, however wicked, since they are made in the likeness of God. A tiny, tiny



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something, the first stirring of life, that God's Spirit can find and work on, however deeply it may be buried (like a seed under heavy clods of earth), if men will only yield to It. In another place he calls this seed 'THAT OF GOD WITHIN YOU.' And it is this tender growing 'seed' that gets trampled down when fierce angry passions are unloosed in people's hearts, just as the tender springing corn in the Indian village was trampled down by the hungry Tiger. George Fox believed that that seed lay hidden in the hearts of all men, because he had found it in his own. Everywhere he longed to set that seed free to grow, and to tame the Tiger spirits that would trample it down and destroy it. Let us watch and see how he did this.

One day when he was about twenty-five years old, he heard that some people had been put in prison at Coventry for the sake of their religion. He thought that there must be a good crop of seed in the hearts of those people, since they were willing to suffer for their faith, so he determined to go and see them. As he was on his way to the gaol a message came to him from God. He seemed to hear God's own Voice saying to him, 'MY LOVE WAS ALWAYS TO THEE, AND THOU ART IN MY LOVE.' 'Always to thee.' Then that love had always been round him, even in his loneliest struggles, and now that he knew that he was in it, nothing could really hurt him. No wonder that he walked on towards the gaol with a feeling of new joy and strength. But when he came to the dark, frowning prison where numbers of men and women were lying in sin and misery, this joyfulness left him. He says, 'A great power of darkness struck at me.' The prisoners were not the sort of people he had hoped to find them. They were a set of what were then called 'Ranters.' They began to swear and to say wicked things against God. George Fox sat silent among them, still fastening his mind on the thought of God's conquering love; but as they went on to say yet wilder and more wicked things, at last that very love forced him to reprove them. They paid no attention, and at length Fox was obliged to leave them. He says he was 'greatly grieved, yet I admired the goodness of the Lord in appearing so to me, before I went among them.'

For the time it did seem as if the Tiger spirits had won, and were able to trample down the living seed. But wait! A little while after, one of these same prisoners, named Joseph Salmon, wrote a paper confessing that he was sorry for what he had said and done, whereupon they were all set at liberty.

Meanwhile, George Fox went on his way, and travelled through 'markets, fairs, and divers places, and saw death and darkness everywhere, where the Lord had not shaken them.' In one place he heard that a great man lay dying and that his recovery was despaired of by all the doctors. Some of his friends in the town desired George Fox to visit the sufferer. 'I went up to him in his chamber,' says Fox in his Journal, 'and spake the word of life to him, and was moved to pray by him, and the Lord was entreated and restored him to health. When I was come down the stairs into a lower room and was speaking to the servants, a serving-man of his came raving out of another room, with a naked rapier in his hand, and set it just to my side. I looked



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steadfastly on him and said "Alack for thee, poor creature! what wilt thou do with thy carnal weapon, it is no more to me than a straw." The standers-by were much troubled, and he went away in a rage; but when news came of it to his master, he turned him out of his service.'

Although that particular man's Tiger spirit had been foiled in its spring, the man himself had not been really tamed. Perhaps George Fox needed to learn more, and to suffer more himself, before he could really change other men's hearts. If so, he had not long to wait.

Shortly after this, it was his own turn to be imprisoned. He was shut up in Derby Gaol, and given into the charge of a very cruel Gaoler. This man was a strict Puritan, and he hated Fox, and spoke wickedly against him. He even refused him permission to go and preach to the people of the town, which, strangely enough, the prisoners in those days were allowed to do.

One morning, however, Fox was walking up and down in his cell, when he heard a doleful noise. He stopped his walk to listen. Through the wall he could hear the voice of the Gaoler speaking to his wife—'Wife,' he said, 'I have had a dream. I saw the Day of Judgment, and I saw George there!' How the listener must have wondered what was coming! 'I saw George there,' the Gaoler continued, 'and I was afraid of him, because I had done him so much wrong, and spoken so much against him to the ministers and professors, and to the Justices and in taverns and alehouses.' But there the voice stopped, and the prisoner heard no more. When evening came, however, the Gaoler visited the cell, no longer raging and storming at his prisoner, but humbled and still. 'I have been as a lion against you,' he said to Fox, 'but now I come like a lamb, or like the Gaoler that came to Paul and Silas, trembling.' He came to ask as a favour that he might spend the night in the same prison chamber where Fox lay. Fox answered that he was in the Gaoler's power: the keeper of the prison of course could sleep in any place he chose. 'No,' answered the Gaoler, 'I wish to have your permission. I should like to have you always with me, but not as my prisoner.' So the two strange companions spent that night together lying side by side. In the quiet hours of darkness the Gaoler told Fox all that was in his heart. 'I have found that what you said of the true faith and hope is really true, and I want you to know that even before I had that terrible vision, whenever I refused to let you go and preach, I was sorry afterwards when I had treated you roughly, and I had great trouble of mind.'

There had been a little seed of kindness even in this rough Gaoler's heart. Deeply buried though it was, it had been growing in the darkness all the time, though no one guessed it—the Gaoler himself perhaps least of all until his dream showed him the truth about himself. When the night was over and morning light had come, the Gaoler was determined to do all he could to help his new friend. He went straight to the Justices and told them that he and all his household had been plagued because of what they had done to George Fox the prisoner.

'Well, we have been plagued too for having him put in prison,'



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answered one of the Justices, whose name was Justice Bennett. And here we must wait a minute, for it is interesting to know that it was this same Justice Bennett who first gave the name of Quakers to George Fox and his followers as a nickname, to make fun of them. Fox declared in his preaching that 'all men should tremble at the word of the Lord,' whereupon the Justice laughingly said that 'Quakers and Tremblers was the name for such people.' The Justice might have been much surprised if he could have known that centuries after, thousands of people all over the world would still be proud to call themselves by the name he had given in a moment of mockery.

Neither Justice Bennett nor his prisoner could guess this, however; and therefore, although his Gaoler's heart had been changed, George Fox still lay in Derby Prison. There was more work waiting for him to do there.

One day he heard that a soldier wanted to see him, and in there came a rough trooper, with a story that he was very anxious to tell. 'I was sitting in Church,' he began. 'Thou meanest in the steeple-house,' corrected Fox, who was always very sure that a 'Church' meant a 'Company of Christ's faithful people,' and that the mere outward building where they were gathered should only be called a steeple-house if it had a steeple, or a meeting-house if it had none. 'Sitting in Church, listening to the Priest,' continued the trooper, paying no attention to the interruption, 'I was in an exceeding great trouble, thinking over my sins and wondering what I should do, when a Voice came to me—I believe it was God's own Voice and it said— "Dost thou not know that my servant is in prison? Go thou to him for direction." So I obeyed the Voice,' the man continued, 'and here I have come to you, and now I want you to tell me what I must do to get rid of the burden of these sins of mine.' He was like Christian in Pilgrim's Progress, with a load of sins on his back, was he not? And just as Christian's burden rolled away when he came to the Cross, so the trooper's distress vanished when Fox spoke to him, and told him that the same power that had shown him his sins and troubled him for them, would also show him his salvation, for 'That which shows a man his sin is the Same that takes it away!'

Fox did not speak in vain. The trooper 'began to have great understanding of the Lord's truth and mercyes.' He became a bold man too, and took his new-found happiness straight back to the other soldiers in his quarters, and told them of the truths he had learnt in the prison. He even said that their Colonel—Colonel Barton—was 'as blind as Nebuchadnezzar, to cast such a true servant of God as Fox was, into Gaol.'

Before long this saying came to Colonel Barton's ears, and then there was a fine to do. Naturally he did not like being compared with Nebuchadnezzar. Who would? But it would have been undignified for a Colonel to take any notice then of the soldiers' tittle-tattle; so he said nothing, only bided his time and waited until he could pay back his grudge against the sergeant. A whole year he waited—then his chance came. It was at the Battle of Worcester, when the two armies were lying close



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together, but before the actual fighting had begun, that two soldiers of the King's Army came out and challenged any two soldiers of the Parliamentary Army to single combat, whereupon Colonel Barton ordered the soldier who had likened him to Nebuchadnezzar to go with one other companion on this dangerous errand. They went; they fought with the two Royalists, and one of the two Parliamentarians was killed; but it was the other one, not Fox's friend. He, left alone, with his comrade lying dead by his side, suddenly found that not even to save his own life could he kill his enemies. So he drove them both before him back to the town, but he did not fire off his pistol at them. Then, as soon as Worcester fight was over, he himself returned and told the whole tale to Fox. He told him 'how the Lord had miraculously preserved him,' and said also that now he had 'seen the deceit and hypocrisy of the officers he had seen also to the end of Fighting.' Whereupon he straightway laid down his arms. The trooper left the army. Meanwhile his friend and teacher had suffered for refusing to join it. We must go back a little to the time, some months before the Battle of Worcester, when the original term of Fox's imprisonment in the House of Correction in Derby was drawing to a close.

At this time many new soldiers were being raised for the Parliamentary Army, and among them the authorities were anxious to include their stalwart prisoner, George Fox. Accordingly the Gaoler was asked to bring his charge out to the market-place, and there, before the assembled Commissioners and soldiers, Fox was offered a good position in the army if he would take up arms for the Commonwealth against Charles Stuart. The officers could not understand why George Fox should refuse to regain his liberty on what seemed to them to be such easy terms. 'Surely,' they said, 'a strong, big-boned man like you will be not only willing but eager to take up arms against the oppressor and abuser of the liberties of the people of England!'

Fox persisted in his refusal. 'I told them,' he writes in his Journal, 'that I knew whence all wars arose, even from men's lusts ... and that I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars. Yet they courted me to accept their offer, and thought I did but compliment them. But I told them I was come into that covenant of peace which was before wars and strifes were. They said they offered it in love and kindness to me, because for my virtue, and such like flattering words they used. But I told them if that was their love and kindness, I trampled it under my feet. Then their rage got up, and they said, "Take him away, Gaoler, and put him into the prison among the rogues and thieves."'

This prison was a much worse place than the House of Correction where Fox had been confined hitherto. In it he was obliged to remain for a weary half-year longer, knowing all the time that he might have been at liberty, could he have consented to become an officer in the army. His relations, distressed at his imprisonment, had already offered £100 for his release, but Fox would not accept the pardon this sum might have obtained for him as he said he had done nothing wrong. He was occasionally allowed



to leave the horrible, dirty gaol, with its loathsome insects and wicked companions, and walk for a short time in the garden by himself, because his keepers knew that when he had given his word he would not try to escape from their custody.

As time went on, many dismal people (looking on the gloomy side of things, as dismal people always do) began to shake their heads and say, 'Poor young man, he will spend all his life in gaol. You will see he will never be set free or get his liberty again.' But Fox refused to be cast down. Narrow though his prison was, Hope shared it with him. 'I had faith in God,' his Journal says, 'that I should be delivered from that place in the Lord's time, but not yet, being set there for a work He had for me to do!' Work there was for him in prison truly. A young woman prisoner who had robbed her master was sentenced to be hanged, according to the barbarous law then in force. This shocked Fox so much that he wrote letters to her judges and to the men who were to have been her executioners, expressing his horror at what was going to happen in such strong language that he actually softened their hearts. Although the girl had actually reached the foot of the gallows, and her grave had already been dug, she was reprieved. Then, when she was brought back into prison again after this wonderful escape Fox was able to pour light and life into her soul, which was an even greater thing than saving her body from death. Many other prisoners did Fox help and comfort in Derby Gaol;¹⁷ but though he could soften the sufferings of others he could not shorten his own. Once again Justice Bennett sent his men to the prison, this time with orders to take the Quaker by force and compel him to join the army, since he would not fight of his own free will.

'But I told him,' said Fox, '"that I was brought off from outward wars." They came again to give me press money, but I would take none. Afterwards the Constables brought me a second time before the Commissioners, who said I should go for a soldier, but I said I was dead to it. They said I was alive. I told them where envy and hatred is, there is confusion. They offered me money twice, but I refused it. Being disappointed, they were angry, and committed me a close prisoner, till at length they were made to turn me out of Gaol about the beginning of winter 1651, after I had been a prisoner in Derby almost a year; six months in the House of Correction, and six months in the common gaol.'

Thus at length Derby prison was left behind; but the seeds that the prisoner had planted in that dark place sprang up and flourished and bore fruit long after he had left.

Eleven years later, the very same Gaoler, who had been cruel to Fox at the first, and had then had the vision and repented, wrote this letter to his former prisoner. It is a real Gaoler's love-letter, and quite fresh to-day, though it was written nearly 300 years ago.

'DEAR FRIEND,' the letter begins,

'Having such a convenient messenger I could do no less than give thee an account of my present condition;

17. Two men who were executed for small offences he could not save, but 'a little time after they had suffered their spirits appeared to me as I was walking, and I saw the men was well.'



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remembering that to the first awakening of me to a sense of life, God was pleased to make use of thee as an instrument. So that sometimes I am taken with admiration that it should come by such means as it did; that is to say that Providence should order thee to be my prisoner to give me my first sight of the truth. It makes me think of the gaoler's conversion by the apostles. Oh! happy George Fox! that first breathed the breath of life within the walls of my habitation! Notwithstanding that my outward losses are since that time such that I am become nothing in the world, yet I hope I shall find that these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, will work for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. They have taken all from me; and now instead of keeping a prison, I am waiting rather when I shall become a prisoner myself. Pray for me that my faith fail not, and that I may hold out to the death, that I may receive a crown of life. I earnestly desire to hear from thee and of thy condition, which would very much rejoice me. Not having else at present, but my kind love to thee and all friends, in haste, I rest thine in Christ Jesus.

'THOMAS SHARMAN.

'Derby, the 22nd of the fourth month, 1662.'

This Gaoler was one of the first people whose Tiger spirits were tamed by George Fox. But he certainly was not the last. Fox himself had told the soldiers in Derby market-place that he could not fight, because he 'lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars.' As a friend of his wrote, after his death many years later: 'George Fox was a discerner of other men's spirits, AND VERY MUCH A MASTER OF HIS OWN.'



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HISTORICAL NOTES

Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

'TAMING THE TIGER.'

Historical. See George Fox's JOURNAL (Ellwood Edition), pp. 27, 28, 31-48, 335, for the different incidents.



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January 4: In the English Civil War, full governmental authority was assumed by the House of Commons.

At the age of 30 [John Smith](#) of Plymouth got married with [Friend](#) Deborah Howland, a daughter of Friend Arthur Howland of Marshfield who had been born in London in 1627. The bridegroom would become a [Quaker](#).



When he was thirty, on January 4, 1648-9, he married Deborah Howland, the daughter of Arthur Howland of Marshfield. Whether the newly married pair at once went to live in the house on North Street in Plymouth, on land where now stands the house of Nathaniel Morton, or whether this abode was a later acquisition the records do not disclose.

[VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES](#)

1650

In this year Charles II landed in Scotland and was proclaimed king. It was in this year, also, that [John Bunyan](#) began to be gradually converted to what was for him a new sort of Christian faith, non-conformity and the inner



life, and that Friend [George Fox](#) began keeping a journal. (The journal we have at [JOURNAL](#) in the Rufus Jones edition is not this real journal, which no longer exists, but very much Fox's after-the-fact reconstruction made in the shape of a journal, as evidently supplemented by undocumented reconstructions added surreptitiously

by other Quakers of his generation and of the succeeding generation.)



Friend George's epistle entitled "Praise, Honor, and Glory Be To the Lord" dates to this year:



Upon the Fourth-day of the First month, 1650, I felt the Power Of The Lord to spread over all the world in praise. Praise, honour, and glory be to the Lord of heaven and earth! Lord of peace, Lord of joy! thy countenance maketh my heart glad. Lord of glory, Lord of mercy, Lord of strength, Lord of life, and of power over death, and Lord of lords, and King of kings! In the world there are lords many, but to us there but one God the Father, of whom are all things; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things: to whom be all glory, who is worthy! In the world are many lords, and many gods. and the earth maketh lords, coveting after riches, and oppressing the creatures; and so, the covetous mind getting to itself, lords it above the others. The nature of the lordly pride is head, until subdued by the power of God; for every one, in that state, doth strive to be above another; few will strive to be the lowest. Oh! that every one would strive to put down, in themselves, mastery and honour, that the Lord of heaven and earth might be exalted!



G.F.

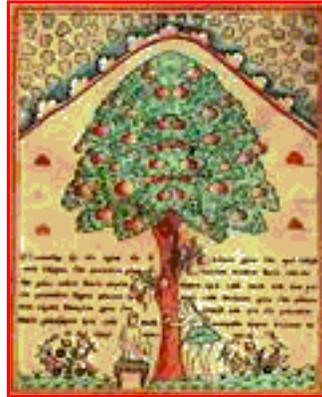
George Fox

His epistle entitled “The Children of the Devil, How Expert They Are In Evil” also dates to this year:

Friends, - the children of the devil, how expert they are in evil, in all deceit in his kingdom; and yet they may speak of the things of God: but no vulturous eye or venomous beast ever trod in the steps of the just, thought they may talk of the way. For who have their conversation in this world, and only mind the things of this world, in vain do they profess godliness. But the children of God, who are conceived and begotten of him, are not of this world, neither do they mind only the things of this world, but the things which are eternal. But the children of this world do mostly mind the external things, and their love is in them, and the other live by faith; the one is sanctified by the world, the other painted with the words. The children of God are pure in heart, not looking only at the outside. The favour of the world and friendship thereof is enmity to God, man may soon be stained with it. O! love the strange, and be as strangers in the world, and to the world! For they that followed Christ in his cross, they were strangers in the world, and wonders to the world, and condemned by the world and the world knew him not, neither do it them that follow him now. So, marvel not if the world hate you; for the world lieth in hatred and wickedness. Who love this world, are enemies to Christ; and who love the Lord Jesus Christ, and have him for their Lord over them, they are redeemed out of the world. The world would have a Christ, but not to rule over them; the nature of the world is above Christ in man, until Christ hath subdued that nature in man. While the nature of the world doth rule in man, Oh! the deaf ears and blind eyes, and the understandings, that are all shut up amongst them, with which they judge! But who love the Lord Jesus Christ, do not mind the world's judgment, nor are troubled at it; but consider all our brethren, who have gone before us.

When ye think ye are past all crosses, when the trial doth come, ye will find a cross to that will which doth meddle with the things of God presumptuously; that many may live in joy, but the spirit is in bondage. Rejoice not in the flesh, but in the spirit, which crucifieth all fleshly boasting: if the fleshly will be fed, then carelessness cometh up, and they fall into flatness, (from the spirit,) and are mindless of the Lord God; such are soon up and down. The serpent tempted Eve to eat of the forbidden fruit, and she took and gave to her husband, and so they fell under the serpent's power, and the creatures, out of the power of God, which would have kept them in dominion. And so, Adam and Eve, and the serpent, all went out of truth. and Eve eating of the tree of knowledge, she had knowledge and wisdom after the fall, but not in the dominion, in the power of God. but the seed Christ, which was in the beginning, bruise the

*serpent's head, and he is the wisdom of God.
G.F.*



ORIGIN OF TERM "QUAKER," PER THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE FOX:

George Fox

"Quakers practiced divine healing openly. Thousands of English men and women were drawn to George Fox between the 1650s and 1660s, because he performed miraculous cures regularly."¹⁸

Around this decade, a group of Huguenot refugees from France were setting up a wireworks at Tintern in the valley of the River Wye in Monmouth(shire), South Wales, with a number of forges in the Pontypool area at Pontymoil, Monkwood and Trevethin to provide iron for this works. At least one family from the original group of Huguenots has been later identified as a family Quaker ironmasters, so these religious dissenters evidently made a contribution to the founding of the Society of Friends, particularly in the Monmouth area. Of them, Fox knew John Gawler and the Francis Gawler who wrote A RECORD OF SOME PERSECUTIONS IN SOUTH WALES. For the first decade of their existence, **Quakers** were not so much pacifists as tax resistors, particularly in regard to the abolition of tithes. Originally tithes were a tax of one-tenth of the annual produce of land or labor levied to support the clergy and buildings of the Church of England. Tithe-barns held tithes paid in kind. One of the basic concepts of many Protestant sects (derived from early Protestant beliefs, including those expressed by Martin Luther) was the "priesthood of all believers." Oliver Cromwell had once told the Irish clergy that "So anti-christian and dividing a term as clergy and laity was unknown to the primitive church," and before the battle of Dunbar in September 1650 he allegedly promised to abolish tithes "if the Lord gave him victory." According to Christopher Hill (GOD'S ENGLISHMAN: OLIVER CROMWELL AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION, 1970), Fox never forgave him for having reneged on this promise. A Parliamentary Committee recommended in December 1653 that tithes should be abolished but its recommendation was rejected by the full House by two votes. The gentry, the clergy and traditionalists of all classes of course considered tax resistance to be outrageously reminiscent of the "Levellers" whom they had suppressed in 1649 and of the Diggers or "True Levellers" whom they were suppressing in 1650. (This had been was part of a long-term protest by the ordinary people, many of whom held land on the basis of feudal rights with no security of tenure, against the enclosure of land, commons, and wastes. They had wanted all crown lands and forests, all commons, and all wastelands to be made available for free cultivation by the poor.) Even a Friend such as George Wither could confess that such people were "our Levellers new-named."

The name by which Fox's followers first referred to themselves was "Children of Light." The transition from "Children of Light" to "Society of Friends," which would occur in the mid-1650s, would indicate that the

18. Butler, Jon. AWASH IN A SEA OF FAITH: CHRISTIANIZING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. Cambridge MA: Harvard UP, 1990, page 23



movement was turning away to some extent from its earlier more ecstatic and mystical form. But “Quaker” itself seems not to have originated as a self-characterization:

... to me, that at those Times, when I had asked him to let me go forth, to speak the Word of the Lord to the People, and he had refused to let me go, and I had laid the weight thereof upon him, that then he used to be under great Trouble, amazed and almost distracted for some time after; and in such a Condition, that he had little Strength left him. When the Morning came, he... went to the Justices, and told them; “That he and his House had been plagued for my sake”: and one of the Justices replied (as he reported to me) that the Plagues were on them too, for keeping me. This was Justice Bennet of Darby, who was the first that called us Quakers, because I bid them Tremble at the Word of the Lord. And this was in the Year 1650. Now the Keeper of the Prison [where Fox was confined on a charge of blasphemy for saying he had got beyond sin], being an high Professor [i.e. “professing” a high standard of religion], was greatly enraged against me; and spake very wickedly of me: But it pleased the Lord one Day to strike him so, that he was in great Trouble, and under great Terrors of Mind. And as I was walking in my Chamber, I heard a doleful Noise; and standing still, I heard him say to his Wife; “Wife, I have seen the Day of Judgment, and I saw GEORGE there, and I was afraid of him; because I had done him so much wrong, and spoken so much against him to the Ministers and Professors, and to the Justices, and in Taverns and Alehouses.” After this, towards the Evening, he came up into my Chamber, and said to me; “I have been as a Lion against you; But now I come like a Lamb, and like the Jailer, that came to Paul and Silas trembling.” And he said, He had been plagued, and his house had been plagued for my sake. So I suffered him to lodge with me. Then he told me all his heart, and said, he believed what I had said of the true faith and hope to be true; and he wondered that the other man, who was put in prison with me, did not stand to it; and said, That man was not right, but I was an honest man. He confessed also to me, that at those times when I had asked him to let me go forth to speak the word of the Lord to the people, when he refused to let me go, and I laid the weight thereof upon him, that he used to be under great trouble, amazed, and almost distracted for some time after, and in such a condition that he had little strength left him. When the morning came, he arose and went to the justices, and told them, That he and his house had been plagued for my sake. One of the justices replied, (as he reported to me), that the plagues were upon them too for keeping me. This was justice Bennet of Derby, who was the first that called us Quakers, because I bid them tremble at the word of the Lord. This was in the year 1650. After this the justices gave leave, that I should have leave to walk a mile.

In THE BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM (page 57) William C. Braithwaite cited Fox’s account but added that the word had already been in use as early as 1647 in a derisive reference to “a sect of women ... come from beyond the sea, called Quakers, and these swell, shiver and shake, and, when they come to themselves (for in all this fit Mahomet’s Holy Ghost hath been conversing with them) they begin to preach what hath been delivered to them by the Spirit.” Braithwaite noted also that Robert Barclay “tells us that the name came from the trembling of Friends under the powerful working of the Holy Ghost.” This commentator found “no real inconsistency” between the two accounts, since Justice Bennett was presumably familiar with the earlier use of the term when he applied it for the first time to Friend [George Fox](#).



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

As I travelled through markets, fairs, and diverse places, I saw death and darkness in all people where the power of the Lord God had not shaken them. As I was passing on in Leicestershire I came to Twy-Cross, where there were excise-men. I was moved of the Lord to go to them, and warn them to take heed of oppressing the poor; and people were much affected with it.

There was in that town a great man that had long lain sick, and was given up by the physicians; and some Friends in the town desired me to go to see him. I went up to him in his chamber, and spoke the Word of life to him, and was moved to pray by him; and the Lord was entreated, and restored him to health. But when I was come down stairs, into a lower room, and was speaking to the servants, and to some people that were there, a serving-man of his came raving out of another room, with a naked rapier in his hand, and set it just to my side. I looked steadfastly on him, and said, "Alack for thee, poor creature! what wilt thou do with thy carnal weapon? It is no more to me than a straw." The bystanders were much troubled, and he went away in a rage and full of wrath. But when the news of it came to his master, he turned him out of his service.

Thus the Lord's power preserved me and raised up the weak man, who afterwards was very loving to Friends; and when I came to that town again both he and his wife came to see me.

After this I was moved to go into Derbyshire, where the mighty power of God was among Friends. And I went to Chesterfield, where one Britland was priest. He saw beyond the common sort of priests, for he had been partly convinced, and had spoken much on behalf of Truth before he was priest there; but when the priest of that town died, he got the parsonage, and choked himself with it. I was moved to speak to him and the people in the great love of God, that they might come off from all men's teaching unto God's teaching; and he was not able to gainsay.

But they had me before the mayor, and threatened to send me, with some others, to the house of correction, and kept us in custody till it was late in the night. Then the officers, with the watchmen, put us out of the town, leaving us to shift as we could. So I bent my course towards Derby, having a friend or two with me. In our way we met with many professors; and at Kidsey Park many were convinced.

Then, coming to Derby, I lay at the house of a doctor, whose wife was convinced; and so were several more in the town. As I was walking in my chamber, the [steeple-house] bell rang, and it struck at my life at the very hearing of it; so I asked the woman of the house what the bell rang for. She said there was to be a great lecture there that day, and many of the officers of the army, and priests, and preachers were to be there, and a colonel, that was a preacher.

Then was I moved of the Lord to go up to them; and when they had done I spoke to them what the Lord commanded me, and they were pretty quiet. But there came an officer and took me by the hand, and said that I and the other two that were with me must go before the magistrates. It was about the first hour after noon that we came before them.

GEORGE FOX



FOX'S JOURNAL:

They asked me why we came thither. I said God moved us so to do; and I told them, "God dwells not in temples made with hands." I told them also that all their preaching, baptism and sacrifices would never sanctify them, and bade them look unto Christ within them, and not unto men; for it is Christ that sanctifies. Then they ran into many words; but I told them they were not to dispute of God and Christ, but to obey Him.

The power of God thundered among them, and they did fly like chaff before it. They put me in and out of the room often, hurrying me backward and forward, for they were from the first hour till the ninth at night in examining me. Sometimes they would tell me in a deriding manner that I was taken up in raptures.

At last they asked me whether I was sanctified. I answered, "Yes; for I am in the paradise of God." Then they asked me if I had no sin. I answered, "Christ my Saviour has taken away my sin; and in Him there is no sin." They asked how we knew that Christ did abide in us. I said, "By His Spirit, that He hath given us." They temptingly asked if any of us were Christ. I answered, "Nay; we are nothing; Christ is all." They said, "If a man steal, is it no sin?" I answered, "All unrighteousness is sin."

When they had wearied themselves in examining me, they committed me and one other man to the house of correction in Derby for six months, as blasphemers, as may appear by the mittimus, a copy whereof here followeth:

** "To the master of the house of correction in Derby,
greeting:*

"We have sent you herewithal the bodies George Fox, late of Mansfield, in the county of Nottingham, and John Fretwell, late of Staniesby, in the county of Derby, husbandman, brought before us this present day, and charged with the avowed uttering and broaching of diverse blasphemous opinions, contrary to the late Act of Parliament; which, upon their examination before us, they have confessed. These are therefore to require you forthwith, upon sight hereof, to receive them, the said George Fox and John Fretwell, into your custody, and them therein safely to keep during the space of six months, without bail or mainprize, or until they shall find sufficient security to be of good behaviour, or be thence delivered by order from ourselves. Hereof you are not to fail. Given under our hands and seals this 30th day of October, 1650.

*"GERVASE BENNET,
"NATH. BARTON."*

GEORGE FOX

FOX'S JOURNAL:

While I was here in prison diverse professors came to discourse with me. I had a sense, before they spoke, that they came to plead for sin and imperfection. I asked them whether they were believers and had faith. They said, "Yes." I asked them, "In whom?" They said, "In Christ." I replied. "If ye are true believers in Christ, you are passed from death to life; and if passed from death, then from sin that bringeth death; and if your faith be true, it will give you victory over sin and the devil, purify your hearts and consciences (for the true faith is held in a pure conscience), and bring you to please God, and give you access to Him again."

But they could not endure to hear of purity, and of victory over sin and the devil. They said they could not believe any could be free from sin on this side of the grave. I bade them give over babbling about the Scriptures, which were holy men's words, whilst they pleaded for unholiness.

At another time a company of professors came, who also began to plead for sin. I asked them whether they had hope. They said, "Yes: God forbid but we should have hope." I asked them, "What hope is it that you have? Is Christ in you the hope of your glory? Doth it purify you, as He is pure?" But they could not abide to hear of being made pure here. Then I bade them forbear talking of the Scriptures, which were the holy men's words; "for," said I, "the holy men that wrote the Scriptures pleaded for holiness in heart, life, and conversation here; but since you plead for impurity and sin, which is of the devil, what have you to do with the holy men's words?" The keeper of the prison, being a high professor, was greatly enraged against me, and spoke very wickedly of me; but it pleased the Lord one day to strike him, so that he was in great trouble and under much terror of mind. And, as I was walking in my chamber I heard a doleful noise, and, standing still, I heard him say to his wife, "Wife, I have seen the day of judgment, and I saw George there; and I was afraid of him, because I had done him so much wrong, and spoken so much against him to the ministers and professors, and to the justices, and in taverns and alehouses."

After this, towards the evening, he came into my chamber, and said to me, "I have been as a lion against you; but now I come like a lamb, and like the jailer that came to Paul and Silas trembling." And he desired he might lodge with me. I told him I was in his power; he might do what he would; but he said, "Nay," that he would have my leave, and that he could desire to be always with me, but not to have me as a prisoner. He said he had been plagued, and his house had been plagued, for my sake. So I suffered him to lodge with me.

Then he told me all his heart, and said that he believed what I had said of the true faith and hope to be true; and he wondered that the other man, who was put in prison with me, did not stand it; and said, "That man was not right, but you are an honest man." He confessed also to me that at those times when I had asked him to let me go forth to speak the word of the Lord to the people, when he refused to let me go, and I laid the weight thereof upon him, he used to be under great trouble, amazed, and almost distracted for some time after, and in such a condition that he had little strength left him.

GEORGE FOX



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

When the morning came he rose and went to the justices, and told them that he and his house had been plagued for my sake. One of the justices replied (as he reported to me) that the plagues were upon them, too, for keeping me. This was Justice Bennet, of Derby, who was the first that called us Quakers, because I bade them tremble at the word of the Lord. This was in the year 1650.

After this the justices gave leave that I should have liberty to walk a mile. I perceived their end, and told the jailer, that if they would set down to me how far a mile was, I might take the liberty of walking it sometimes. For I had a sense that they thought I would go away. And the jailer confessed afterwards they did it with that intent, to have me go away, to ease them of their plague; but I told him I was not of that spirit.

While I was in the house of correction my relations came to see me; and, being troubled for my imprisonment, they went to the justices that cast me into prison and desired to have me home with them, offering to be bound in one hundred pounds, and others of Derby in fifty pounds apiece with them, that I should come no more thither to declare against the priests.

So I was taken up before the justices; and because I would not consent that they or any should be bound for me (for I was innocent of any ill behaviour, and had spoken the Word of life and truth unto them), Justice Bennet rose up in a rage; and, as I was kneeling down to pray to the Lord to forgive him, he ran upon me, and struck me with both his hands, crying, "Away with him, jailer; take him away, jailer." Whereupon I was taken again to prison, and there kept till the time of my commitment for six months was expired.

But I had now the liberty of walking a mile by myself, which I made use of as I felt freedom. Sometimes I went into the market and streets, and warned the people to repent of their wickedness, and returned to prison again. And there being persons of several sorts of religion in the prison, I sometimes visited them in their meetings on First-days.

GEORGE FOX



'THE MAN IN LEATHER BREECHES'¹⁹

'As I was walking I heard old people and work people to say: "he is such a man as never was, he knows people's thoughts" for I turned them to the divine light of Christ and His spirit let them see ... that there was the first step to peace to stand still in the light that showed them their sin and transgression.'—G. FOX.

'Do not look at but keep over all unnaturalness, if any such thing should appear, but keep in that which was and is and will be.'—G. FOX.

'Wait patiently upon the Lord; let every man that loves God, endeavour by the spirit of wisdom, meekness, and love to dry up Euphrates, even this spirit of bitterness that like a great river hath overflowed the earth of mankind.'—GERRARD WINSTANLEY. 1648.

'Blessed is he who loves Thee, and his friend in Thee, and his enemy for Thy sake.'—AUGUSTINE.

'Eternity is just the real world for which we were made, and which we enter through the door of love.'—RUFUS M. JONES.

19. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



'THE MAN IN LEATHER BREECHES'

22nd Dec. 1651.

'Rough Moll, the worst-tempered woman in all Yorkshire.' It was thus her neighbours were wont to speak behind her back of Mistress Moll, the keeper of the 'George and Dragon' Inn at Hutton Cranswick near Drifffield in the East Riding. Never a good word or a kind deed had she for anyone, since her husband had been called away to serve in King Charles's army. In former days, when mine host was at home, the neighbours had been encouraged to come early and stay late at night gossiping over the home-brewed ale he fetched for them so cheerily; for Moll's husband was an open-hearted, pleasant-mannered man, the very opposite of his shrewish wife. But now, since his departure for the wars, the neighbours got to the bottom of their mugs with as little delay as possible, vowing to themselves in whispers that they would seek refuge elsewhere another night, since Moll's sour looks went near to give a flavour of vinegar even to the ale she brewed. Thus, as speedily as might be, they escaped from the reach of their hostess's sharp tongue.

But the lasses of the inn, who were kept to do the rough work of the house, found it harder to escape from the harsh rule of their mistress. And for little Jan, Moll's four-year-old son, there was still less possibility of escape from the tyrant whom he called by the name of Mother.

Nothing of true mother-love had ever yet been kindled in Rough Moll's heart. From the very beginning she had fiercely resented being burdened with what she called 'the plague of a brat.' Still, so long as his father remained at home, the child's life had not been an unhappy one. As soon as ever he could stand alone he drew himself up by his father's trousers, with an outstretched hand to be grasped in the big fist. As soon as he could toddle, he spent his days wandering round the Inn after his daddy, knowing that directly he grew tired daddy would be ready to stop whatever he might be doing, in order to lift the small boy up in his arms or to give him a ride on his knee.

'Wasting your time over the brat and leaving the Tavern to go to rack and ruin'—Moll would say, with a sneer, as she passed them. But she never interfered; for the husband who had courted her when she was a young girl was the only person for whom she still kept a soft spot in the heart that of late years seemed to have grown so hard.

Truth to tell, tavern-keeping was no easy business in those unsettled times, and Moll had ever been a famous body for worrying over trifles.

'The worry cow
Would have lived till now,
If she had not lost her breath,
But she thought her hay
Would not last the day,



So she mooded herself to death."

'And all the time she had three sacks full! Remember that, Moll, my lass!' Jan's father would say to his wife, when she began to pour out to him her dismal forebodings about the future. But since this easy-going, jolly daddy had left the Inn and had gone away with the other men and lads of the village to fight with My Lord for the King, little Jan's lot was a hard one, and seemed likely to grow harder day by day.

Rough Moll's own life was not too easy either, at this time, though few folks troubled themselves to speculate upon the reason for her added gruffness. So she concealed her anxieties under an extra harshness of tongue and did her best to make life a burden to everyone she came across. For, naturally, now that the Inn was no longer a pleasant place in mine host's absence, it was no longer a profitable place either. Custom was falling off and quarter day was fast approaching. Moll was at her wits' end to know where she should find money to pay her rent, when, one day, to her unspeakable relief, My Lady in her coach stopped at the door of the Inn. Now Moll had been dairymaid up at the Hall years ago, before her marriage, and My Lady knew of old that Moll's butter was as sweet as her looks were sour. Perhaps she guessed, also, at some of the other woman's anxieties; for was not her own husband, My Lord, away at the wars too? Anyway, when the fine yellow coach stopped at the door of the Inn, it was My Lady's own head with the golden ringlets that leaned out of the window, and My Lady's own soft voice that asked if her old dairymaid could possibly oblige her with no less than thirty pounds of butter for her Yuletide feast to the villagers the following week.

The Moll who came out, smiling and flattered, to the Inn door and stood there curtsying very low to her Ladyship, was a different being from the Rough Moll of every day. She promised, with her very smoothest tongue, she would not fail. She knew where to get the milk, and her Ladyship should have the butter, full weight and the very best, by the following evening, which would leave two full days before [Christmas](#).

'That is settled then, for I have never known you to fail me,' said My Lady, as the coach drove away, leaving Moll curtsying behind her, and vowing again that 'let come what would come,' she would not fail.

It was small wonder, therefore, after this unaccustomed graciousness, that she was shorter-tempered than ever with her unfortunate guests that evening. Was not their presence hindering her from getting on with her task? At length she left the lasses to serve the ale, which, truth to tell, they were nothing loath to do, while Moll herself, in her wooden shoes and with her skirts tucked up all round her, clattered in and out of the dairy where already a goodly row of large basins stood full to the brim with rich yellow milk on which, even now, the cream was fast rising.

Thirty pounds of butter could never all be made in one day; she must begin her task overnight. True, little Jan was whining to go to bed as he tried vainly to keep awake on his small hard



stool by the fire. The brat must wait; she could not attend to him now. He could sleep well enough leaning against the bricks of the chimney-corner. Or, no! the butter-making would take a long time, and Moll was never a methodical woman. Jan should lie down, just as he was, and have a nap in the kitchen until she was ready to attend to him. Roughly, but not unkindly, she pulled him off the stool and laid him down on a rug in a dark corner of the kitchen and told him to be off to sleep as fast as he could, stooping to cover him with an old coat of her husband's that was hanging on the door, as she spoke. Nothing loath, Jan shut his sleepy eyes, and, burying his little nose in the folds of the old coat, he went happily off into dreamland, soothed by the well-remembered out-door smell that always clung around his father's belongings.

It did not take Moll long to fill the churn and to set it in its place. Just as she was busy shutting down the lid, there came a knock at the door. 'Plague take you, Stranger,' she grumbled, as she opened it, and a gust of snow and wind blew in upon her and the assembled guests in the tavern kitchen. 'You bring in more of the storm than you are likely to pay for your ale.'

'My desire is not for ale,' said the Stranger, speaking slowly, and looking at the woman keenly from underneath his shaggy eyebrows. 'I came but to ask thee for shelter from the storm; and for a little meat, if thou hast any to set before me.'

'To ask thee for shelter.' 'If thou hast any meat.' The unusual form of address caught Moll's ear. She looked more closely at her visitor. Yes, his lower limbs were not covered with homely Yorkshire frieze; they were encased in odd garments that must surely be made of leather, since the snowflakes lay upon them in crisp wreaths and wrinkles before they melted. She had heard of the strange being who was visiting those parts and she had no desire to make his acquaintance. 'Hey, lasses!' she called to her maids at the far end of the tavern parlour, 'here is the man in leather breeches himself, come to pay us a visit this wild night!'

A shout of laughter went up from the men at their tankards. 'The man in leather breeches!' 'Send him out again into the storm! We'll have none of his company here, the spoil sport!'

Moll nodded assent, and returning to her unwelcome guest, said shortly, 'Meat there is none for you here,' and moved towards the door, where the Stranger still stood, as if to close it upon him.

But the man was not to be so easily dismissed.

'Hast thou then milk?' he asked.

Moll laughed aloud. A man who did not want ale should not have milk; no money to be made out of that; especially this night of all nights, when every drop would be wanted for her Ladyship's butter.

Lies were part of Moll's regular stock-in-trade. She lied now, with the ease of long habit.

'You will get no shelter here,' she said roughly, 'and as for milk, there is not a drop in the house.'

The Stranger looked at her. He spoke no words for a full minute,



but as his eyes pierced her through and through, she knew that he knew that she had lied. The knowledge made her angry. She repeated her words with an oath. The Stranger made as if to turn away; then, almost reluctantly but very tenderly, as if he were being drawn back in spite of himself: 'Hast thou then cream?' he asked. Yet, though his tone was persuasive, his brows were knitted as he stood looking down upon the angry woman.

'Not as if he cared about the cream, but as if he cared about me,' Moll said herself, long after. But at the time: 'No, nor cream either. On my soul, there is not a drop in the house,' she repeated, more fiercely than before.

But, even as she spoke, she saw that the Stranger's eyes were fastened on the churn that stood behind her, the churn evidently full and drawn out for use, with drops of rich yellow cream still standing upon the lid and trickling down the sides.

Moll turned her square shoulders upon the churn as if to shut out its witness to her falsehood. Her lies came thick and fast; 'I tell you there is not a single drop of cream in the house.'

The next moment, a loud crash made her look round. She had forgotten Jan! The loud angry voice and the cold blast from the open door had awakened him before he had had time to get sound asleep. Hearing his mother vow that she had not a drop of cream in the house, he left his rug and began playing about again. Then, being ever a restless little mortal, he had crept round to the churn to see if it had really become empty in such a short time. He had tried to pull himself up by one of the legs in order to stand on the rim and see if there was really no cream inside; and in attempting this feat, naturally, he had pulled the whole churn over upon him. And not only the churn,—its contents too! Eighteen quarts of Moll's richest yellow cream were streaming all over the kitchen floor. Pools, lakes, rivers, seas of cream were running over the flagstones and dripping through the crevices into the ground.

With a cry of rage Moll turned, and, seeing the damage, she sprang upon little Jan and beat him soundly; and a beating from Moll's heavy hand was no small matter: then with a curse she flung the child away from her towards the hearth.

'Woman!' The Stranger's voice recalled her. 'Woman! Beware! Thou art full of lies and fury and deceit, yet in the name of the Lord I warn thee. Ere three days have gone by, thou shalt know what is in thine heart; and thou shalt learn the power of that which was, and is, and will be!'

So saying, the unwelcome guest opened the outer door and walked away into the raging storm and darkness,—a less bitter storm it seemed to him now than that created by the violent woman within doors. Some way further on he espied a haystack, under which he lay down, as he had done on many another night before this, and there he slept in the wind and the snow until morning.

Moll, meanwhile, enraged beyond words at the loss of her cream, stalked off for a pail and cloth, and set herself to wash the floor, muttering curses as she did so. Never a glance did she cast at the corner by the fire where little Jan still lay by the hearth-stone, motionless and strangely quiet; he, the restless



imp, who was usually so full of life. Never a glance, until, the centre of the floor being at last clean again, Moll, on her knees, came with her pail of soap-suds to the white river that surrounded the corner of the kitchen where Jan lay. A white river? Nay, there was a crimson river that mingled with it; a stream of crimson drops that flowed from the stone under the child's head.

Moll leapt to her feet on the instant. What ailed the boy? She had beaten him, it is true, but then she had beaten him often before this in his father's absence. A beating was nothing new to little Jan. Why had he fallen? What made him lie so still? She turned him over. Ah! it was easy to see the reason. As she flung him from her in her rage, the child in his fall had struck his head against the sharp edge of the hearth-stone, and there he lay now, with the life-blood steadily flowing from his temple.

A feeling that Moll had never been conscious of before gripped her heart at the sight. Was her boy dead? Had she killed him? What would his father say? What would her husband call her? A murderer? Was she that? Was that what the Stranger had meant when he had looked at her with those piercing eyes? He might have called her a liar, at the sight of the churn full of cream, but he had not done so; and little she would have cared if he had. But a murderer! Was murder in her heart?

Lifting Jan as carefully as she could, she carried him upstairs to the small bedroom under the roof, where he usually lay on a tiny pallet by her side. But this night the child's small figure lay in the wide bed, and big Moll, with all her clothes on, hung over him; or if she lay down for a moment or two, it was only on the hard little pallet by his side.

All that night Moll watched. But all that night Jan never moved. All the next day he lay unconscious, while Moll did her clumsy utmost to staunch the wound in his forehead. Long before it was light, she tried to send one of her maids for the doctor; but the storm was now so violent that none could leave or enter the house.

Her Ladyship's order went unheeded. The thirty pounds of butter were never made. But My Lady, who was a mother herself, not only forgave Moll for spoiling her Yuletide festivities, but even told her, when she heard of the disaster, that she need not trouble about the rent until her boy was better.

Until he was better! But would Jan ever be better? Moll had no thought now for either the butter or the rent. The yellow cream might turn sour in every single one of her pans for all she cared, if only she could get rid of this new unbearable pain.

At length, on the evening of the second day, faint with the want of sleep, she fell into an uneasy doze: and still Jan had neither moved nor stirred. Presently a faint sound woke her. Was he calling? No; it was but the [Christmas](#) bells ringing across the snow. What were those bells saying? 'MUR-DER-ER' 'MUR-DERER'—was that it? Over and over again. Did even the bells know what she had done and what she had in her heart? For a moment black despair seized her.



The next moment there followed the shuffling sound of many feet padding through the snow. The storm had ceased by this time, and all the world was wrapped in a white silence, broken only by the sound of the distant bells. And now the [Christmas](#) waits had followed the bells' music, and were singing carols outside the ale-house door. Fiercely, Moll stuck her fingers in her ears. She would not listen, lest even the waits should sing of her sin, and shew her the blackness of her heart. But the song stole up into the room, and, in spite of herself, something forced Moll to attend to the words:

'Babe Jesus lay in Mary's lap,
The sun shone on his hair—
And that was how she saw, mayhap,
The crown already there.'

That was how good mothers sang to their children. They saw crowns upon their hair. What sort of a crown had Moll given to her child? She looked across and saw the chaplet of white bandages lying on the white pillow. No; she, Moll, had never been a good mother, would never be one now, unless her boy came back to life again. She was a murderer, and her husband when he returned from the wars would tell her so, and little Jan would never know that his mother had a heart after all.

At that moment the carol died away, and the waits' feet, heavy with clinging snow, shuffled off into the darkness; but looking down again at the head with its crown of white bandages upon the white pillow, Moll saw that this time Jan's eyes were open and shining up at her.

'Mother,' he said, in his little weak voice, as he opened his arms and smiled. Moll had seen him smile like that at his father; she had never known before that she wanted to share that smile. She knew it now.

Only three short days had passed since she turned the Stranger from her doors, but little Jan and his mother entered a new world of love and tenderness together that [Christmas](#) morning. As Rough Moll gathered her little son up into her arms and held him closely to her breast, she knew for the first time the power of 'that which was, and is, and will be.'



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

HISTORICAL NOTES

Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

'THE MAN IN LEATHER BREECHES.'

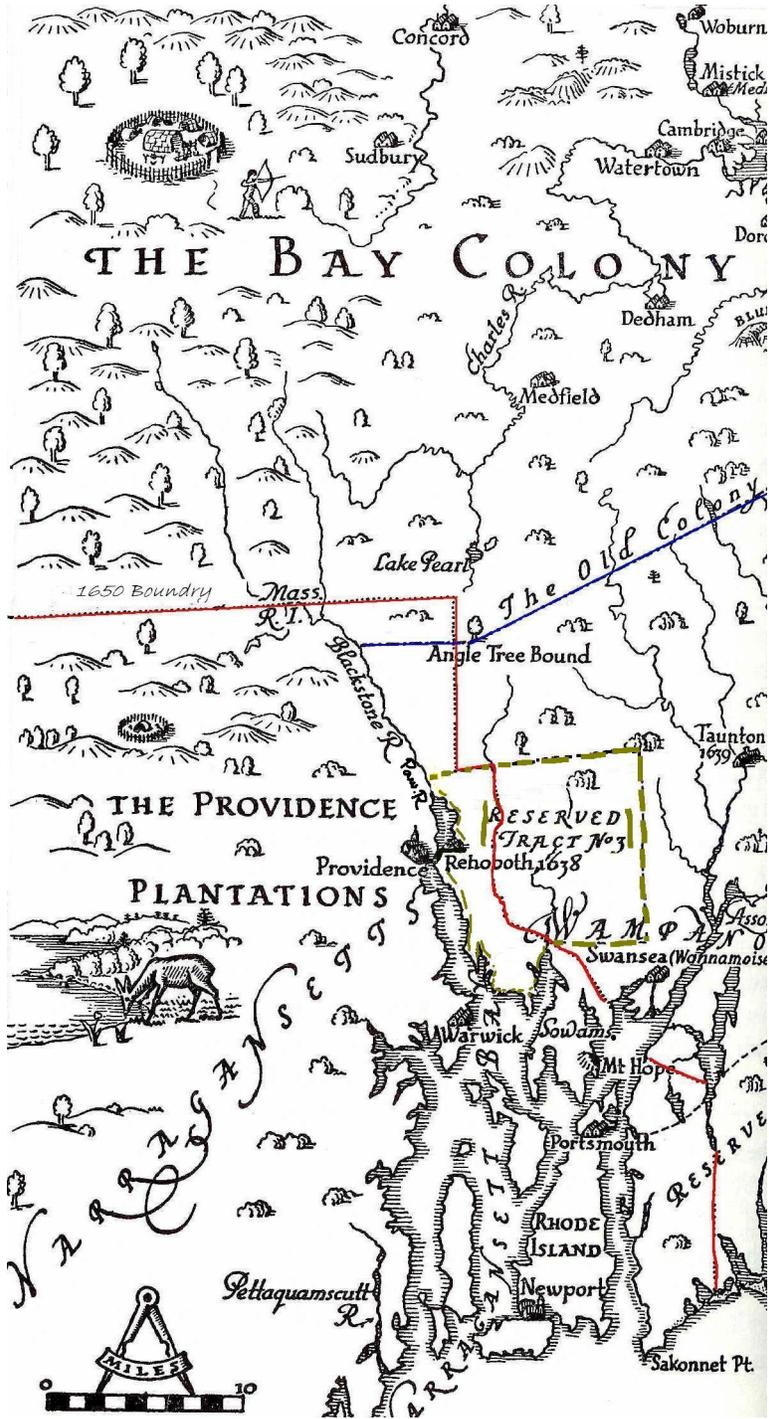
Expanded, with imaginary incidents and consequences, from a few paragraphs in George Fox's JOURNAL, i. 20.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

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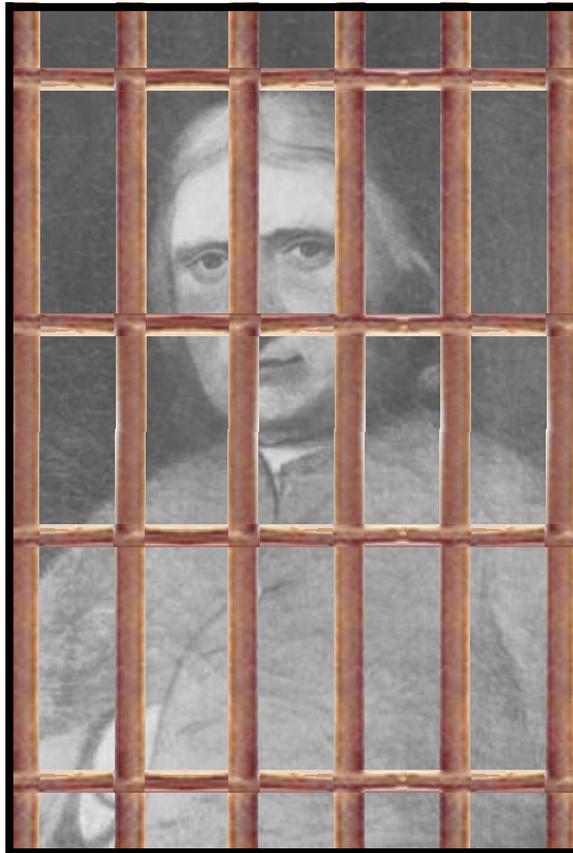
In [Rhode Island](#), [Friend](#) Nicholas Easton was governor. [William Dyer](#) would be serving as Attorney General until 1653.



January 11: [John Smith](#) and [Friend](#) Deborah Howland Smith of Plymouth had a daughter they named Hasadiah or Hassadyah Smith.

July: Friend [George Fox](#) had been confined in Derby's gaol, over a branch of the River Derwent at one end of the corn market, when he was approached by a group of recruits to the revolutionary army in search of a captain to appoint over themselves. He responded to these wannabee soldiers that war and fighting grew out of human lusts, and that he personally was in a condition which took away the occasion for war. It is this incident which is the factual background for the famous song couplet:

*"If we give you a pistol
Will you fight for the Lord?"*
*"But you can't kill the Devil
With a gun or a sword!"*



But note, this is **not** a general principle of pacifism. Although over time Fox's prose would alter to allow that it was possible to use force only in a "war with the devil and his works," and as part of keeping the peace and protecting people's estates (he assumed all his life that it was appropriate for the civil authority to use weapons of the flesh to suppress maygames and drunkards), he had nevertheless at this point begun to appreciate that violence could never legitimately be used in the furtherance of human confederations or in the prosecution of plots to raise insurrections. Also, we notice that this moderate change of heart was coming about at a time in Fox's life and in the life of England which could aptly be characterized by the invidious term "convenient."



While I was yet in the house of correction there came unto me a trooper, and said that as he was sitting in the steeple-house, hearing the priest, exceeding great trouble fell upon him; and the voice of the Lord came to him, saying, "Dost thou not know that my servant is in prison? Go to him for direction." So I spake to his condition, and his understanding was opened. I told him that that which showed him his sins, and troubled him for them, would show him his salvation; for He that shows a man his sin is the same that takes it away.

While I was speaking to him the Lord's power opened his mind, so that he began to have a good understanding in the Lord's truth, and to be sensible of God's mercies. He spoke boldly in his quarters amongst the soldiers, and to others, concerning truth (for the Scriptures were very much opened to him), insomuch that he said that his colonel was "as blind as Nebuchadnezzar, to cast the servant of the Lord into prison."

Upon this his colonel conceived a spite against him, and at Worcester fight, the year after, when the two armies lay near one another, and two came out from the king's army and challenged any two of the Parliament army to fight with them, his colonel made choice of him and another to answer the challenge. When in the encounter his companion was slain, he drove both his enemies within musket-shot of the town without firing a pistol at them. This, when he returned, he told me with his own mouth. But when the fight was over he saw the deceit and hypocrisy of the officers, and, being sensible how wonderfully the Lord had preserved him, and seeing also to the end of fighting, he laid down his arms.

** The time of my commitment to the house of correction being very nearly ended, and there being many new soldiers raised, the commissioners would have made me captain over them; and the soldiers cried out that they would have none but me. So the keeper of the house of correction was commanded to bring me before the commissioners and soldiers in the market-place, where they offered me that preferment, as they called it, asking me if I would not take up arms for the Commonwealth against Charles Stuart. I told them I knew whence all wars arose, even from the lusts, according to James' doctrine; and that I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars.*

Yet they courted me to accept of their offer, and thought I did but compliment them. But I told them I was come into the covenant of peace, which was before wars and strifes were. They said they offered it in love and kindness to me because of my virtue; and such-like flattering words they used. But I told them, if that was their love and kindness, I trampled it under my feet.

Then their rage got up, and they said, "Take him away, jailer, and put him into the prison amongst the rogues and felons." So I was put into a lousy, stinking place, without any bed, amongst thirty felons, where I was kept almost half a year; yet at times they would let me walk to the garden, believing I would not go away.

When they had got me into Derby prison, it was the saying of people that I would never come out; but I had faith in God that I should be delivered in His time; for the Lord had given me to believe that I was not to be removed from that place yet, being set there for a service which He had for me to do.

September: Tithes were a form of taxation outside the control of Parliament and attempts before 1640 to recover impropriated tithes threatened the property rights of those who had succeeded to the estates of the dissolved monasteries. Before the battle of Dunbar [Oliver Cromwell](#) evidently promised to abolish tithes “if the Lord gave him victory.”



According to Christopher Hill (*GOD’S ENGLISHMAN: OLIVER CROMWELL AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION*, 1970), Friend [George Fox](#) would never forgive him for renegeing on this promise.

George Fox

1651

April 9: In Dedham MA, [Friend John Ellis, Sr.](#) and [Susan Lumber Ellis](#) had [Hannah Ellis](#).

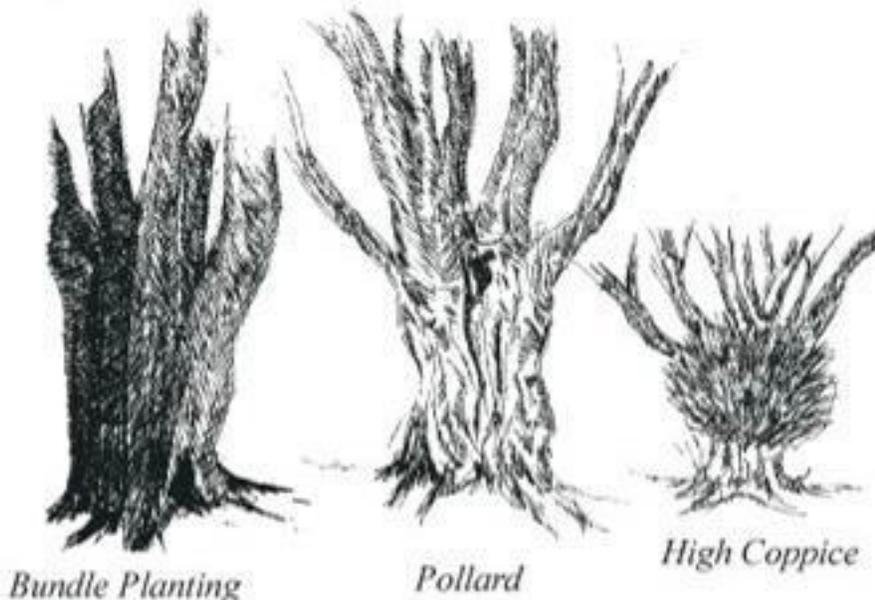
September 3: King Charles II had invaded England from Scotland but was defeated by troops from Ireland under [Oliver Cromwell](#) at the battle of Worcester. Colonel William Goffe commanded a regiment of Parliamentary forces at this battle. The monarch would be reduced to hiding in a recently lopped pollard oak tree at Boscobel

[REGICIDE](#)

in Shropshire.²⁰

20. Some there are who regard this as having been the high point of English monarchy. Shame on them.

Polling or pollarding is the cutting of a tree's branches regularly at the top of a 2-3 meter trunk. Most species of broadleaf trees will



form pollards. Trees were pollarded to produce repeated crops of small-sized wood. When fresh shoots grew out of the top of the trunk they would be safely out of reach of browsing animals such as cattle and deer. The poles produced were used in much the same way as the coppice, and the shoots and foliage were cut for supplementary animal fodder. Pollarding was typical in deer parks and on common land or wood pasture. Trees on stream-sides and riverbanks were often pollarded. Trees were re-cut every 5-35 years depending on the species and what the pieces collected were to be used for. Pollarded trees can survive for centuries. Nowadays pollarding is mainly done for landscape and conservation reasons and on street trees. The practice has fallen into disuse, leaving ancient overgrown and topheavy pollards scattered through the landscape.

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

This painter, however, considered that it would make a prettier picture, to depict him just before that battle:



After his evasion of capture by hiding in this tree, Charles would escape to France. The Parliamentary army would pass on to subdue the Isle of Man and, returning to the mainland, quarter in Derbyshire at Chesterfield and the towns thereabout. It would be at this point that soldier [William Edmundson](#) would first encountered Quakers.

One market day at Chesterfield, I was in a tavern with others of my companions and two women of the people called Quakers spoke of the things of God to the people in the market. I did not hear of them until they were gone, but the priest of the town, and several with him, abused them. When they had done, they came to the tavern and into the room where I and my companions were, it being a large dining-room. And the priest boasted of what he had done to the two women, thinking we would praise him. But I loved to hear of the women and hated his behavior towards them. A young man, a merchant, then present, who frequented my company and would often speak of the people called Quakers and say that their principles were the truth, hearing the priest boast of his abusive behavior to the said two women, answered and said that it was a poor victory he had gotten over two poor women. At this the priest was very angry and began to storm. My spirit rose against him. I started up from my seat and asked the priest and them with him if they came to quarrel, saying that if they did,

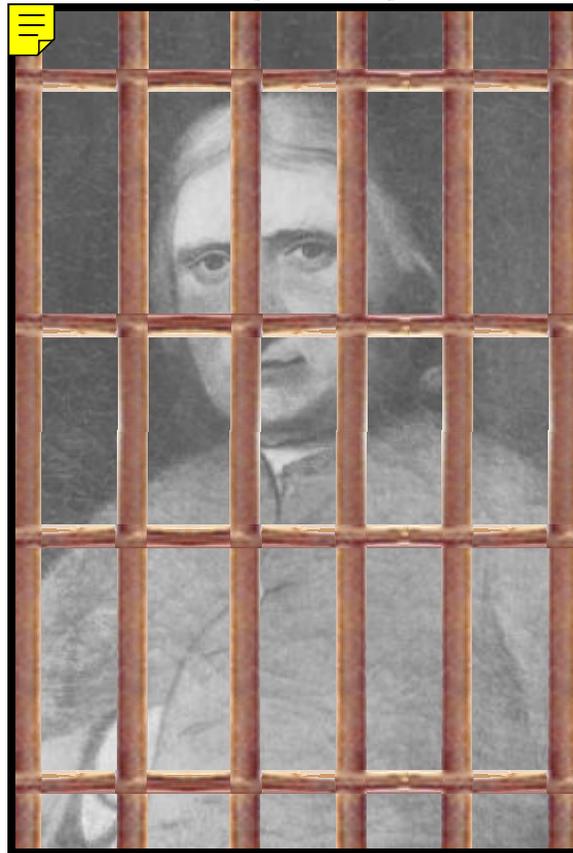
they should have enough. The priest answered, "No, not with you sir." I bid them leave the room, which they immediately did. But these things came close to me, and the more I heard of this people, the better I loved them. And earnest desires sprung afresh in my heart that the Lord would show me the way of truth.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

October 1: [John Smith](#) and [Friend](#) Deborah Howland Smith of Plymouth had a son they named [John Smith](#).

About the beginning of Winter: Friend [George Fox](#) continued to be pressed, to allow himself to be inducted into the ongoing civil war and thus "get out of jail free," but he refused and stayed to complete his full sentence.

[next screen]



December 18: On this day, or on the 18th of 6th month according to [Quaker](#) records, Daniel Gould got married with Wait or Wate Coggeshall (who in all probability was a daughter of John Coggeshall the president of the colony of [Rhode Island](#)).

Daniel, eldest son of Jeremiah and Priscilla Gould, was settled by his father in that part of Newport, Rhode Island, (now called Middletown²¹), and on that portion of the farm still in the

21. The towns on Aquidneck Island had not yet divided from each other.



While I was here in prison there was a young woman in the jail for robbing her master. When she was to be tried for her life I wrote to the judge and jury, showing them how contrary it was to the law of God in old time to put people to death for stealing, and moving them to show mercy. Yet she was condemned to die, and a grave was made for her, and at the time appointed she was carried forth to execution. Then I wrote a few words, warning all to beware of greediness or covetousness, for it leads from God; and that all should fear the Lord, avoid earthly lusts, and prize their time while they have it; this I gave to be read at the gallows. And, though they had her upon the ladder, with a cloth bound over her face, ready to be turned off, yet they did not put her to death, but brought her back to prison, where she afterwards came to be convinced of God's everlasting truth.

There was also in the jail, while I was there, a wicked, ungodly man, who was reputed a conjurer. He threatened that he would talk with me, and boasted of what he would do; but he never had power to open his mouth to me. And the jailer and he falling out, he threatened to raise the devil and break his house down; so that he made the jailer afraid. I was moved of the Lord to go in His power and rebuke him, and to say to him, "Come, let us see what thou canst do; do thy worst." I told him that the devil was raised high enough in him already; but the power of God chained him down, so he slunk away from me.

The time of Worcester fight coming on, Justice Bennet sent constables to press me for a soldier, seeing I would not voluntarily accept of a command. I told them that I was brought off from outward wars. They came again to give me press-money; but I would take none. Then I was brought up to Sergeant Holes, kept there awhile, and taken down again. Afterwards the constables brought me a second time before the commissioners, who said I should go for a soldier; but I told them I was dead to it. They said I was alive. I told them that where envy and hatred is there is confusion. They offered me money twice, but I refused it. Being disappointed, they were angry, and committed me close prisoner, without bail or mainprize.

Great was the exercise and travail in spirit that I underwent during my imprisonment here, because of the wickedness that was in this town; for though some were convinced, yet the generality were a hardened people. I saw the visitation of God's love pass away from them. I mourned over them.

There was a great judgment upon the town, and the magistrates were uneasy about me; but they could not agree what to do with me. One while they would have sent me up to the Parliament; another while they would have banished me to Ireland. At first they called me a deceiver, a seducer and a blasphemer. Afterwards, when God had brought his plagues upon them, they styled me an honest, virtuous man. But their good report and bad report were nothing to me; for the one did not lift me up, nor the other cast me down; praised be the Lord! At length they were made to turn me out of jail, about the beginning of winter, in the year 1651, after I had been a prisoner in Derby almost a year, – six months in the house of correction, and the rest of the time in the common jail.

GEORGE FOX



possession of his descendants.²² He married Wate, daughter of John Coggeshall (first President of the Colony), on the 18th of 6th month, 1651; with whom he lived in much love, to an advanced age. There is no particular date given, when he was convinced of the principles of [Friends](#), but unquestionably it was after he came to this country, as the principles of George Fox were not promulgated until 1647; but that he was a sturdy adherent to those doctrines is evident from divers certificates of Friends of several quarterly and monthly meetings, where he visited in the love and service of the Gospel, he being a minister of good standing at home and abroad. By the writings of Daniel Gould and by some sentences that have been handed down from one generation to another, spoken by him on divers occasions, he was a man of ready wit, deep penetration, and sound judgment; and although he served the Friends in divers capacities, both publicly and privately, it doth not appear that he ever entered into any public employ as an officer in outward government, though he did not escape being sought for on that account. The following extract is taken from a pamphlet of his in reference to the sufferings of Marmaduke Stevenson and Wm. Robinson, in Boston, with whom he was at that time. After saying that they came from Salem to Charleston Ferry, he says – “There meets us the constable and a rude company of people with him, and takes us all up (about 10 in number, besides the two banished friends) and after much scoffing and mocking examinations, all of us were led to prison, and God doth know, who is a just rewarder of all, how Harmless, Peaceable, & innocent we came into the town, behaving ourselves in much fear and humility of mind, yet, notwithstanding, being Quakers, to prison we must go, where we remained some days – it may be 3 or 4, or a week; there the Council sent searchers to search us & our Pockets, & took our papers & whatever they pleased, carrying them away, among which was Wm. Robinson’s Journal of places he had been. After that our pockets had been picked we remained in Prison till the pleasure of the court was to send for any or all of us, for sometimes they would send for several or all, and sometimes for one alone. For I was once sent for, sifted and tried, being examined about many things. And seeing that they were as a company of Fowlers to draw the Bird into their net, I was sparing of speech; then they called me Dumb Devil that could not speak & some said I was simple and ignorant and had no great harm in me, but that I was beguiled & led away by others that were more subtle. Then I said to them, if you think I am simply beguiled & not willfully in error how have you showed kindness to me? Or where has your love appeared to help me out of the ignorance & delusion you suppose I have fallen into? How have your endeavours appeared to open my understanding – to show me better? Do you think your prison, whips, and base usage are the way to do it? Is that the way, to begin with, to restore any one from the error of his ways? Then some one cried out and said: “he is more knave than fool!” Then I answered again and said – “If I hold my tongue I am a Dumb Devil, a fool & ignorant. If I

22. Stephen Gould and John Gould.



“speak I am a knave.” After this Richard Bellingham the Deputy Governor being full of envy, said to me, “Well, Gould, you shall be severely whipped;” which was afterward done, with 30 stripes upon my naked back, being tyed to the Carriage of a great Gun. And this is my comfort to this day, & I bless the Lord for it, that my sufferings were in great Innocence. There were five others whipped at the same time there. Two men & three women; each having ten stripes – except the two men, fifteen, for no other cause than being Quakers. And after we were whipped we were all led to prison²³ where our lodgings were with our sore backs upon the boards, where we remained untill after the Execution.” This was in the year 1659. Daniel Gould sometimes wrote poetry, of which the following is a specimen, taken from his papers, sent to England to be published.

Concerning Self.

Concerning self, I thus have seen the thing
Self undenied will self much sorrow bring.
Then look to self, for self a creeping thief
Though he promises fair to the end, 'twill be thy grief
Take not his bait tho' seeming ne'er so fair
For in this bait is laid a deadly snare.

Look, what thou loves & most inclines unto
In that he'l come & tempt thee sore to do
To cross his tempting & thy former lust,
Stand stiff against him, for deny thou must,
Then taking up the cross thou'lt see the thing
That in the end, it will much comfort bring.²⁴

23. The BIBLE which he had with him while in prison is now (1872) in the possession of one of his descendants — Lydia A. Gould, of Newport, Rhode Island.

24. Rebecca Gould Mitchell. THE GOULDS OF RHODE ISLAND (Providence: A. Crawford Greene, Book and Job Printer, Railroad Halls, 1875), pages 8-9



THE SHEPHERD OF PENDLE HILL²⁵

'On Pendle G.F. saw people as thick as motes in the sun, that should in time be brought home to the Lord, that there might be but one Shepherd and one Sheepfold in all the earth. There his eye was directed Northward beholding a great people that should receive him and his message in those parts.'—W. PENN'S Testimony to George Fox.

'In Adam, in the fall are all the inward foul weather, storms, tempests, winds, strifes, the whole family of it is in confusion, being all gone from the spirit and witness of God in themselves, and the power and the light, in which power and light and spirit, is the fellowship with God and with one another, through which they come ... into the quickener, who awakens (them) and brings (them) up unto Himself, the way, Christ; and out of and off from the teachers and priests, and shepherds that change and fall, to the PRIEST, SHEPHERD and PROPHET, that never fell or changed, nor ever will fail or change, nor leave the flock in the cold weather nor in the winter, nor in storms or tempests; nor doth the voice of the wolf frighten him from his flock. For the Light, the Power, the Truth, the Righteousness, did it ever leave you in any weather, or in any storms or tempests? And so his sheep know his voice and follow Him, who gives them life eternal abundantly.'—GEORGE FOX.

25. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



THE SHEPHERD OF PENDLE HILL

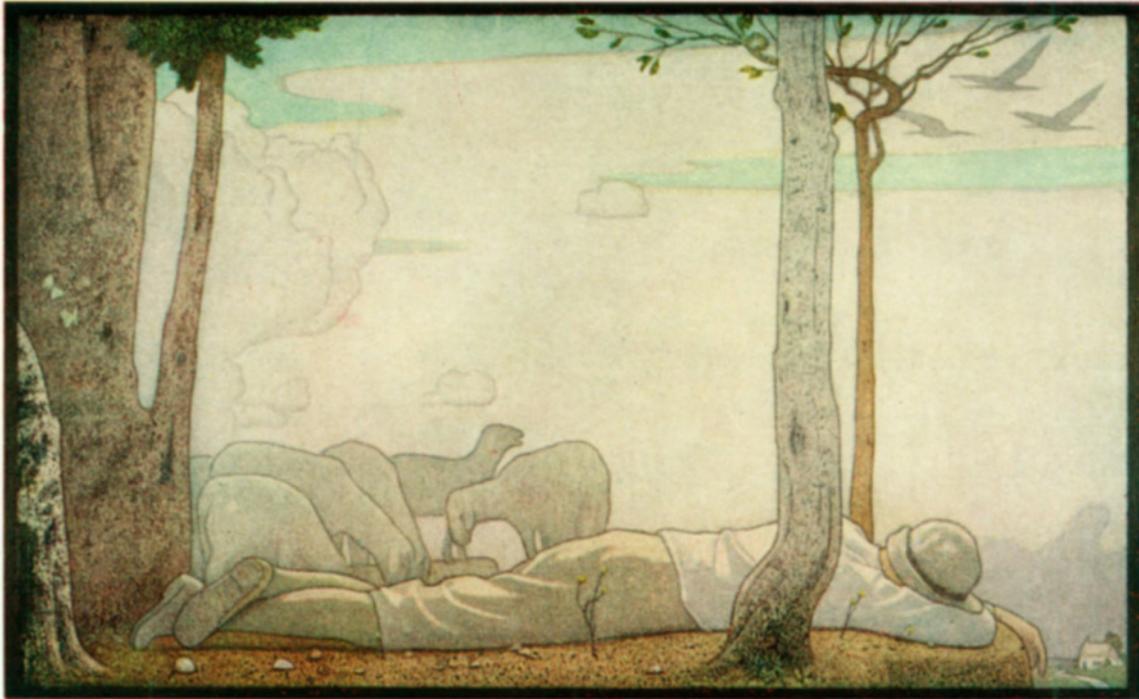
'Ingleborough, Pendle and Pen-y-Ghent Are the highest hills
'twixt Scotland and Trent.' So sing I, the Shepherd of Pendle,
to myself, and so have I sung, on summer days, these many years,
lying out atop of old Pendle Hill, keeping watch over my flock.
In good sooth, a shepherd's life is a hard one, on our Lancashire
fells, for nine months out of the twelve. The nights begin to
be sharp with frost towards the back-end of the year, for all
the days are sunny and warm at times. Bitter cold it is in winter
and worse in spring, albeit the daylight is longer.

'As the day lengthens, so the cold strengthens,' runs the rhyme,
and well do men know the truth of it in these parts. Many a time
a man must be ready to give his own life for his sheep, aye and
do it too, to save them in a snow-drift or from the biting frost.
It is an anxious season for the shepherd, until he sees the lambs
safely at play and able to stand upon their weak legs and run
after their mothers. But it is not until the dams are clipped
that a shepherd has an easy mind and can let his thoughts dwell
on other things. Then, at last, in the summer, his time runs
gently for a while; and I, for one, was always ready to enjoy
myself, when once the bitter weather was over.

So there I was, one day many years ago, nigh upon Midsummer,
lying out on the grassy slopes atop of old Pendle Hill, and
singing to myself—

'Ingleborough, Pendle and Pen-y-Ghent
Are the highest hills 'twixt Scotland and Trent.'

But for all I sang of the hills, my thoughts were in the valleys.
I lay there, watching till the sun should catch the steep roof
of a certain cot I know. It stands by the side of a stream, so
hidden among the bushes that even my eye cannot find it, unless
the sunlight finds it first, and flashes back at me from roof
and window-pane. That was the cot I had never lived in then, but
I hoped to live in it before the summer was over, and to bring
the bonniest lass in all yon broad Yorkshire there with me as
my bride. That was to be if things went well with me and with
the sheep; for my master had promised to give me a full wage
(seeing I had now reached man's estate), if so be I came through
the spring and early summer without losing a single lamb.
Thinking of these things, and dreaming dreams as a lad will, the
hours trod swiftly over Pendle Hill that day; for all the sun
was going down the sky but slowly, seeing it was Midsummer-tide.



‘DREAMING OF THE COT IN THE VALE’

Suddenly, as I lay there looking down over the slope, I saw a strange sight, for travellers are scarce on Pendle Hill even at Midsummer. But it was a traveller surely, or was it a shepherd? At first I could not be sure; for he carried a lamb in his arms and trod warily with it, in the way that shepherds do. Yet I never met a shepherd clad in clothes like his; nor with a face like his either, as I saw it, when he came nearer. Weary he looked, and with a pale countenance, as if he had much ado to come up the hill, and in good sooth 'tis full steep just there; or else, may be, he was fasting and faint for lack of food. But all this I only thought of later. At the time, I looked not much at him, but only at the lamb he carried in his arms. How came such a man to be carrying a lamb, and carrying it full gently and carefully too, supporting one leg with both hands, although he was encumbered with a staff? Then, when he had come yet nearer, I saw that it was not only a lamb—it was one of my master's lambs, my own lambs that I was set to watch; for there on its wool was the brand carried by our flocks and by none others on all those fells. One of my lambs, lying in a stranger's arms! A careless shepherd I! I must have been asleep or dreaming ... dreaming foolish dreams about that cottage, on which the sun might shine unheeded now, I cared not for it, being full of other thoughts. No sooner did I espy the brand on the lamb than I rose to my feet, and, even as I ran nimbly down the slope towards the stranger, my eyes roamed over the hillside to discover which of my lambs had strayed:—Rosamond, Cowslip, Eglantine and



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Gillyflower—I could see them all safe with their dams, and many more besides. All the lambs that springtime I had named after the flowers that I hoped to plant another year in the garden of that cot beside the stream. And all the flowers I could see and name were safe beside their dams, as I leapt down the hillside. Nay, Periwinkle was missing! Periwinkle was ever a strayer, and Periwinkle's dam was bleating at the edge of the steep cliff up which the stranger toiled. It was Periwinkle and none other that he was carrying in his arms! Seeing it was Periwinkle, I halloed to him to halt. Hearing my cry, he stopped, and waited till I reached him, all the time holding the lamb carefully, tending it and speaking to it in the tone a shepherd is wont to use.

'Thanks to you, Good Stranger,' I said, as I came nearer, 'Periwinkle is ever a strayer. Did you see her fall?'

'Nay,' said the Stranger, giving the lamb tenderly into my arms, and halting upon his staff; speaking warily and weightily as I never heard a man speak before or since. 'Nay; the lambkin must have fallen before I came by. But I heard the mother bleat, and I knew, by the sound, that she was in distress. Therefore I turned towards the crag upon which she stood, and, looking down, I perceived the lamb fallen among the brambles beneath a high ledge.'

'And went down over for her yourself and brought her up again! 'Twas bravely done, Good Stranger,' I answered, and then, thinking to encourage him, I said, 'Better you could not have done it, had you been a shepherd yourself, for I see your hands are torn.'

'It is nothing,' he answered. 'A shepherd expects that.'

'Then are you a shepherd too, Master Stranger?' I asked, but he gave no answer; only fastened his eyes upon me as we climbed together up the hill. Wonderful eyes he had, not like to other men's; with a depth and yet a light in them, as when the June sun shines back reflected from the blackness of a mountain tarn. I saw them then, and still I seem to see them, for when he looked at me, although he said no word, it was as if he knew me apart from everyone else in the world, even as I know every one of my master's sheep. I felt that he knew too how I had been looking at that cot in the vale and dreaming idly, forgetful of my lambs. Therefore, though he said no word of rebuke to me, I felt my cheeks grow hot, and I hung my head and spake not. Only, when we reached the top of the hill, he turned and answered me at last. 'Thou judgest right, friend,' he said, 'I was indeed a shepherd in my young years. I am a shepherd even now, though as yet with full few sheep. But, hereafter, it may be....'

I did not wait for the end of his sentence. Now that we were come to level ground I was fain to show that I was not a careless, idle shepherd in truth. My mind was set on Periwinkle's leg; broken, I feared, for it hung down limply. I took her,—laid her on the grass beside her dam while I fashioned a rough splint, shepherd-fashion, to keep the leg steady till we reached the fold. Then, seeing the sun was low by this time and nigh to setting over beyond the sea towards Morecambe, I called my sheep and gathered them from all the fells, near and



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far; and a fairer flock of sheep ye shall never see 'twixt Scotland and Trent, as the song says, though I trow ye may, an ye look carefully, find steeper hills than old Pendle.

When my work was done, I took up Periwinkle in my arms once more, anxious to descend with her ere night fell. Already I was climbing carefully down the slope, when, bless me, I remembered the Stranger, and that I had left him without a word, he having gone clean out of my mind, and I not having given him so much as a 'thank ye' at parting, for all he had saved Periwinkle. But I think I must have gone clean out of his mind too.

When I came back to him once more, there he was, still standing on the very top of the hill, where I had left him. But now his head was raised, the breeze lifted his hair. A kind of glory was on him. It was light from the sunset sky, I thought at first; but it was brighter far than that; for the sunset sky looked dull and dim beside it. His eyes were roaming far and wide over the valleys and hills, even as my eyes had wandered, when I was gathering my sheep. But his eyes wandered further, and further far, till they reached the utmost line of the Irish Sea to westward and covered all the country that lay between. Then he turned himself around to the east again. A strong man he was and a tall, and the glory was still on his face, though now he had the sunset sky at his back. And he opened his mouth and spake. Strange were his words:

'If but one man,' said he, 'but one man or woman, were raised by the Lord's Power to stand and live in the same Spirit that the Apostles and Prophets were in, he or she should shake all this country for miles round.' Shake all the country! He had uttered a fearsome thing. 'Nay, Master Stranger, bethink ye,' I said, going up to him, 'how may that be? What would happen to me and the sheep were these fells to shake? Even now, though they stand steady, you have seen that wayward lambs like Periwinkle will fall over and do themselves a mischief.' So I spake, being but a witless lad. But my words might have been the wind passing by him, so little he heeded them. I doubt if he even heard or knew that I was there although I stood close at his side. For again his eyes were resting on the Irish Sea, and on the country that lay shining in the sun towards Furness, and on the wide, glistening sands round Morecambe Bay. And then he turned himself round to the north where lie the high mountains that can at times be seen, or guessed, in the glow of the setting sun. Thus, as he gazed on all that fair land, the Stranger spoke. Again he uttered strange words.

At first his voice was low and what he said reached me not, save only the words: 'A great people, a great people to be gathered.' Whereat I, being, as I say, but a lad then, full of my own notions and mighty sure of myself as young lads are, plucked at his sleeve, having heard but the last words, and supposing that he had watched me gathering my flock for the fold.

'Not people, Master Stranger,' I interrupted. ''Tis my business to gather sheep. Sheep and silly, heedless lambs like Periwinkle, 'tis them I must gather for my master's fold.'

He saw and heard me then, full surely.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

'Aye,' he said, and his voice, though deep, had music in it, while his eyes pierced me yet again, but more gently this time, so that I made sure he had seen me tending Periwinkle and knew that I had done the best I could. 'Aye, verily thou dost well. Shepherd of Pendle, to gather lambs and silly sheep for their master's fold. I, too....' But there again he broke off and fell once more into silence.

Thus I left him, still standing atop of the hill; but as I turned to go I heard his voice yet again, and though I looked not round, the sound of it was as if a man were speaking to his friend, for all I knew that he stood there, atop of the hill, alone:

'I thank thee, Lord, that Thou hast let me see this day in what places Thou hast a great people, a great people to be gathered.' Thereat I partly understood, yet turned not back again, nor sought to enquire further of his meaning; for the daylight was fast fading and I had need of all my skill in getting home my sheep.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

HISTORICAL NOTES

Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

'THE SHEPHERD OF PENDLE HILL.'

Expanded from George Fox's JOURNAL, i. 40.

N.B.—The Shepherd, who is the speaker, is a wholly imaginary person.

1652

Margaret Askew Fell became a Quaker. She believed, as a Friend, that men and women are equal in the eyes of God, and have the same potential to receive the inner light which allows them to become wise ministers.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

In a metaphor for the Inner Light, Friend George Fox wrote that:

After thou seest thy thoughts, and the temptation, do not think, but submit; and then power comes. Stand still in that which shows and discovers; and then doth strength immediately come and stand still in the light, and submit to it and the other will be hush'd and gone; and then content comes.

Henry Thoreau would later exploit this metaphor (but translated from vision to hearing, as the need to step to the beat of a different drummer) in his 1854 book of lyceum lectures, WALDEN.





SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Friend [George](#) also insisted that:



Every scripture is to be interpreted by the same spirit which gave it forth.

[Waldo Emerson](#) would denominate this “the fundamental law of criticism” in his 1836 monograph on NATURE.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Friend [George Fox](#) continued his ministry:

Being again at liberty, I went on, as before, in the work of the Lord, passing through the country into Leicestershire, having meetings as I went; and the Lord's Spirit and power accompanied me.

As I was walking with several Friends, I lifted up my head and saw three steeple-house spires, and they struck at my life. I asked them what place that was. They said, "Lichfield." Immediately the Word of the Lord came to me that I must go thither. Being come to the house we were going to, I wished the Friends to walk into the house, saying nothing to them of whither I was to go. As soon as they were gone I stepped away, and went by my eye over hedge and ditch till I came within a mile of Lichfield, where, in a great field, shepherds were keeping their sheep.

*Then was I commanded by the Lord to pull off my shoes. I stood still, for it was winter; and the Word of the Lord was like a fire in me. So I put off my shoes, and left them with the shepherds; and the poor shepherds trembled, and were astonished. Then I walked on about a mile, and as soon as I was got within the city, the Word of the Lord came to me again, saying, "Cry, 'Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!'" * So I went up and down the streets, crying with a loud voice, "Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!" It being market-day, I went into the market-place, and to and fro in the several parts of it, and made stands, crying as before, "Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!" And no one laid hands on me.*

As I went thus crying through the streets, there seemed to me to be a channel of blood running down the streets, and the market-place appeared like a pool of blood.

When I had declared what was upon me, and felt myself clear, I went out of the town in peace, and, returning to the shepherds, I gave them some money, and took my shoes of them again. But the fire of the Lord was so in my feet, and all over me, that I did not matter to put on my shoes again, and was at a stand whether I should or no, till I felt freedom from the Lord so to do; then, after I had washed my feet, I put on my shoes again.

After this a deep consideration came upon me, for what reason I should be sent to cry against that city, and call it the bloody city! For, though the Parliament had had the minster one while, and the King another, and much blood had been shed in the town during the wars between them, yet that was no more than had befallen many other places. But afterwards I came to understand, that in the Emperor Diocletian's time a thousand Christians were martyred in Lichfield.



Passing on, I was moved of the Lord to go to Beverley steeple-house, which was then a place of high profession; and being very wet with rain, I went first to an inn. As soon as I came to the door, a young woman of the house came to the door, and said, "What, is it you? come in," as if she had known me before; for the Lord's power bowed their hearts. So I refreshed myself and went to bed; and in the morning, my clothes being still wet, I got ready, and having paid for what I had had in the inn, I went up to the steeple-house, where was a man preaching. When he had done, I was moved to speak to him, and to the people, in the mighty power of God, and to turn them to their teacher, Christ Jesus. The power of the Lord was so strong, that it struck a mighty dread amongst the people. The mayor came and spoke a few words to me; but none of them had any power to meddle with me.

So I passed away out of the town, and in the afternoon went to another steeple-house about two miles off. When the priest had done, I was moved to speak to him, and to the people very largely, showing them the way of life and truth, and the ground of election and reprobation. The priest said he was but a child, and could not dispute with me. I told him I did not come to dispute, but to hold forth the Word of life and truth unto them, that they might all know the one Seed, to which the promise of God was given, both in the male and in the female. Here the people were very loving, and would have had me come again on a week-day, and preach among them; but I directed them to their teacher, Christ Jesus, and so passed away.

The next day I went to Cranswick, to Captain Pursloe's, who accompanied me to Justice Hotham's. This Justice Hotham was a tender man, one that had had some experience of God's workings in his heart. After some discourse with him of the things of God, he took me into his closet, where, sitting with me, he told me he had known that principle these ten years, and was glad that the Lord did now publish it abroad to the people. After a while there came a priest to visit him, with whom also I had some discourse concerning the Truth. But his mouth was quickly stopped, for he was nothing but a notionist, and not in possession of what he talked of.

While I was here, there came a great woman of Beverley to speak to Justice Hotham about some business; and in discourse she told him that the last Sabbath-day (as she called it) there came an angel or spirit into the church at Beverley, and spoke the wonderful things of God, to the astonishment of all that were there; and when it had done, it passed away, and they did not know whence it came, nor whither it went; but it astonished all, - priest, professors, and magistrates of the town. This relation Justice Hotham gave me afterwards, and then I gave him an account of how I had been that day at Beverley steeple-house, and had declared truth to the priest and people there.

GEORGE FOX



I went to another steeple-house about three miles off, where preached a great high-priest, called a doctor, one of them whom Justice Hotham would have sent for to speak with me. I went into the steeple-house, and stayed till the priest had done. The words which he took for his text were these, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat, yea come, buy wine and milk without money and without price."

Then was I moved of the Lord God to say unto him, "Come down, thou deceiver; dost thou bid people come freely, and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them for preaching the Scriptures to them. Mayest thou not blush for shame? Did the prophet Isaiah, and Christ do so, who spoke the words, and gave them forth freely? Did not Christ say to His ministers, whom He sent to preach, 'Freely ye have received, freely give'?"

The priest, like a man amazed, hastened away. After he had left his flock, I had as much time as I could desire to speak to the people; and I directed them from the darkness to the Light, and to the grace of God, that would teach them, and bring them salvation; to the Spirit of God in their inward parts, which would be a free teacher unto them.

Having cleared myself amongst the people, I returned to Justice Hotham's house that night. When I came in he took me in his arms, and said his house was my house; for he was exceedingly glad of the work of the Lord, and that His power was revealed.

Thence I passed on through the country, and came at night to an inn where was a company of rude people. I bade the woman of the house, if she had any meat, to bring me some; but because I said Thee and Thou to her, she looked strangely on me. I asked her if she had any milk. She said, No. I was sensible she spake falsely; and, being willing to try her further, I asked her if she had any cream? She denied that she had any. There stood a churn in the room, and a little boy, playing about, put his hands into it and pulled it down, and threw all the cream on the floor before my eyes. Thus was the woman manifested to be a liar. She was amazed, blessed herself, took up the child, and whipped it sorely: but I reproved her for her lying and deceit. After the Lord had thus discovered her deceit and perverseness, I walked out of the house, and went away till I came to a stack of hay, and lay in the hay-stack that night, in rain and snow, it being but three days before the time called Christmas.

GEORGE FOX
CHRISTMAS



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

The next day I came into York, where were several very tender people. Upon the First-day following, I was commanded of the Lord to go and speak to priest Bowles and his hearers in their great cathedral. Accordingly I went. When the priest had done, I told them I had something from the Lord God to speak to the priest and people. "Then say on quickly," said a professor, for there was frost and snow, and it was very cold weather. Then I told them that this was the Word of the Lord God unto them, — that they lived in words, but God Almighty looked for fruits amongst them.

As soon as the words were out of my mouth, they hurried me out, and threw me down the steps. But I got up again without hurt, and went to my lodging, and several were convinced there. For that which arose from the weight and oppression that was upon the Spirit of God in me, would open people, strike them, and make them confess that the groans which broke forth through me did reach them, for my life was burthened with their profession without possession, and their words without fruit.

[After being thus violently tumbled down the steps of the great minster, George Fox found his next few days crowded with hot discussion. Papists and Ranters and Scotch "priests" made him stand forth for the hope that was in him. The Ranters, he says, "had spent their portions, and not living in that which they spake of, were now become dry. They had some kind of meetings, but they took tobacco and drank ale in their meetings and were grown light and loose." After the narrative of an attempt to push him over the cliffs the account continues.]

Another priest sent to have a dispute with me, and Friends went with me to the house where he was; but when he understood we were come, he slipped out of the house, and hid himself under an hedge. The people went and found him, but could not get him to come to us.

Then I went to a steeple-house hard by, where the priest and people were in a great rage. This priest had threatened Friends what he would do; but when I came he fled; for the Lord's power came over him and them. Yea, the Lord's everlasting power was over the world, and reached to the hearts of people, and made both priests and professors tremble. It shook the earthly and airy spirit in which they held their profession of religion and worship; so that it was a dreadful thing to them when it was told them, "The man in leathern breeches is come." At the hearing thereof the priests in many places got out of the way, they were so struck with the dread of the eternal power of God; and fear surprised the hypocrites.

GEORGE FOX



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

At Pickering, Fox stood in the yard of the “steeple-house” to inform its congregation of his mission:

I was sent of the Lord God of heaven and earth to preach freely, and to bring people off from these outward temples made with hands, which God dwelleth not in; that they might know their bodies to become the temples of God and of Christ; and to draw people off from all their superstitious ceremonies, Jewish and heathenish customs, traditions, and doctrines of men; and from all the world's hireling teachers, that take tithes and great wages, preaching for hire, and divining for money, whom God and Christ never sent, as themselves confess when they say that they never heard God's nor Christ's voice. I exhorted the people to come off from all these things, directing them to the Spirit and grace of God in themselves, and to the Light of Jesus in their own hearts; that they might come to know Christ, their free teacher, to bring them salvation, and to open the Scriptures to them.

Thus the Lord gave me a good opportunity to open things largely unto them. All was quiet, and many were convinced; blessed be the Lord.

I passed to another town, where was another great meeting, the old priest being with me; and there came professors of several sorts to it. I sat on a haystack, and spoke nothing for some hours; for I was to famish them from words. The professors would ever and anon be speaking to the old priest, and asking him when I would begin, and when I would speak? He bade them wait; and told them that the people waited upon Christ a long while before He spoke.

At last I was moved of the Lord to speak; and they were struck by the Lord's power. The Word of life reached to them, and there was a general conviction amongst them.

Now I came towards Cranswick, to Captain Pursloe's and Justice Hotham's, who received me kindly, being glad that the Lord's power had so appeared; that truth was spread, and so many had received it. Justice Hotham said that if God had not raised up this principle of Light and life which I preached, the nation would have been overrun with Ranterism, and all the justices in the nation could not have stopped it with all their laws; "Because," said he, "they would have said as we said, and done as we commanded, and yet have kept their own principle still. But this principle of truth," said he, "overthrows their principle, and the root and ground thereof"; and therefore he was glad the Lord had raised up this principle of life and truth.

The next day Friends and friendly people having left me, I travelled alone, declaring the day of the Lord amongst people in the towns where I came, and warning them to repent. I came towards night into a town called Patrington. As I walked along the town, I warned both priest and people (for the priest was in the street) to repent and turn to the Lord. It grew dark before I came to the end of the town, and a multitude of people gathered about me, to whom I declared the Word of life.

When I had cleared myself I went to an inn, and desired them to let me have a lodging; but they would not. I desired a little meat or milk, and said I would pay for it; but they refused. So I walked out of the town, and a company of fellows followed, and asked me, "What news?" I bade them repent, and fear the Lord.

GEORGE FOX



After I was gone a pretty way, I came to another house, and desired the people to let me have a little meat, drink, and lodging for my money; but they denied me. I went to another house, and desired the same; but they refused me also. By this time it was grown so dark that I could not see the highway; but I discerned a ditch, and got a little water, and refreshed myself. Then I got over the ditch; and, being weary with travelling, I sat down amongst the furze bushes till it was day.

About break of day I got up, and passed on over the fields. A man came after me with a great pikestaff and went along with me to a town; and he raised the town upon me, with the constable and chief constable, before the sun was up. I declared God's everlasting truth amongst them, warning them of the day of the Lord, that was coming upon all sin and wickedness; and exhorted them to repent. But they seized me, and had me back to Patrington, about three miles, guarding me with watch-bills, pikes, staves, and halberds.

When I was come to Patrington, all the town was in an uproar, and the priest and constables were consulting together; so I had another opportunity to declare the Word of life amongst them, and warn them to repent. At last a professor, a tender man, called me into his house, and there I took a little milk and bread, having not eaten for some days before. Then they guarded me about nine miles to a justice.

When I was come near his house, a man came riding after us, and asked me whether I was the man that was apprehended. I asked him wherefore he asked. He said, "For no hurt." I told him I was: so he rode away to the justice before us. The men that guarded me said it would be well if the justice were not drunk before we got to him; for he used to get drunk early.

When I was brought in before him, because I did not put off my hat, and because I said Thou to him, he asked the man that rode thither before me whether I was not mazed or fond [foolish]. The man told him, No; it was my principle.

I warned him to repent, and come to the Light with which Christ had enlightened him; that by it he might see all his evil words and actions, and turn to Christ Jesus whilst he had time; and that whilst he had time he should prize it. "Ay, ay," said he, "the Light that is spoken of in the third of John." I desired he would mind it, and obey it.

As I admonished him, I laid my hand upon him, and he was brought down by the power of the Lord; and all the watchmen stood amazed. Then he took me into a little parlour with the other man, and desired to see what I had in my pockets of letters or intelligence. I plucked out my linen, and showed him I had no letters. He said, "He is not a vagrant, by his linen"; then he set me at liberty.

GEORGE FOX



I went back to Patrington with the man that had rode before me to the justice: for he lived at Patrington. When I came there, he would have had me have a meeting at the Cross; but I said it was no matter; his house would serve. He desired me to go to bed, or lie down upon a bed; which he did, that they might say they had seen me in a bed, or upon a bed; for a report had been raised that I would not lie on any bed, because at that time I lay many times out of doors. Now when the First-day of the week was come, I went to the steeple-house, and declared the truth to the priest and people; and the people did not molest me, for the power of God was come over them. Presently after I had a great meeting at the man's house where I lay, and many were convinced of the Lord's everlasting truth, who stand faithful witnesses of it to this day. They were exceedingly grieved that they had not received me, nor given me lodging, when I was there before.

Thence I travelled through the country, even to the furthest part thereof, warning people, in towns and villages, to repent, and directing them to Christ Jesus, their teacher.

On the First-day of the week I came to one Colonel Overton's house, and had a great meeting of the prime of the people of that country; where many things were opened out of the Scriptures which they had never heard before. Many were convinced, and received the Word of life, and were settled in the truth of God.

Then I returned to Patrington again, and visited those Friends that were convinced there; by whom I understood that a tailor, and some wild blades in that town, had occasioned my being carried before the justice. The tailor came to ask my forgiveness, fearing I would complain of him. The constables also were afraid, lest I should trouble them. But I forgave them all, and warned them to turn to the Lord, and to amend their lives.

Now that which made them the more afraid was this: when I was in the steeple-house at Oram, not long before, there came a professor, who gave me a push on the breast in the steeple-house, and bade me get out of the church. "Alas, poor man!" said I, "dost thou call the steeple-house the Church? The Church is the people, whom God hath purchased with His blood, and not the house." It happened that Justice Hotham came to hear of this man's abuse, sent his warrant for him, and bound him over to the sessions; so affected was he with the Truth and so zealous to keep the peace. And indeed this Justice Hotham had asked me before whether any people had meddled with me, or abused me; but I was not at liberty to tell him anything of that kind, but was to forgive all.

GEORGE FOX



The next First-day I went to Tickhill, whither the Friends of that side gathered together, and a mighty brokenness by the power of God there was amongst the people. I went out of the meeting, being moved of God to go to the steeple-house. When I came there, I found the priest and most of the chief of the parish together in the chancel.

I went up to them, and began to speak; but they immediately fell upon me; the clerk up with his Bible, as I was speaking, and struck me on the face with it, so that my face gushed out with blood; and I bled exceedingly in the steeple-house. The people cried, "Let us have him out of the church." When they had got me out, they beat me exceedingly, threw me down, and turned me over a hedge. They afterwards dragged me through a house into the street, stoning and beating me as they dragged me along; so that I was all over besmeared with blood and dirt. They got my hat from me, which I never had again. Yet when I was got upon my legs, I declared the Word of life, showed them the fruits of their teacher, and how they dishonored Christianity.

After awhile I got into the meeting again amongst Friends, and the priest and people coming by the house, I went with Friends into the yard, and there spoke to the priest and people. The priest scoffed at us, and called us Quakers. But the Lord's power was so over them, and the Word of life was declared in such authority and dread to them, that the priest fell a-trembling himself; and one of the people said, "Look how the priest trembles and shakes; he is turned a Quaker also." When the meeting was over, Friends departed; and I went without my hat to Balby, about seven or eight miles. Friends were much abused that day by the priest and his people: insomuch that some moderate justices hearing of it, two or three of them came and sat at the town to examine the business. He that had shed my blood was afraid of having his hand cut off for striking me in the church, as they called it; but I forgave him, and would not appear against him.

Thence I went to Wakefield; and on the First-day after, I went to a steeple-house where James Nayler had been a member of an Independent church; but upon his receiving truth, he was excommunicated. When I came in, and the priest had done, the people called upon me to come up to the priest, which I did; but when I began to declare the Word of life to them, and to lay open the deceit of the priest, they rushed upon me suddenly, thrust me out at the other door, punching and beating me, and cried, "Let us have him to the stocks." But the Lord's power restrained them, that they were not suffered to put me in.

*So I passed away to the meeting, where were a great many professors and friendly people gathered, and a great convincement there was that day; for the people were mightily satisfied that they were directed to the Lord's teaching **in themselves**. Here we got some lodging; for four of us had lain under a hedge the night before, there being then few Friends in that place.*

GEORGE FOX

JAMES NAYLER

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



The priest of that church, of which James Nayler had been a member, whose name was Marshall, raised many wicked slanders about me, as that I carried bottles with me, and made people drink of them, which made them follow me; and that I rode upon a great black horse, and was seen in one country upon it in one hour, and at the same hour in another country threescore miles off; and that I would give a fellow money to follow me, when I was on my black horse. With these lies he fed his people, to make them think evil of the truth which I had declared amongst them. But by these lies he preached many of his hearers away from him; for I was then travelling on foot, and had no horse at that time; which the people generally knew.

As we travelled through the country, preaching repentance to the people, we came into a market-town, where a lecture was held that day. I went into the steeple-house, where many priests, professors and people were. The priest that preached took for his text those words of Jeremiah 5:31, "My people love to have it so": leaving out the foregoing words, viz.: "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means." I showed the people his deceit; and directed them to Christ, the true teacher within; declaring that God was come to teach His people himself, and to bring them off from all the world's teachers and hirelings; that they might come to receive freely from Him. Then, warning them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all flesh, I passed thence without much opposition.

At night we came to a country place, where there was no public house near. The people desired us to stay all night; which we did, and had good service for the Lord, declaring His truth amongst them.

The Lord had said unto me that if but one man or woman were raised by His power to stand and live in the same Spirit that the prophets and apostles were in who gave forth the Scriptures, that man or woman should shake all the country in their profession [that is, shake all the people throughout the country who are mere nominal Christians] for ten miles round. For people had the Scripture, but were not in the same Light, power, and Spirit which those were in who gave forth the Scripture; so they neither knew God, Christ, nor the Scriptures aright; nor had they unity one with another, being out of the power and Spirit of God. Therefore we warned all, wherever we met them, of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them.

GEORGE FOX

JAMES NAYLER

At this point Friend [George Fox](#) determined that he would write to his parents Christopher Fox, a puritan weaver of Drayton-in-the-Clay in Leicestershire known to his neighbors by the nickname "Righteous,"²⁶ and Mary Lago Fox²⁷:



Dear father and mother in the flesh, but not of that birth which

26. Rufus Jones explains: Now called Fenny Drayton; a little hamlet about five miles from Nuneaton, in a flat, though beautiful farming country. The house in which [George Fox](#) was born has long since vanished, and the few cottages which cluster here about the crossing of two roads are of modern structure. An obelisk with a long inscription, stands within a hundred yards or so of the site of the birthplace.

speaks to you: for like to that which doth beget, is that which is begotten. Praises, praises be given to my heavenly Father, who hath begotten me again by the immortal word. To that of God in you both I speak, and do beseech you both for the Lord's sake, to return within, and wait to hear the voice of the Lord there; and waiting there, and keeping close to the Lord, a discerning will grow, that ye may distinguish the voice of the stranger, when ye hear it. Oh! be faithful! Be faithful to the Lord in that ye know; for in the backslider the Lord hath no pleasure, neither shall their damnation slumber. Oh! be faithful! Look not back, nor be too forward, further than ye have attained; for ye have no time, but this present time: therefore prize your time for your souls' sake. And so, grow up in that which is pure, and keep to the oneness; then shall my joy be full. So fare ye well! And the Lord God of power keep you in his power! To him be praises for evermore.
G.F.

George Fox

His epistle entitled "That Which is Set Up by the Sword" dates to this year:



Friends, - that which is set up by the sword, is held up by the sword; and that which is set up by spiritual weapons, is held up by spiritual weapons, and not by carnal weapons. The peacemaker hath the kingdom, and is in it; and hath dominion over the peace-breaker, to calm him in the power of God. And friends, let the waves break over your heads. There is rising a new and living way out of the north, which makes the nations like waters. Hurt not the vines, nor the oil, nor such as know that "the earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof." The days of virtue, love, and peace, are come and coming, and the Lamb had and hath the kings of the earth to war withal, and to fight withal, who will overcome with the sword of the spirit, the word of his mouth; for the Lamb shall have the victory. And are not some like Ephraim, with a miscarrying womb? which have not brought forth the substance, the birth from above; but have brought forth children to murder?
G.F.

Friend [George Fox](#)'s epistle entitled "If Ye Love the Light, and Walk In It" also dates to this year:



Friends, - If ye love the light, and walk in it, ye love Christ, and will all walk in unity together. And if ye hate the light, ye hate Christ. Here is your teacher, who love it; here is your condemnation, who hate the light. And the conscience being seared, there is a returning to the teachers without. For the carnal will have its vain invented form; but the spirit's form stands in the power. Prove yourselves where ye are.

27. Rufus Jones explains: This martyred ancestor of Mary Lago was probably a member of the Glover family, of Mancetter, a few miles north of Drayton. (See article on [George Fox](#) in the DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY, which refers to Riching's MANCETTER MARTYRS, 1860.)



G.F.

His epistle entitled “O Friends! Keep Close to the Light” also dates to this year:



O Friends! keep close to the light in you, and do not look forth at words that proceed from a vain and light mind; but at the power of words. For the words of God, that proceed from him, are powerful and mighty in operation, to the throwing down of all the strong holds of the man of sin. The Lord is coming in power, to gather his chosen ones to himself, and to judge and condemn the wicked ones for evermore. He will plague the beast, and burn the whore, and plague and torment the disobedient, and rebellious, and backsliders very sore. Therefore, ye that know the voice of the Lord, hearken to it, and see how ye stand in his fear, and how ye are brought into the obedience of the truth. And take heed of looking forth at man; but keep close to the light in you, and see that your minds be kept close to that, and guided by that; and being guided by that, it will keep you clear and pure to receive the teaching of the Lord. Have salt in yourselves, and let your words be few and seasoned, that they may be savoury. And watch over one another in love, and walk in wisdom, and sobriety, and gravity, and sincerity, in purity, and cleanness. And keep free from deceit, and have no fellowship with the unfruitful words of darkness, but rather reprove them. And be faithful to the Lord; walk so that the world may be confounded and ashamed, when they speak evil of you, as evil doers; walking in humbleness, lowliness, and uprightness before them, it will take away all just occasion of speaking evil against the truth. And be bold and valiant for the truth, and press forward, towards the mark of the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus, and let no man take your crown. Dear Friends, watch over one another in love, and stir up that which is pure in one another, and exhort one another daily. And the Lord keep you all in his fear, and in his obedience now and evermore!

G.F.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Professor William E. Cain asserts bluntly in the introductory papers to his *A HISTORICAL GUIDE TO HENRY DAVID THOREAU* (NY, Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000) that Walden Pond had been named “after a town, ‘[Saffron Walden](#),’ forty miles from London” —offering this not as a hypothesis but as a straightforward assertion of fact, offering no legitimating evidence or argumentation whatever— and I have never been able to uncover **even a shred** of legitimating evidence for such a hypothesis. In fact, we have hard evidence to the contrary: we have a property record dating to the year 1652 that mentions the name “Walden Pond,” and yet Samuel Minot, the son of the first John Minot and Lydia Butler Minot who the first member of this family to arrive in Concord, was not even **born** until July 3, 1665 —thirteen full years after this name was clearly already in use— so we know that name **far predates** the arrival of the Minot family of Saffron Walden at Concord. Furthermore, there is no reason to “reach” in the manner in which Cain reached for his just-so explanation, since we know that there was a Sheriff Richard Waldron on the scene, associated with Major Simon Willard (this Richard Waldron was, among other things, the speaker of the General Court of Massachusetts, and according to James Savage his name was commonly spelled “Walden” — spelled that way even by him). Clearly we should not at this point be resting upon certitude, and it seems a more appropriate lead for us to be following, that we should be searching early property records on a general suspicion that the pond derived its name from Sheriff Waldron’s family.

To the constables of Dover NH, Hampton, Salisbury NH, Newbury, Rowley, Ipswich, Lynn, Boston, Roxbury, Dedham, and until these Vagabond-Quakers are carried out of this jurisdiction:

YOU, and every one of you, are required in the King’s Majesty’s Name, to take the Vagabond-Quakers, Ann Coleman, Mary Tompkins, Alice Ambrose, and make them fast to the cart’s tail, and driving the cart through your several towns, to whip them on their backs, not exceeding ten stripes apiece in each town, and so convey them from constable to constable till they come out of this jurisdiction, as you will answer it at your peril; and this shall be your warrant.

Per me, RICHARD WALDEN

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

April 16: The married couple [John Smith](#) and [Friend](#) Deborah Howland Smith of Plymouth had a son they named Josiah Smith. (During this year this colony Cow Keep was allowed by the General Court to continue to keep the cow of Goodman Pontius, with the care of which he had been being entrusted since mid-1650.)



SO, on a very cold day, your deputy, Walden, caused these women to be stripped from the middle upward, and tied to a cart, and after a while cruelly whipped them; which some of their friends seeing testified against, for which Walden put two of them in the stocks. Having despatched them in this town, [Deputy Richard Walden] made way to carry them over the waters and through the woods to another. The women denied to go unless they had a copy of their warrant. So your executioner sought to set them on horseback, but they slid off. Then they endeavored to tie each to a man on horseback; that would not do either, nor any course they took, till the copy was given them; insomuch that he was almost wearied with them. But the copy being given them, they went with the executioner.

And through dirt and snow at Salisbury NH, half-way the leg deep, the constable forced them after the cart's tail, at which he whipped them. Under which cruelty and sore usage, the tender women traversing their way through all was a hard spectacle to those who had in them anything of tenderness. But the presence of the Lord was with them, in the extremity of their sufferings, that they sung in the midst of them, to the astonishment of their enemies.

At Hampton, William Fifield, the constable, the next morning would have whipped them before day, but they refused, saying that they were not ashamed of their sufferings. Then he would have whipped them on their clothes, contrary to the warrant, when he had them at the cart. But they said, "Set us free, or do according to thy order," which was to whip them on their naked backs. Then he spake to a woman to take off their clothes. The woman said she would not do it for all the world, and so did other women deny to do it. Then he said, "I profess, I will do it myself." So he stripped them, and then stood trembling, with the whip in his hand, as a man condemned, and did the execution in that condition.

Now, amongst the rest of the spectators, Edward Wharton, beholding their torn bodies and weary steps, and yet no remorse in their persecutors, could not withhold, but testified against them, seeing this bloody engagement. Whereupon one of your officers said, "Edward Wharton, what do you here?"

"I am here," answered Edward, "to see your wickedness and cruelty, that so if you kill them, I may be able to declare how you murdered them."

But the Lord unexpectedly wrought a way at that time to deliver them out of the tyrants' hands, so through three towns only were they whipped, but cruelly, and then they were discharged.



Whipping Quakers at the Cart's Tail.



June 13, Sunday: Quakerism became a movement when [George Fox](#) converted a large group called the Seekers to his leadership by preaching a long sermon on Pendle Hill in Lancashire. The Seekers were for the most part agricultural workers, yeomen or husbandmen of one form or another who had in the 1640s been in conflict with their landlords over rents and manorial services which they regarded as excessive, or who had been refusing to pay tithes. A tablet on Firbank Fell now reads:

Let Your Lives Speak
Here or near this rock
George Fox
preached to about one thousand seekers
for three hours on Sunday June 13, 1652.
Great power inspired his message
and the meeting proved of first importance
in gathering the Society of Friends known as Quakers.
Many men and women convinced of the truth on this fell
and in other parts of the Northern counties
(of Westmoreland, Cumberland, Lancashire and Yorkshire)
went forth through the land and over the seas
with the living word of the Lord
enduring great hardships
and
winning multitudes to Christ.

The [Religious Society of Friends](#) would spread rapidly southwards, and by 1655 would have its main centres in Bristol and London, though Quakerism would remain predominantly a rural movement, with local congregations scattered throughout the nation linked only by itinerant “ministers” and by occasional General Meetings. Many of the early [Quakers](#) would soldier in the New Model Army, either as officers or in the ranks, as this new movement would not develop a uniform Peace Testimony until 1661.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



As we travelled we came near a very great hill, called Pendle Hill, and I was moved of the Lord to go up to the top of it; which I did with difficulty, it was so very steep and high. When I was come to the top, I saw the sea bordering upon Lancashire. From the top of this hill the Lord let me see in what places he had a great people to be gathered. As I went down, I found a spring of water in the side of the hill, with which I refreshed myself, having eaten or drunk but little for several days before.

* At night we came to an inn, and declared truth to the man of the house, and wrote a paper to the priests and professors, declaring the day of the Lord, and that Christ was come to teach people Himself, by His power and Spirit in their hearts, and to bring people off from all the world's ways and teachers, to His own free teaching, who had bought them, and was the Saviour of all them that believed in Him. The man of the house spread the paper abroad, and was mightily affected with the truth. Here the Lord opened unto me, and let me see a great people in white raiment by a river side, coming to the Lord; and the place that I saw them in was about Wensleydale and Sedbergh.

The next day we travelled on, and at night got a little fern or bracken to put under us, and lay upon a common. Next morning we reached a town, where Richard Farnsworth parted from me; and then I travelled alone again. I came up Wensleydale, and at the market-town in that Dale, there was a lecture on the market-day. I went into the steeple-house; and after the priest had done I proclaimed the day of the Lord to the priest and people, warning them to turn from darkness to the Light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they might come to know God and Christ aright, and to receive His teaching, who teacheth freely. Largely and freely did I declare the Word of life unto them, and had not much persecution there.

Afterwards I passed up the Dales, warning people to fear God, and preaching the everlasting gospel to them. In my way I came to a great house, where was a schoolmaster; and they got me into the house. I asked them questions about their religion and worship; and afterwards I declared the truth to them. They had me into a parlour, and locked me in, pretending that I was a young man that was mad, and had run away from my relations; and that they would keep me till they could send to them. But I soon convinced them of their mistake, and they let me forth, and would have had me to stay; but I was not to stay there.

Then having exhorted them to repentance, and directed them to the Light of Christ Jesus, that through it they might come unto Him and be saved, I passed from them, and came in the night to a little ale-house on a common, where there was a company of rude fellows drinking. Because I would not drink with them, they struck me with their clubs; but I reprov'd them, and brought them to be somewhat cooler; and then I walked out of the house upon the common in the night.

After some time one of these drunken fellows came out, and would have come close up to me, pretending to whisper to me; but I perceived he had a knife; and therefore I kept off him, and bade him repent, and fear God. So the Lord by His power preserved me from this wicked man; and he went into the house again.



The next morning I went on through other Dales, warning and exhorting people everywhere as I passed, to repent and turn to the Lord: and several were convinced. At one house that I came to, the man of the house (whom I afterwards found to be a kinsman of John Blakelin's) would have given me money, but I would not receive it.

The next day I went to a meeting at Justice Benson's, where I met a people that were separated from the public worship. This was the place I had seen, where a people came forth in white raiment. A large meeting it was, and the people were generally convinced; and they continue still a large meeting of Friends near Sedbergh; which was then first gathered through my ministry in the name of Jesus.

In the same week there was a great fair, at which servants used to be hired; and I declared the day of the Lord through the fair. After I had done so, I went into the steeple-house yard, and many of the people of the fair came thither to me, and abundance of priests and professors. There I declared the everlasting truth of the Lord and the Word of life for several hours, showing that the Lord was come to teach His people Himself, and to bring them off from all the world's ways and teachers, to Christ, the true teacher, and the true way to God. I laid open their teachers, showing that they were like them that were of old condemned by the prophets, and by Christ, and by the apostles. I exhorted the people to come off from the temples made with hands; and wait to receive the Spirit of the Lord, that they might know themselves to be the temples of God.

Not one of the priests had power to open his mouth against what I declared: but at last a captain said, "Why will you not go into the church? this is not a fit place to preach in." I told him I denied their church. Then stood up Francis Howgill, who was preacher to a congregation. He had not seen me before; yet he undertook to answer that captain; and he soon put him to silence. Then said Francis Howgill of me, "This man speaks with authority, and not as the scribes."

After this, I opened to the people that that ground and house were no holier than another place; and that the house is not the Church, but the people, of whom Christ is the head. After awhile the priests came up to me, and I warned them to repent. One of them said I was mad; so they turned away. But many were convinced there that day, who were glad to hear the truth declared, and received it with joy. Amongst these was Captain Ward, who received the truth in the love of it, and lived and died in it.

GEORGE FOX



The next First-day I came to Firbank chapel in Westmoreland, where Francis Howgill and John Audland had been preaching in the morning. The chapel was full of people, so that many could not get in. Francis said he thought I looked into the chapel, and his spirit was ready to fail, the Lord's power did so surprise him: but I did not look in. They made haste, and had quickly done, and they and some of the people went to dinner; but abundance stayed till they came again. John Blakelin and others came to me, and desired me not to reprove them publicly; for they were not parish-teachers, but pretty tender men. I could not tell them whether I should or no, though I had not at that time any drawings to declare publicly against them; but I said they must leave me to the Lord's movings.

While others were gone to dinner, I went to a brook, got a little water, and then came and sat down on the top of a rock hard by the chapel. In the afternoon the people gathered about me, with several of their preachers. It was judged there were above a thousand people; to whom I declared God's everlasting truth and Word of life freely and largely for about the space of three hours. I directed all to the Spirit of God in themselves; that they might be turned from darkness to Light, and believe in it; that they might become the children of it, and might be turned from the power of Satan unto God, and by the Spirit of truth might be led into all truth, and sensibly understand the words of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles; and might all come to know Christ to be their teacher to instruct them, their counsellor to direct them, their shepherd to feed them, their bishop to oversee them, and their prophet to open divine mysteries to them; and might know their bodies to be prepared, sanctified, and made fit temples for God and Christ to dwell in. In the openings of heavenly life I explained unto them the prophets, and the figures and shadows, and directed them to Christ, the substance. Then I opened the parables and sayings of Christ, and things that had been long hid.

** Now there were many old people who went into the chapel and looked out at the windows, thinking it a strange thing to see a man preach on a hill, and not in their church, as they called it; whereupon I was moved to open to the people that the steeple-house, and the ground whereon it stood were no more holy than that mountain; and that those temples, which they called the dreadful houses of God were not set up by the command of God and of Christ; nor their priests called, as Aaron's priesthood was; nor their tithes appointed by God, as those amongst the Jews were; but that Christ was come, who ended both the temple and its worship, and the priests and their tithes; and that all should now hearken unto Him; for He said, "Learn of me"; and God said of Him, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye Him."*

I declared unto them that the Lord God had sent me to preach the everlasting gospel and Word of life amongst them, and to bring them off from all these temples, tithes, priests, and rudiments of the world, which had been instituted since the apostles' days, and had been set up by such as had erred from the Spirit and power the apostles were in. Very largely was I opened at this meeting, and the Lord's convincing power accompanied my ministry, and reached the hearts of the people, whereby many were convinced; and all the teachers of that congregation (who were many) were convinced of God's everlasting truth.



At Kendal a meeting was held in the Town-hall. Several were convinced and many were loving. One whose name was Cock met me in the street and would have given me a roll of tobacco, for people were then much given to smoking. I accepted his love, but did not receive his tobacco. Thence I went to Underbarrow, and several people going along with me, great reasonings I had with them, especially with Edward Burrough. At night the priest and many professors came to the house; and a great deal of disputing I had with them. Supper being provided for the priest and the rest of the company, I had not freedom to eat with them; but told them that if they would appoint a meeting for the next day at the steeple-house, and acquaint the people with it, I might meet them. They had a great deal of reasoning about it; some being for, and some against it.

* In the morning, after I had spoken to them again concerning the meeting, as I walked upon a bank by the house, there came several poor travellers, asking relief, who I saw were in necessity; and they gave them nothing, but said they were cheats. It grieved me to see such hard-heartedness amongst professors; whereupon, when they were gone in to their breakfast, I ran after the poor people about a quarter of a mile, and gave them some money.

Meanwhile some that were in the house, coming out, and seeing me a quarter of a mile off, said I could not have gone so far in such an instant, if I had not had wings. Hereupon the meeting was like to have been put by; for they were filled with such strange thoughts concerning me that many of them were against having a meeting with me.

I told them that I had run after those poor people to give them some money; being grieved at the hardheartedness of those who gave them nothing.

Then came Miles and Stephen Hubbersty, who, being more simple-hearted men, would have the meeting held. So to the chapel I went, and the priest came.

A great meeting there was, and the way of life and salvation was opened; and after awhile the priest fled away. Many of Crook and Underbarrow were convinced that day, received the Word of life, and stood fast in it under the teaching of Christ Jesus.

After I had declared the truth to them for some hours, and the meeting was ended, the chief constable and some other professors fell to reasoning with me in the chapel yard. Whereupon I took a Bible and opened the Scriptures, and dealt tenderly with them, as one would do with a child. They that were in the Light of Christ and Spirit of God knew when I spake Scripture, though I did not mention chapter and verse, after the priest's form, to them.

Then I went to an ale-house, to which many resorted betwixt the time of their morning and afternoon preaching, and had a great deal of reasoning with the people, declaring to them that God was come to teach His people, and to bring them off from the false teachers, such as the prophets, Christ, and the apostles cried against. Many received the Word of life at that time, and abode in it.

GEORGE FOX



Thence I went to Ulverstone, and so to Swarthmore to Judge Fell's; whither came up one Lampitt, a priest, who was a high notionist. With him I had much reasoning; for he talked of high notions and perfection, and thereby deceived the people. He would have owned me, but I could not own nor join with him, he was so full of filth. He said he was above John; and made as though he knew all things. But I told him that death reigned from Adam to Moses; that he was under death, and knew not Moses, for Moses saw the paradise of God; but he knew neither Moses nor the prophets nor John; for that crooked and rough nature stood in him, and the mountain of sin and corruption; and the way was not prepared in him for the Lord.

He confessed he had been under a cross in things; but now he could sing psalms, and do anything. I told him that now he could see a thief, and join hand in hand with him; but he could not preach Moses, nor the prophets, nor John, nor Christ, except he were in the same Spirit that they were in.

Margaret Fell had been absent in the day-time; and at night her children told her that priest Lampitt and I had disagreed, which somewhat troubled her, because she was in profession with him; but he hid his dirty actions from them. At night we had much reasoning, and I declared the truth to her and her family. The next day Lampitt came again, and I had much discourse with him before Margaret Fell, who then clearly discerned the priest. A convincement of the Lord's truth came upon her and her family.

Soon after a day was to be observed for a humiliation, and Margaret Fell asked me to go with her to the steeple-house at Ulverstone, for she was not wholly come off from them. I replied, "I must do as I am ordered by the Lord." So I left her, and walked into the fields; and the Word of the Lord came to me, saying, "Go to the steeple-house after them."

When I came, Lampitt was singing with his people; but his spirit was so foul, and the matter they sung so unsuitable to their states, that after they had done singing, I was moved of the Lord to speak to him and the people. The word of the Lord to them was, "He is not a Jew that is one outwardly, but he is a Jew that is one inwardly, whose praise is not of man, but of God."

As the Lord opened further, I showed them that God was come to teach His people by His Spirit, and to bring them off from all their old ways, religions, churches, and worships; for all their religions, worships, and ways were but talking with other men's words; but they were out of the life and Spirit which they were in who gave them forth.

Then cried out one, called Justice Sawrey, "Take him away"; but Judge Fell's wife said to the officers, "Let him alone; why may not he speak as well as any other?" Lampitt also, the priest, in deceit said, "Let him speak." So at length, when I had declared some time, Justice Sawrey caused the constable to put me out; and then I spoke to the people in the graveyard.

GEORGE FOX



From thence I went into the island of Walney; and after the priest had done I spoke to him, but he got away. Then I declared the truth to the people, but they were something rude. I went to speak with the priest at his house, but he would not be seen. The people said he went to hide himself in the haymow; and they looked for him there, but could not find him. Then they said he was gone to hide himself in the standing corn, but they could not find him there either. I went to James Lancaster's, in the island, who was convinced, and from thence returned to Swarthmore, where the Lord's power seized upon Margaret Fell, her daughter Sarah, and several others.

Then I went to Baycliff, where Leonard Fell was convinced, and became a minister of the everlasting gospel. Several others were convinced there, and came into obedience to the truth. Here the people said they could not dispute; and would fain have put some other to hold talk with me; but I bade them fear the Lord, and not in a light way hold a talk of the Lord's words, but put the things in practice.

I directed them to the Divine Light of Christ, and His Spirit in their hearts, which would let them see all the evil thoughts, words, and actions that they had thought, spoken, and acted; by which Light they might see their sin, and also their Saviour Christ Jesus to save them from their sins. This I told them was their first step to peace, even to stand still in the Light that showed them their sins and transgressions; by which they might come to see they were in the fall of old Adam, in darkness and death, strangers to the covenant of promise, and without God in the world; and by the same Light they might see Christ that died for them to be their Redeemer and Saviour, and their way to God.

Soon after, Judge Fell being come home, Margaret Fell, his wife, sent to me, desiring me to return thither; and feeling freedom from the Lord so to do, I went back to Swarthmore. I found the priests and professors, and that envious Justice Sawrey, had much incensed Judge Fell and Captain Sands against the truth by their lies; but when I came to speak with him I answered all his objections, and so thoroughly satisfied him by the Scriptures that he was convinced in his judgment. He asked me if I was that George Fox of whom Justice Robinson spoke so much in commendation amongst many of the Parliament men? I told him I had been with Justice Robinson, and with Justice Hotham in Yorkshire, who were very civil and loving to me; and that they were convinced in their judgment by the Spirit of God that the principle to which I bore testimony was the truth; and they saw over and beyond the priests of the nation, so that they, and many others, were now come to be wiser than their teachers.

After we had discoursed some time together, Judge Fell himself was satisfied also, and came to see, by the openings of the Spirit of God in his heart, over all the priests and teachers of the world, and did not go to hear them for some years before he died: for he knew it was the truth that I declared, and that Christ was the teacher of His people, and their Saviour. He sometimes wished that I were a while with Judge Bradshaw to discourse with him.



There came to Judge Fell's Captain Sands before-mentioned, endeavouring to incense the Judge against me, for he was an evil-minded man, and full of envy against me; and yet he could speak high things, and use the Scripture words, and say, "Behold, I make all things new." But I told him, then he must have a new God, for his God was his belly. Besides him came also that envious justice, John Sawrey. I told him his heart was rotten, and he was full of hypocrisy to the brim. Several other people also came, of whose states the Lord gave me a discerning; and I spoke to their conditions. While I was in those parts, Richard Farnsworth and James Nayler came to see me and the family; and Judge Fell, being satisfied that it was the way of truth, notwithstanding all their opposition, suffered the meeting to be kept at his house. A great meeting was settled there in the Lord's power, which continued near forty years, until the year 1690, when a new meeting-house was erected near it.

On the market-day I went to Lancaster, and spoke through the market in the dreadful power of God, declaring the day of the Lord to the people, and crying out against all their deceitful merchandise. I preached righteousness and truth unto them, which all should follow after, walk and live in, directing them how and where they might find and receive the Spirit of God to guide them thereinto.

After I had cleared myself in the market, I went to my lodging, whither several people came; and many were convinced who have since stood faithful to the truth.

The First-day following, in the forenoon, I had a great meeting in the street at Lancaster, amongst the soldiers and people, to whom I declared the Word of life, and the everlasting truth. I opened unto them that all the traditions they had lived in, all their worships and religions, and the profession they made of the Scriptures, were good for nothing while they lived out of the life and power which those were in who gave forth the Scriptures. I directed them to the Light of Christ, the heavenly man, and to the Spirit of God in their own hearts, that they might come to be acquainted with God and Christ, receive Him for their teacher, and know His kingdom set up in them.

In the afternoon I went to the steeple-house at Lancaster, and declared the truth to the priest and people, laying open before them the deceit they lived in, and directing them to the power and Spirit of God which they wanted. But they haled me out, and stoned me along the street till I came to John Lawson's house.

Another First-day I went to a steeple-house by the waterside, where one Whitehead was priest. To him and to the people I declared the truth in the dreadful power of God. There came a doctor so full of envy that he said he could find it in his heart to run me through with his rapier, though he were hanged for it the next day; yet this man came afterwards to be convinced of the truth so far as to be loving to Friends. Some were convinced thereabouts who willingly sat down under the ministry of Christ, their teacher; and a meeting was settled there in the power of God, which has continued to this day.

GEORGE FOX

JAMES NAYLER



After this I returned into Westmoreland, and spoke through Kendal on a market-day. So dreadful was the power of God upon me, that people flew like chaff before me into their houses. I warned them of the mighty day of the Lord, and exhorted them to hearken to the voice of God in their own hearts, who was now come to teach His people Himself. When some opposed, many others took my part. At last some fell to fighting about me; but I went and spoke to them, and they parted again. Several were convinced.

After I had travelled up and down in those countries, and had had great meetings, I came to Swarthmore again. And when I had visited Friends in those parts, I heard of a great meeting the priests were to have at Ulverstone, on a lecture-day. I went to it, and into the steeple-house in the dread and power of the Lord. When the priest had done, I spoke among them the Word of the Lord, which was as a hammer, and as a fire amongst them. And though Lampitt, the priest of the place, had been at variance with most of the priests before, yet against the truth they all joined together. But the mighty power of the Lord was over all; and so wonderful was the appearance thereof, that priest Bennett said the church shook, insomuch that he was afraid and trembled. And when he had spoken a few confused words he hastened out for fear it should fall on his head. Many priests got together there; but they had no power as yet to persecute.

When I had cleared my conscience towards them, I went up to Swarthmore again, whither came four or five of the priests. Coming to discourse, I asked them whether any one of them could say he had ever had the word of the Lord to go and speak to such or such a people. None of them durst say he had; but one of them burst out into a passion and said that he could speak his experiences as well as I.

I told him experience was one thing; but to receive and go with a message, and to have a Word from the Lord, as the prophets and apostles had had and done, and as I had done to them, this was another thing. And therefore I put it to them again, "Can any of you say you have ever had a command or word from the Lord immediately at any time?" but none of them could say so.

Then I told them that the false prophets, the false apostles, and the antichrists, could use the words of the true prophets, the true apostles, and of Christ, and would speak of other men's experiences, though they themselves never knew or heard the voice of God or Christ; and that such as they might obtain the good words and experiences of others. This puzzled them much, and laid them open.

GEORGE FOX



At another time, when I was discoursing with several priests at Judge Fell's house, and he was by, I asked them the same question, – whether any of them had ever heard the voice of God or Christ, to bid him go to such and such a people, to declare His word or message unto them. Any one, I told them, that could but read, might declare the experiences of the prophets and apostles, which were recorded in the Scriptures. Thereupon Thomas Taylor, an ancient priest, did ingenuously confess before Judge Fell that he had never heard the voice of God, nor of Christ, to send him to any people; but that he spoke his experiences, and the experiences of the saints in former ages, and that he preached. This very much confirmed Judge Fell in the persuasion he had that the priests were wrong; for he had thought formerly, as the generality of people then did, that they were sent from God.

Now began the priests to rage more and more, and as much as they could to stir up persecution. James Nayler and Francis Howgill were cast into prison in Appleby jail, at the instigation of the malicious priests, some of whom prophesied that within a month we should be all scattered again, and come to nothing. But, blessed for ever be the worthy name of the Lord, His work went on and prospered; for about this time John Audland, Francis Howgill, John Camm, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, Miles Hubbersty, and Miles Halhead, with several others, being endued with power from on high, came forth in the work of the ministry, and approved themselves faithful labourers therein, travelling up and down, and preaching the gospel freely; by means whereof multitudes were convinced, and many effectually turned to the Lord.

On a lecture-day I was moved to go to the steeple-house at Ulverstone, where were abundance of professors, priests, and people. I went near to priest Lampitt, who was blustering on in his preaching. After the Lord had opened my mouth to speak, John Sawrey, the justice, came to me and said that if I would speak according to the Scriptures, I should speak. I admired him for speaking so to me, and told him I would speak according to the Scriptures, and bring the Scriptures to prove what I had to say; for I had something to speak to Lampitt and to them. Then he said I should not speak, contradicting himself, for he had said just before that I should speak if I would speak according to the Scriptures. The people were quiet, and heard me gladly, till this Justice Sawrey (who was the first stirrer-up of cruel persecution in the north) incensed them against me, and set them on to hale, beat, and bruise me. But now on a sudden the people were in a rage, and fell upon me in the steeple-house before his face, knocked me down, kicked me, and trampled upon me. So great was the uproar, that some tumbled over their seats for fear. At last he came and took me from the people, led me out of the steeple-house, and put me into the hands of the constables and other officers, bidding them whip me, and put me out of the town. They led me about a quarter of a mile, some taking hold by my collar, some by my arms and shoulders; and they shook and dragged me along.

GEORGE FOX



Many friendly people being come to the market, and some to the steeple-house to hear me, diverse of these they knocked down also, and broke their heads so that the blood ran down from several; and Judge Fell's son running after to see what they would do with me, they threw him into a ditch of water, some of them crying, "Knock the teeth out of his head." When they had haled me to the common moss-side, a multitude following, the constables and other officers gave me some blows over my back with their willow rods, and thrust me among the rude multitude, who, having furnished themselves with staves, hedge-stakes, holm or holly bushes, fell upon me, and beat me on my head, arms, and shoulders, till they had deprived me of sense; so that I fell down upon the wet common.

When I recovered again, and saw myself lying in a watery common, and the people standing about me, I lay still a little while, and the power of the Lord sprang through me, and the eternal refreshings revived me; so that I stood up again in the strengthening power of the eternal God, and stretching out my arms toward them, I said, with a loud voice, "Strike again; here are my arms, my head, and my cheeks."

There was in the company a mason, a professor, but a rude fellow, who with his walking rule-staff gave me a blow with all his might just over the back of my hand, as it was stretched out; with which blow my hand was so bruised, and my arm so benumbed, that I could not draw it to me again. Some of the people cried, "He hath spoiled his hand for ever having the use of it any more." But I looked at it in the love of God (for I was in the love of God to all that persecuted me), and after awhile the Lord's power sprang through me again, and through my hand and arm, so that in a moment I recovered strength in my hand and arm in the sight of them all.

Then they began to fall out among themselves. Some of them came to me, and said that if I would give them money they would secure me from the rest. But I was moved of the Lord to declare the Word of life, and showed them their false Christianity, and the fruits of their priest's ministry, telling them that they were more like heathens and Jews than true Christians.

Then was I moved of the Lord to come up again through the midst of the people, and go into Ulverstone market. As I went, there met me a soldier, with his sword by his side. "Sir," said he to me, "I see you are a man, and I am ashamed and grieved that you should be thus abused"; and he offered to assist me in what he could. I told him that the Lord's power was over all; and I walked through the people in the market, none of whom had power to touch me then. But some of the market people abusing some Friends in the market, I turned about, and saw this soldier among them with his naked rapier; whereupon I ran, and, catching hold of the hand his rapier was in, bid him put up his sword again if he would go along with me.

GEORGE FOX



About two weeks after this I went into Walney island, and James Nayler went with me. We stayed one night at a little town on this side, called Cockan, and had a meeting there, where one was convinced.

After a while there came a man with a pistol, whereupon the people ran out of doors. He called for me; and when I came out to him he snapped his pistol at me, but it would not go off. This caused the people to make a great bustle about him; and some of them took hold of him, to prevent his doing mischief. But I was moved in the Lord's power to speak to him; and he was so struck by the power of the Lord that he trembled for fear, and went and hid himself. Thus the Lord's power came over them all, though there was a great rage in the country.

Next morning I went over in a boat to James Lancaster's. As soon as I came to land there rushed out about forty men with staves, clubs, and fishing-poles, who fell upon me, beating and punching me, and endeavouring to thrust me backward into the sea. When they had thrust me almost into the sea, and I saw they would knock me down in it, I went up into the midst of them; but they laid at me again, and knocked me down, and stunned me.

* When I came to myself, I looked up and saw James Lancaster's wife throwing stones at my face, and her husband, James Lancaster, was lying over me, to keep the blows and the stones off me. For the people had persuaded James Lancaster's wife that I had bewitched her husband, and had promised her that if she would let them know when I came thither they would be my death. And having got knowledge of my coming, many of the town rose up in this manner with clubs and staves to kill me; but the Lord's power preserved me, that they could not take away my life.

At length I got up on my feet, but they beat me down again into the boat; which James Lancaster observing, he presently came into it, and set me over the water from them; but while we were on the water within their reach they struck at us with long poles, and threw stones after us. By the time we were come to the other side, we saw them beating James Nayler; for whilst they had been beating me, he walked up into a field, and they never minded him till I was gone; then they fell upon him, and all their cry was, "Kill him, kill him."

When I was come over to the town again, on the other side of the water, the townsmen rose up with pitchforks, flails, and staves, to keep me out of the town, crying, "Kill him, knock him on the head, bring the cart; and carry him away to the churchyard." So after they had abused me, they drove me some distance out of the town, and there left me.

Then James Lancaster went back to look after James Nayler; and I being now left alone, went to a ditch of water, and having washed myself (for they had besmeared my face, hands, and clothes with miry dirt), I walked about three miles to Thomas Hutton's house, where lodged Thomas Lawson, the priest that was convinced.

When I came in I could hardly speak to them, I was so bruised; only I told them where I left James Nayler. So they took each of them a horse, and went and brought him thither that night. The next day Margaret Fell hearing of it, sent a horse for me; but I was so sore with bruises, I was not able to bear the shaking of the horse without much pain.



When I was come to Swarthmore, Justice Sawrey, and one Justice Thompson, of Lancaster, granted a warrant against me; but Judge Fell coming home, it was not served upon me; for he was out of the country all this time that I was thus cruelly abused. When he came home he sent forth warrants into the isle of Walney, to apprehend all those riotous persons; whereupon some of them fled the country.

James Lancaster's wife was afterwards convinced of the truth, and repented of the evils she had done me; and so did others of those bitter persecutors also; but the judgments of God fell upon some of them, and destruction is come upon many of them since. Judge Fell asked me to give him a relation of my persecution; but I told him they could do no otherwise in the spirit wherein they were, and that they manifested the fruits of their priest's ministry, and their profession and religion to be wrong. So he told his wife I made light of it, and that I spoke of it as a man that had not been concerned; for, indeed, the Lord's power healed me again.

The time for the sessions at Lancaster being come, I went thither with Judge Fell, who on the way told me he had never had such a matter brought before him before, and he could not well tell what to do in the business. I told him, when Paul was brought before the rulers, and the Jews and priests came down to accuse him, and laid many false things to his charge, Paul stood still all that while. And when they had done, Festus, the governor, and king Agrippa, beckoned to him to speak for himself; which Paul did, and cleared himself of all those false accusations, so he might do with me.

Being come to Lancaster, Justice Sawrey and Justice Thompson having granted a warrant to apprehend me, though I was not apprehended by it, yet hearing of it, I appeared at the sessions, where there appeared against me about forty priests. These had chosen one Marshall, priest of Lancaster, to be their orator; and had provided one young priest, and two priests' sons, to bear witness against me, who had sworn beforehand that I had spoken blasphemy

When the justices were sat, they heard all that the priests and their witnesses could say and charge against me, their orator Marshall sitting by, and explaining their sayings for them. But the witnesses were so confounded that they discovered themselves to be false witnesses; for when the court had examined one of them upon oath, and then began to examine another, he was at such loss he could not answer directly, but said the other could say it. Which made the justices say to him, "Have you sworn it, and given it in already upon your oath, and now say that he can say it? It seems you did not hear those words spoken yourself, though you have sworn it."

There were then in court several who had been at that meeting, wherein the witnesses swore I spoke those blasphemous words which the priests accused me of; and these, being men of integrity and reputation in the country, did declare and affirm in court that the oath which the witnesses had taken against me was altogether false; and that no such words as they had sworn against me were spoken by me at that meeting. Indeed, most of the serious men of that side of the country, then at the sessions, had been at that meeting; and had heard me both at that and at other meetings also.



This was taken notice of by Colonel West, who, being a justice of the peace, was then upon the bench; and having long been weak in body, blessed the Lord and said that He had healed him that day; adding that he never saw so many sober people and good faces together in all his life. Then, turning himself to me, he said in the open sessions, "George, if thou hast anything to say to the people, thou mayest freely declare it."

I was moved of the Lord to speak; and as soon as I began, priest Marshall, the orator for the rest of the priests, went his way. That which I was moved to declare was this: that the holy Scriptures were given forth by the Spirit of God; and that all people must come to the Spirit of God in themselves in order to know God and Christ, of whom the prophets and apostles learnt: and that by the same Spirit all men might know the holy Scriptures. For as the Spirit of God was in them that gave forth the Scriptures, so the same Spirit must be in all them that come to understand the Scriptures. By this Spirit they might have fellowship with the Father, with the Son, with the Scriptures, and with one another: and without this Spirit they can know neither God, Christ, nor the Scriptures, nor have a right fellowship one with another.

I had no sooner spoken these words than about half a dozen priests, that stood behind me, burst into a passion. One of them, whose name was Jackus, amongst other things that he spake against the Truth, said that the Spirit and the letter were inseparable. I replied, "Then every one that hath the letter hath the Spirit; and they might buy the Spirit with the letter of the Scriptures."

This plain discovery of darkness in the priest moved Judge Fell and Colonel West to reprove them openly, and tell them that according to that position they might carry the Spirit in their pockets as they did the Scriptures. Upon this the priests, being confounded and put to silence, rushed out in a rage against the justices, because they could not have their bloody ends upon me. The justices, seeing the witnesses did not agree, and perceiving that they were brought to answer the priests' envy, and finding that all their evidences were not sufficient in law to make good their charge against me, discharged me.

After Judge Fell had spoken to Justice Sawrey and Justice Thompson concerning the warrant they had given forth against me, and showing them the errors thereof, he and Colonel West granted a supersedeas to stop the execution of it. Thus I was cleared in open sessions of those lying accusations which the malicious priests had laid to my charge: and multitudes of people praised God that day, for it was a joyful day to many. Justice Benson, of Westmoreland, was convinced; and Major Ripan, mayor of the town of Lancaster, also.

It was a day of everlasting salvation to hundreds of people: for the Lord Jesus Christ, the way to the Father, the free Teacher, was exalted and set up; His everlasting gospel was preached, and the Word of eternal life was declared over the heads of the priests, and all such lucrative preachers. For the Lord opened many mouths that day to speak His Word to the priests, and several friendly people and professors reprov'd them in their inns, and in the streets, so that they fell, like an old rotten house: and the cry was among the people that the Quakers had got the day, and the priests were fallen.



TWO ROBBER STORIES.

WEST AND EAST²⁸

'They were changed men themselves, before they went out to change others'—W. PENN, Testimony to George Fox.

'But when He comes to reign, whose right it is, then peace and goodwill is unto all men, and no hurt in all the holy mountain of the Lord is seen.'—G. FOX.

*'Wouldst thou love one who never died for thee,
Or ever die for one who had not died for thee?*

*And if God dieth not for Man and giveth not Himself
Eternally for Man, Man could not exist, for Man is Love
As God is Love. Every kindness to another is a little death
In the Divine Image, nor can man exist but by brotherhood.'*

W. BLAKE, 'Jerusalem.'

*'England is as a family of prophets which must spread over all nations, as a garden of plants, and the place where the pearl is found which must enrich all nations with the heavenly treasure, out of which shall the waters of life flow, and water all the thirsty ground, and out of which nation and dominion must go the spiritually weaponed and armed men, to fight and conquer all nations and bring them to the nation of God.'—
Epistle of Skipton General Meeting, 1660.*

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TWO ROBBER STORIES.

WEST AND EAST

I

LEONARD FELL AND THE HIGHWAYMAN

In that same memorable summer of 1652 when George Fox first visited Swarthmoor Hall and 'bewitched' the household there, he also met and 'bewitched' another member of the Fell family. This was one Leonard Fell, a connection of the Judge, whose home was at Baycliff in the same county of Lancashire. Thither George Fox came on his travels shortly after his first visit to Swarthmoor, when only Margaret Fell and her children were at home, and before his later visit after Judge Fell's return.

'I went to Becliff,' says the Journal, 'where Leonard Fell was convinced, and became a minister of the everlasting Gospel. Several others were convinced there and came into obedience to truth. Here the people said they could not dispute, and would fain have put some others to hold talk with me, but I bid them, "Fear the Lord and not in a light way hold a talk of the Lord's words, but put the things in practice."'

Leonard Fell did indeed put his new faith 'in practice.' He left his home and followed his teacher, sharing with him many of the perils and dangers of his journeys in the Service of Truth. Up and down and across the length and breadth of England the two men travelled side by side along the hedgeless English roads. At first as they went along, Leonard Fell watched George Fox with sharp eyes, in his dealings with the different people they met on their journeys, in order to discover how his teacher would 'put into practice' the central truth he proclaimed: that in every man, however degraded, there remains some hidden spark of the Divine. But put it in practice George Fox did, till at length Leonard Fell, too, learned to look for 'that of God within' every one he met, learned to depend upon finding it, and to be able to draw it out in his turn.

One day, Leonard was travelling in the 'Service of Truth,' not in George Fox's company but alone, when, as he crossed a desolate moor on horseback, he heard the thunderous sound of horses' hoofs coming after him down the road. Looking round, he beheld a masked and bearded highwayman, his figure enveloped in a long flowing cloak, rapidly approaching on a far swifter horse than his own 'Truth's pony.' A moment later, a pistol was drawn from the newcomer's belt and pointed full at Leonard's head.

'Another step and you are a dead man! Your money or your life, and be quick about it!' said the highwayman, as he suddenly pulled the curb and checked his foam-covered horse. At this challenge, Leonard obediently pulled up his own steed with his left hand, while, with his right, he drew out his purse and



handed it over to the robber without a word.

The pistol still remained at full cock, pointed straight at his head. 'Your horse next,' demanded the stranger. 'It is a good beast. Though not as swift as mine I can find a use for it in my profession. Dismount; or I fire.'

In perfect silence Leonard dismounted, making no objection, and gave his horse's bridle into the highwayman's outstretched hand. Then at last, the threatened pistol was lowered, and replaced in the robber's belt. Throwing the folds of his long cloak over one shoulder, and carefully adjusting his mask, that not a glimpse of either face or figure should betray his identity, he prepared to depart, leaving his victim penniless and afoot on the wide, desolate moor. But, though the highwayman had now finished with the Quaker, the Quaker had by no means finished with the highwayman.

It was now Leonard's turn to be aggressive. Standing there on the bleak road, alone and unarmed, Leonard Fell raised a warning hand, and solemnly rebuked his assailant for his evil deeds. At the same time he admonished him that it was not yet too late for him to repent and lead a righteous life, before his hour for repentance should be forever passed.

This was a most surprising turn of events for the highwayman. At first he listened silently, too much astonished to speak. Leonard however did not mince matters, and before he had finished his exhortation the other man was in a furious rage. Never before had any of his victims treated him in this fashion. Curses, tears, despair, those were all to be expected in his 'profession'; but this extraordinary man was neither beseeching him for money nor swearing at him in anger. His victim was merely giving a solemn, yet almost friendly warning to the robber of his horse and of his gold.

'You, you cowardly dog!' blustered Leonard's assailant. 'You let me rob you of your purse and of your steed like a craven! You could not even pluck up courage to defend yourself. Yet now, you actually dare to stand and preach at ME, in the middle of the King's highway?'

The pistol was out again with a flourish. This time Leonard faced it calmly, making no movement to defend himself.

'I would not risk my life to defend either my money or my horse,' he answered, looking up straight at the muzzle with a steady eye, 'but I will lay it down gladly, if by so doing I can save thy soul.'

This unexpected answer was altogether too much for the highwayman. Though his finger was already on the trigger of the pistol, that trigger was never pulled. He sat motionless on his horse, staring through the holes in his mask, down into the eyes of his intended victim, as if he would read his inmost soul.

This astonishing man, whom he had taken for a coward, was calmly ready and was apparently quite willing to give his life—his life!—in order to save his enemy's soul. The robber had almost forgotten that he had a soul. His manhood was black and stained now by numberless deeds of violence, by crimes, too many remembered and far more forgotten. Yet he had once known what



it was to feel tender and white and innocent. He had certainly possessed a soul long ago. Did it still exist? Apparently the stranger was convinced that it must, since he was actually prepared to stake his own life upon its eternal welfare. Surprising man! He really cared what became of a robber's soul. It was impossible to wish to murder or even to steal from such an one. There could not be another like him, the wide world over. He had best be allowed to continue on his unique adventure of discovering souls, a much more dangerous career it seemed to be than any mere everyday highwayman's 'profession.'

As these thoughts passed through the robber's mind, his hand sought the folds of his cloak, and then drawing Leonard's purse forth from a deep convenient pocket, he returned it to its owner, stooping over him, as he did so, with a low and courtly bow. Next, putting the horse's bridle also back into Leonard's hand, 'If you are such a man as that,' the highwayman said, 'I will take neither your money nor your horse!'

A moment later, as if already ashamed of his impulsive generosity, he set spurs to his horse and disappeared as swiftly as he had come.

Leonard, meanwhile, remounting, pursued his way in safety, with both his horse and his money once more restored to him. But more precious, by far, than either, was the knowledge that his friend's teaching had again been proved to be true. In his own experience he had discovered that there really and truly is an Inward Light that does shine still, even in the hearts of wicked men. Thus was Leonard Fell in his turn enabled to 'put these things in practice.'

II

ON THE ROAD TO JERUSALEM

A few years later, on another desolate road, crossing another lonely plain, another traveller met with a very similar adventure thousands of miles away from England. Only this traveller's experiences were much worse than Leonard Fell's. He was not only attacked by three robbers instead of one alone, but this happened amid many other far worse dangers and narrower escapes. Possibly he even looked back, in after days, to his encounter with the robbers as one of the pleasanter parts of his journey!

This traveller's name was George Robinson, and he was an English Quaker and a London youth. He has left the record of his experiences in a few closely printed pages at the end of a very small book.

'In the year 1657,' he writes, 'about the beginning of the seventh month [September], as I was waiting upon the Lord in singleness of heart, His blessed presence filled me and by the power of His Spirit did command me to go unto Jerusalem, and further said to me, "Thy sufferings shall be great, but I will bear thee over them all."'

This was no easy journey for anyone in those days, least of all for a poor man such as George Robinson. However, he set out



obediently, and went by ship to Leghorn in Italy. There he waited a fortnight until he could get a passage in another ship bound for St. Jean d'Acre, on the coast of Palestine, where centuries before Richard C[oe]ur de Lion had disembarked with his Crusaders. Innumerable other pilgrims had landed there, since Richard's time, on their way to see the Holy Places at Jerusalem. George Robinson refused to call himself a pilgrim, but he had a true pilgrim's heart that no difficulties could turn back or dismay.

After staying for eight days in the house of a French merchant at Acre, he set sail in yet a third ship that was bound for Joppa (or Jaffa, as it is called now). 'But the wind rising against us,' Robinson says in his narrative, 'we came to an anchor and the next morning divers Turks came aboard, and demanded tribute of those called Christians in the vessel, which they paid for fear of sufferings but very unwillingly, their demands being very unreasonable, and in like manner demanded of me, but I refusing to pay as according to their demands, they threatened to beat the soles of my feet with a stick, and one of them would have put his hand into my pocket, but the chiefest of them rebuked him. Soon after they began to take me out of the vessel to effect their work, but one of the Turks belonging to the vessel speaking to them as they were taking me ashore, they let me alone, wherein I saw the good Hand of God preserving me.... After this, about three or four days we came to Joppa.'

And there at Joppa (or Jaffa), where Jonah long ago had embarked for Tarshish, and where Peter on the house-top had had his vision of the great white sheet, our traveller landed. He proceeded straightway on what he hoped would have been the last stage of his long journey to Jerusalem.

Alas! he was mistaken. A few pleasant hours of travel he had, as he passed through the palm-groves that encircle the city of Jaffa, and over the first few miles of dusty road that cross the famous Plain of Sharon. Ever as he journeyed he could see the tall tower of Ramleh, built by the Crusaders hundreds of years before, growing taller as he approached, rising in the sunset like a rosy finger to beckon him across the Plains. When he reached it, in the shadow of the tall Tower enemies were lurking. Certain friars up at Jerusalem, in the hilly country that borders the plain, had heard from their brethren at Acre that a heretic stranger from England was coming on foot to visit the Holy City. Now these friars, although they called themselves Franciscans, were no true followers of St. Francis, the 'little poor man of God,' that gentlest saint and truest lover of holy poverty and holy peace. These Jerusalem friars had forgotten his teaching, and lived on the gains they made off pilgrims; therefore, hearing that the heretic stranger from heretic England was travelling independently and not on a pilgrimage, they feared that he might spoil their business at the Holy Shrines. Accordingly they sent word to their brethren, the friars of Ramleh in the plain, to waylay him and turn him back as soon as he had reached the first stage of his journey from Jaffa on the coast.



'The friars of Jerusalem,' says Robinson, 'hearing of my coming, gave orders unto some there [at Ramleh] to stay me, which accordingly was done; for I was taken and locked up in a room for one night and part of the day following, and then had liberty to go into the yard, but as a prisoner; in which time the Turks showed friendship unto me, one ancient man especially, of great repute, who desired that I might come to his house, which thing being granted, he courteously entertained me.'

Four or five days later there came down an Irish friar from Jerusalem to see the prisoner. At first he spoke kindly to him, and greeted him as a fellow-countryman, seeing that they both came from the distant Isles of Britain, set in their silver seas. Presently it appeared, however, that he had not come out of friendship, but as a messenger from the friars at Jerusalem, to insist that the Englishman must make five solemn promises before he could be allowed to proceed on his journey. He must promise:

- '1. That he would visit the Holy Places [so the friar called them] as other pilgrims did.
2. And give such sums of money as is the usual manner of pilgrims.
3. Wear such a sort of habit as is the manner of pilgrims.
4. Speak nothing against the Turks' laws.
5. And when he came to Jerusalem not to speak anything about religion.'

George Robinson had no intention of promising any one of these things—much less all five. 'I stand in the will of God, and shall do as He bids me,' was the only answer he would make, which did not satisfy the Irish friar. Determined that his journey should not have been in vain, and persuasion having proved useless, he sought to accomplish his object by force. Taking his prisoner, therefore, he set him on horseback, and surrounding him with a number of armed guards, both horsemen and footmen, whom he had brought down from Jerusalem for the purpose, he himself escorted George Robinson back for the second time to Jaffa. There, that very day, he put him aboard a vessel on the point of sailing for Acre. Then, clattering back with his guards across the plain of Sharon, the Irish friar probably assured the Ramleh friars that they had nothing more to fear from that heretic.

Nothing could turn George Robinson from his purpose. He was still quite sure that his Master had work for His servant to do in His Own City of Jerusalem; and, therefore, to Jerusalem that servant must go. He was obliged to stay for three weeks at Acre before he could find a ship to carry him southwards again. He lodged at this time at the house of a kind French merchant called by the curious name of Surrubi.

'A man,' Robinson says, 'that I had never seen before (that I knew of), who friendly took me into his house as I was passing along, where I remained about twenty days.'

Surrubi was a most courteous host to his Quaker visitor. He used to say that he was sure God had sent him to his house as an



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honoured guest. 'For,' he continued, 'when my own countrymen come to me, they are little to me, but thee I can willingly receive.' 'The old man would admire the Lord's doing in this thing, and he did love me exceedingly much,' his visitor records gratefully. 'But the friars had so far prevailed with the Consul that in twenty days I could not be received into a vessel for to go to Jerusalem, so that I knew not but to have gone by land; yet it was several days' journey, and I knew not the way, not so much as out of the city, besides the great difficulty there is in going through the country beyond my expression; yet I, not looking at the hardships but at the heavenly will of our Lord, I was made to cry in my heart, "Lord, Thy will be done and not mine." And so being prepared to go, and taking leave of the tender old man, he cried, "I should be destroyed if I went by land," and would not let me go.'

The friars had told the Consul that Robinson had refused to accept their conditions, 'He will turn Turk,' they said, 'and be a devil.' But, thanks to Surrubi's kindness and help, after much trouble Robinson was at length set aboard another ship bound for the south. And thus after bidding a grateful farewell to his host, he made a quick passage and came for the second time to Jaffa. Again he set forth on his last perilous journey. Only a few miles of fertile plain to cross, only a few hours of climbing up the dim blue hills that were already in view on the horizon, and then at last he should reach his goal, the Holy City.

Even yet it was not to be! This time his troubles began before ever he came within sight of the tall Tower of Ramleh, under whose shadow his enemies, the friars, were still lying in wait for him. He says that having 'left the ship and paid his passage, and having met with many people on the way, they peacefully passed him by until he had gone about six miles out of Jaffa.' But on the long straight road that runs like a dusty white ribbon across the wide parched Plain of Sharon, he beheld three other figures coming towards him. Two of them rode on the stately white asses used by travellers of the East. The third, a person of less consequence, followed on foot. As they came nearer, our traveller noticed that they all carried guns as well as fierce-looking daggers stuck in their swathed girdles. However, arms are no unusual accompaniments for a journey in that country, so Robinson still hoped to be allowed to pass with a peaceable salutation. Instead of bowing themselves in return, according to the beautiful Oriental custom, with the threefold gesture that signifies 'My head, my lips, and my heart are all at your service,' and the spoken wish that his day might be blessed, the three men rushed at the English wayfarer and threw themselves upon him, demanding money. One man held a gun with its muzzle touching Robinson's breast, another searched his pockets and took out everything that he could find, while the third held the asses. 'I, not resisting them,' is their victim's simple account, 'stood in the fear of the Lord, who preserved me, for they passed away, and he that took my things forth of my pockets put them up again, taking nothing from me, nor did me the least



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harm. But one of them took me by the hand and led me on my way in a friendly manner, and so left me.... So I, passing through like dangers through the great love of God, which caused me to magnify His holy name, came, though in much weakness of body, to Ramleh.'

At Ramleh worse dangers even than he had met with on his former visit were awaiting him. Many more perils and hairbreadth escapes had yet to be surmounted before he could say that his feet—his tired feet—had stood 'within thy gates, O Jerusalem.'

Throughout these later hardships his faith must have been strengthened by the memory of his encounter with the robbers, and the victory won by the everlasting power of meekness.

East or West, the Master's command can always be followed: the command not to fight evil with evil, but to overcome evil with good.

Leonard Fell was given his opportunity of 'putting in practice the things he had learned' as he travelled in England. Our later pilgrim had the honour of being tested in the Holy Land itself:

'In those holy fields,
Over whose acres walked those blessed feet,
Which [nineteen] hundred years ago were nailed
For our advantage on the bitter cross.'



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HISTORICAL NOTES

Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

'TWO ROBBER STORIES—WEST AND EAST.'

(1) Leonard Fell and the Highwayman, taken from 'THE FELLS OF SWARTHMOOR HALL,' by M. Webb, p. 353.

(2) On the Road to Jerusalem. Taken from George Robinson's own account, published in 'A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE VOYAGE OF KATHARINE EVANS AND SARAH CHEEVERS.' pp. 207 ad fin.

1653

[Friend John Ellis, Sr.](#) and [Susan Lumber Ellis](#) had by this point moved from Dedham MA to Medfield MA.

1653 Walton’s Compleat Angler.

1653 Death of Sir Robert Filmer.

1653 Hammond’s Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament.

1653 Gracian’s Oráculo Manual.

1653 Persecution of the press.

During the first part of this year New Amsterdam, because Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell had declared war upon the Dutch Republic, busied itself in the erection of a defensive wall across Manhattan to the north of the white settlement, guarding themselves against any English militias, or native American war parties, that might approach from that direction.

It is clear that [John Smith](#) was not only able “to beare arms,” but also willing to do so despite his marriage to a [Quaker](#) woman — because in this year he served as an officer aboard a “barque” which the militia of Plymouth sent to fight the Dutch at “Manhatoes.” (It is not clear that there was any actual contact.)

Under the Act of Settlement, Parliament’s opponents in Ireland were stripped of their estates.

While on a trip from his home in Ireland to England, [William Edmundson](#) was convinced by Friend [James Naylor](#) to become a [Quaker](#).



James Naylor was having a meeting about three miles from where I was. I went to it with my eldest brother Thomas and another kinsman, having an earnest desire to converse with some of that people, retaining a love for and believing well of them from the



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first hearing the report of them. And I was glad of this opportunity. We were all three convinced of the Lord's blessed truth, for God's witness in our hearts answered to the truth of what was spoken, and the Lord's former dealings with me came fresh into my remembrance. Then I knew it was the Lord's hand that had been striving with me for a long time. This was in the year 1653.

Then my understanding began to be opened and many Scriptures were brought to my remembrance, which I had often read and yet understood not. But now being turned to a measure of the Lord's Spirit manifested in my heart which often had reproved me for evil in my ignorance, I knew that it was he which led into all truth, agreeably to the holy Scriptures of the law and prophets and Christ and his apostles. And I thought that all that heard it declared must own it, it was so plain to me. A few days after I was thus far convinced of the blessed truth, the Lord's power seized upon me through his Spirit, whereby I was brought under great exercises of mind. Yea, all my parts came under this exercise, for the Lord's hand was mighty upon me in judgments mixed with mercies, so that my former ways were hedged up. But I loved the Lord's judgments, for I knew I had sinned against him and must be purged through judgment. And though under this exercise of conscience towards God, yet I did my business in England and shipped my goods to be landed at Carrickfergus or Belfast.

Beginning of the Year: At the beginning of the year Friend [George Fox](#) returned to Swarthmore.

About the beginning of the year 1653 I returned to Swarthmore, and going to a meeting at Gleaston, a professor challenged to dispute with me. I went to the house where he was, and called him to come forth; but the Lord's power was over him, so that he durst not meddle. I departed thence, visited the meetings of Friends in Lancashire, and came back to Swarthmore. Great openings I had from the Lord, not only of divine and spiritual matters, but also of outward things relating to the civil government.

First week in April: Friend [George Fox](#) allegedly forecast that within a couple of weeks [Oliver Cromwell](#) would break up the Parliament, depriving the Speaker of his chair:

Being one day in Swarthmore Hall, when Judge Fell and Justice Benson were talking of the news, and of the Parliament then sitting (called the Long Parliament), I was moved to tell them that before that day two weeks the Parliament should be broken up, and the Speaker plucked out of his chair. That day two weeks Justice Benson told Judge Fell that now he saw George was a true prophet; for Oliver had broken up the Parliament. About this time I was in a fast for about ten days, my spirit being greatly exercised on Truth's behalf: for James Milner and Richard Myer went out into imaginations, and a company followed them. This James Milner and some of his company had true openings at the first; but getting up into pride and exaltation of spirit, they ran out from Truth. I was sent for to them, and was moved of the Lord to go and show them their outgoings. They were brought to see their folly, and condemned it; and came into the way of Truth again.



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April 20: [Oliver Cromwell](#) forcibly dissolved the “Rump” Parliament, creating himself as the Lord Protector of England. This placed [Sir Henry Vane](#) on the outside looking in, and so he would go to Raby Castle and there devote himself to the writing of theological books (certain of these publications would come to be regarded as seditious and for that reason he would find himself, briefly, a prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle).



Although there is no contemporary authentication for the common-sense political forecast allegedly made by Friend [George Fox](#) a couple of weeks earlier, that by this day the Parliament would have been “broken up, and the Speaker plucked out of his chair,” there seems little reason to doubt that such an understanding might have been available to Fox.

Being one day in Swarthmore Hall, when Judge Fell and Justice Benson were talking of the news, and of the Parliament then sitting (called the Long Parliament), I was moved to tell them that before that day two weeks the Parliament should be broken up, and the Speaker plucked out of his chair. That day two weeks Justice Benson told Judge Fell that now he saw George was a true prophet; for Oliver had broken up the Parliament. About this time I was in a fast for about ten days, my spirit being greatly exercised on Truth's behalf: for James Milner and Richard Myer went out into imaginations, and a company followed them. This James Milner and some of his company had true openings at the first; but getting up into pride and exaltation of spirit, they ran out from Truth. I was sent for to them, and was moved of the Lord to go and show them their outgoings. They were brought to see their folly, and condemned it; and came into the way of Truth again.





There were some further missionary adventures and then Friend [George Fox](#) was put in prison again, at Carlisle.

After some time I went to a meeting at Arnside, where was Richard Myer, who had been long lame of one of his arms. I was moved of the Lord to say unto him amongst all the people, "Stand up upon thy legs," for he was sitting down. And he stood up, and stretched out his arm that had been lame a long time, and said, "Be it known unto you, all people, that this day I am healed." Yet his parents could hardly believe it; but after the meeting was done, they had him aside, took off his doublet, and then saw it was true.

He came soon after to Swarthmore meeting, and there declared how the Lord had healed him. Yet after this the Lord commanded him to go to York with a message from Him, which he disobeyed; and the Lord struck him again, so that he died about three-quarters of a year after.

Now were great threatenings given forth in Cumberland that if ever I came there they would take away my life. When I heard it I was drawn to go into Cumberland; and went to Miles Wennington's, in the same parish from which those threatenings came: but they had not power to touch me. On a First-day I went into the steeple-house at Bootle [in Cumberland]; and when the priest had done, I began to speak. But the people were exceeding rude, and struck and beat me in the yard; one gave me a very great blow over my wrist, so that the people thought he had broken my hand to pieces. The constable was very desirous to keep the peace, and would have set some of them that struck me by the heels, if I would have given way to it. After my service amongst them was over, I went to Joseph Nicholson's house, and the constable went a little way with us, to keep off the rude multitude.

In the afternoon I went again. The priest had got to help him another priest, that came from London, and was highly accounted of. Before I went into the steeple-house, I sat a little upon the cross, and Friends with me; but the Friends were moved to go into the steeple-house, and I went in after them.

The London priest was preaching. He gathered up all the Scriptures he could think of that spoke of false prophets, and antichrists, and deceivers, and threw them upon us; but when he had done I recollected all those Scriptures, and brought them back upon himself. Then the people fell upon me in a rude manner; but the constable charged them to keep the peace, and so made them quiet again. Then the priest began to rage, and said I must not speak there. I told him he had his hour-glass, by which he had preached; and he having done, the time was free for me, as well as for him, for he was but a stranger there himself.

So I opened the Scriptures to them, and let them see that those Scriptures that spoke of the false prophets, and antichrists, and deceivers, described them and their generation; and belonged to them who were found walking in their steps, and bringing forth their fruits; and not unto us, who were not guilty of such things. I manifested to them that they were out of the steps of the true prophets and apostles; and showed them clearly; by the fruits and marks, that it was they of whom those Scriptures spoke, and not we. And I declared the Truth, and the Word of life to the people; and directed them to Christ their teacher.



When I came down again to Joseph Nicholson's house, I saw a great hole in my coat, which was cut with a knife; but it was not cut through my doublet, for the Lord had prevented their mischief. The next day there was a rude, wicked man who would have done violence to a Friend, but the Lord's power stopped him.

Now was I moved to send James Lancaster to appoint a meeting at the steeple-house of John Wilkinson, near Cockermouth, – a preacher in great repute, who had three parishes under him. I stayed at Milholm, in Bootle, till James Lancaster came back again. In the meantime some of the gentry of the country had formed a plot against me, and had given a little boy a rapier, with which to do me mischief. They came with the boy to Joseph Nicholson's to seek me; but the Lord had so ordered it that I was gone into the fields. They met with James Lancaster, but did not much abuse him; and not finding me in the house, they went away again. So I walked up and down in the fields that night, as very often I used to do, and did not go to bed.

We came the next day to the steeple-house where James Lancaster had appointed the meeting. There were at this meeting twelve soldiers and their wives, from Carlisle; and the country people came in, as if it were to a fair. I lay at a house somewhat short of the place, so that many Friends got thither before me. When I came I found James Lancaster speaking under a yew tree which was so full of people that I feared they would break it down.

I looked about for a place to stand upon, to speak unto the people, for they lay all up and down, like people at a leaguer. After I was discovered, a professor asked if I would not go into the church? I, seeing no place abroad convenient to speak to the people from, told him, Yes; whereupon the people rushed in, so that when I came the house and pulpit were so full I had much ado to get in. Those that could not get in stood abroad about the walls.

When the people were settled I stood up on a seat, and the Lord opened my mouth to declare His everlasting Truth and His everlasting day. When I had largely declared the Word of life unto them for about the space of three hours, I walked forth amongst the people, who passed away well satisfied. Among the rest a professor followed me, praising and commending me; but his words were like a thistle to me. Many hundreds were convinced that day, and received the Lord Jesus Christ and His free teaching, with gladness; of whom some have died in the Truth, and many stand faithful witnesses thereof. The soldiers also were convinced, and their wives.

After this I went to a village, and many people accompanied me. As I was sitting in a house full of people, declaring the Word of life unto them, I cast mine eye upon a woman, and discerned an unclean spirit in her. And I was moved of the Lord to speak sharply to her, and told her she was under the influence of an unclean spirit; whereupon she went out of the room. Now, I being a stranger there, and knowing nothing of the woman outwardly, the people wondered at it, and told me afterwards that I had discovered a great thing; for all the country looked upon her to be a wicked person.



The Lord had given me a spirit of discerning, by which I many times saw the states and conditions of people, and could try their spirits. For not long before, as I was going to a meeting, I saw some women in a field, and I discerned an evil spirit in them; and I was moved to go out of my way into the field to them, and declare unto them their conditions. At another time there came one into Swarthmore Hall in the meeting time, and I was moved to speak sharply to her, and told her she was under the power of an evil spirit; and the people said afterwards she was generally accounted so. There came also at another time another woman, and stood at a distance from me, and I cast mine eye upon her, and said, "Thou hast been an harlot"; for I perfectly saw the condition and life of the woman. The woman answered and said that many could tell her of her outward sins, but none could tell her of her inward. Then I told her her heart was not right before the Lord, and that from the inward came the outward. This woman came afterwards to be convinced of God's truth, and became a Friend.

Thence we travelled to Carlisle. The pastor of the Baptists, with most of his hearers, came to the abbey, where I had a meeting; and I declared the Word of life amongst them. Many of the Baptists and of the soldiers were convinced. After the meeting the pastor of the Baptists, an high notionist and a flashy man, asked me what must be damned. I was moved immediately to tell him that that which spoke in him was to be damned. This stopped his mouth; and the witness of God was raised up in him. I opened to him the states of election and reprobation; so that he said he never heard the like in his life. He came afterwards to be convinced.

** Then I went to the castle among the soldiers, who beat a drum and called the garrison together. I preached the Truth amongst them, directing them to the Lord Jesus Christ to be their teacher, and to the measure of His Spirit in themselves, by which they might be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. I warned them all that they should do no violence to any man, but should show forth a Christian life: telling them that He who was to be their Teacher would be their condemner if they were disobedient to Him. So I left them, having no opposition from any of them, except the sergeants, who afterwards came to be convinced.*

On the market-day I went up into the market, to the market-cross. The magistrates had both threatened, and sent their sergeants; and the magistrates' wives had said that if I came there they would pluck the hair off my head; and the sergeants should take me up. Nevertheless I obeyed the Lord God, went up on the cross, and declared unto them that the day of the Lord was coming upon all their deceitful ways and doings, and deceitful merchandise; that they should put away all cozening and cheating, and keep to Yea and Nay, and speak the truth one to another. So the Truth and the power of God was set over them.

GEORGE FOX



After I had declared the Word of life to the people, the throng being so great that the sergeants could not reach me, nor the magistrates' wives come at me, I passed away quietly. Many people and soldiers came to me, and some Baptists, that were bitter contenders; amongst whom one of their deacons, an envious man, finding that the Lord's power was over them, cried out for very anger. Whereupon I set my eyes upon him, and spoke sharply to him in the power of the Lord: and he cried, "Do not pierce me so with thy eyes; keep thy eyes off me."

The First-day following I went into the steeple-house: and after the priest had done, I preached the Truth to the people, and declared the Word of life amongst them. The priest got away; and the magistrates desired me to go out of the steeple-house. But I still declared the way of the Lord unto them, and told them I came to speak the Word of life and salvation from the Lord amongst them. The power of the Lord was dreadful amongst them, so that the people trembled and shook, and they thought the steeple-house shook; some of them feared it would have fallen down on their heads. The magistrates' wives were in a rage, and strove mightily to get at me: but the soldiers and friendly people stood thick about me.

At length the rude people of the city rose, and came with staves and stones into the steeple-house, crying, "Down with these round-headed rogues"; and they threw stones. Whereupon the governor sent a file or two of musketeers into the steeple-house to appease the tumult, and commanded all the other soldiers out. So those soldiers took me by the hand in a friendly manner, and said they would have me along with them. When we came into the street the city was in an uproar. The governor came down; and some of the soldiers were put in prison for standing by me against the townspeople.

A lieutenant, who had been convinced, came and brought me to his house, where there was a Baptist meeting, and thither came Friends also. We had a very quiet meeting; they heard the Word of life gladly, and many received it.

The next day, the justices and magistrates of the town being gathered together in the town-hall, they granted a warrant against me, and sent for me before them. I was then gone to a Baptist's; but hearing of it, I went up to the hall, where many rude people were, some of whom had sworn false things against me. I had a great deal of discourse with the magistrates, wherein I laid open the fruits of their priests' preaching, showed them how they were void of Christianity, and that, though they were such great professors (for they were Independents and Presbyterians) they were without the possession of that which they professed. After a large examination they committed me to prison as a blasphemer, a heretic, and a seducer, though they could not justly charge any such thing against me.

GEORGE FOX



The jail at Carlisle had two jailers, an upper and an under, who looked like two great bear-wards. When I was brought in the upper jailer took me up into a great chamber, and told me I should have what I would in that room. But I told him he should not expect any money from me, for I would neither lie in any of his beds, nor eat any of his victuals. Then he put me into another room, where after awhile I got something to lie upon.

There I lay till the assizes came, and then all the talk was that I was to be hanged. The high sheriff, Wilfred Lawson, stirred them much up to take away my life, and said he would guard me to my execution himself. They were in a rage, and set three musketeers for guard upon me, one at my chamber-door, another at the stairs-foot, and a third at the street door; and they would let none come at me, except one sometimes, to bring me some necessary things.

At night, sometimes as late as the tenth hour, they would bring up priests to me, who were exceeding rude and devilish. There were a company of bitter Scotch priests, Presbyterians, made up of envy and malice, who were not fit to speak of the things of God, they were so foul-mouthed. But the Lord, by His power, gave me dominion over them all, and I let them see both their fruits and their spirits. Great ladies also (as they were called) came to see the man that they said was to die. While the judge, justices, and sheriff were contriving together how they might put me to death, the Lord disappointed their design by an unexpected way.

[A letter from the "Barebones" Parliament asked for Fox's release.]

The next day, after the judges were gone out of town, an order was sent to the jailer to put me down into the prison amongst the moss-troopers [freebooters], thieves, and murderers; which accordingly he did. A filthy, nasty place it was, where men and women were put together in a very uncivil manner, and never a house of office to it; and the prisoners were so lousy that one woman was almost eaten to death with lice. Yet bad as the place was, the prisoners were all made very loving and subject to me, and some of them were convinced of the Truth, as the publicans and harlots were of old; so that they were able to confound any priest that might come to the grates to dispute.

But the jailer was cruel, and the under-jailer very abusive both to me and to Friends that came to see me; for he would beat with a great cudgel Friends who did but come to the window to look in upon me. I could get up to the grate, where sometimes I took in my meat; at which the jailer was often offended. Once he came in a great rage and beat me with his cudgel, though I was not at the grate at that time; and as he beat me, he cried, "Come out of the window," though I was then far from it. While he struck me, I was moved in the Lord's power to sing, which made him rage the more. Then he fetched a fiddler, and set him to play, thinking to vex me. But while he played, I was moved in the everlasting power of the Lord God to sing; and my voice drowned the noise of the fiddle, struck and confounded them, and made them give over fiddling and go their way.

GEORGE FOX



** Whilst I was in prison at Carlisle, James Parnell, a little lad about sixteen years of age, came to see me, and was convinced. The Lord quickly made him a powerful minister of the Word of life, and many were turned to Christ by him, though he lived not long. For, travelling into Essex in the work of the ministry, in the year 1655, he was committed to Colchester castle, where he endured very great hardships and sufferings. He was put by the cruel jailer into a hole in the castle wall, called the oven, so high from the ground that he went up to it by a ladder, which being six feet too short, he was obliged to climb from the ladder to the hole by a rope that was fastened above. When Friends would have given him a cord and a basket in which to draw up his victuals, the inhuman jailer would not suffer them, but forced him to go down and up by that short ladder and rope to fetch his victuals, which for a long time he did, or else he might have famished in the hole.*

At length his limbs became much benumbed with lying in that place; yet being still obliged to go down to take up some victuals, as he came up the ladder again with his victuals in one hand, and caught at the rope with the other, he missed the rope, and fell down from a very great height upon the stones; by which fall he was so wounded in the head, arms, and body, that he died a short time after.

While I thus lay in the dungeon at Carlisle, the report raised at the time of the assize that I should be put to death was gone far and near; insomuch that the Parliament then sitting, which, I think, was called the Little Parliament, hearing that a young man at Carlisle was to die for religion, caused a letter to be sent the sheriff and magistrates concerning me.

Not long after this the Lord's power came over the justices, and they were made to set me at liberty. But some time previous the governor and Anthony Pearson came down into the dungeon, to see the place where I was kept and understand what usage I had had. They found the place so bad and the savour so ill, that they cried shame on the magistrates for suffering the jailer to do such things. They called for the jailers into the dungeon, and required them to find sureties for their good behaviour; and the under-jailer, who had been such a cruel fellow, they put into the dungeon with me, amongst the moss-troopers.

Now I went into the country, and had mighty great meetings. The everlasting gospel and Word of life flourished, and thousands were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to His teaching.

The priests and magistrates were in a great rage against me in Westmoreland, and had a warrant to apprehend me, which they renewed from time to time, for a long time; yet the Lord did not suffer them to serve it upon me. I travelled on amongst Friends, visiting the meetings till I came to Swarthmore, where I heard that the Baptists and professors in Scotland had sent to have a dispute with me. I sent them word that I would meet them in Cumberland, at Thomas Bewley's house, whither accordingly I went, but none of them came.

GEORGE FOX



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Some dangers at this time I underwent in my travels; for at one time, as we were passing from a meeting, and going through Wigton on a market-day, the people of the town had set a guard with pitchforks; and although some of their own neighbours were with us, they kept us out of the town, and would not let us pass through it, under the pretence of preventing the sickness; though there was no occasion for any such thing. However, they fell upon us, and had like to have spoiled us and our horses; but the Lord restrained them, that they did not much hurt; and we passed away.

Another time, as I was passing between two Friends' houses, some rude fellows lay in wait in a lane, and exceedingly stoned and abused us; but at last, through the Lord's assistance, we got through them, and had not much hurt. But this showed the fruits of the priest's teaching, which shamed their profession of Christianity.

After I had visited Friends in that county, I went through the county into Durham, having large meetings by the way. A very large one I had at Anthony Pearson's, where many were convinced. From thence I passed through Northumberland to Derwentwater, where there were great meetings; and the priests threatened that they would come, but none came. The everlasting Word of life was freely preached, and freely received; and many hundreds were turned to Christ, their teacher.

In Northumberland many came to dispute, of whom some pleaded against perfection. Unto these I declared that Adam and Eve were perfect before they fell; that all that God made was perfect; that the imperfection came by the devils and the fall; but that Christ, who came to destroy the devil, said, "Be ye perfect."

One of the professors alleged that Job said, "Shall mortal man be more pure than his Maker? The heavens are not clean in His sight. God charged His angels with folly." But I showed him his mistake, and let him see that it was not Job that said so, but one of those that contended against Job; for Job stood for perfection, and held his integrity; and they were called miserable comforters.

Then these professors said that the outward body was the body of death and sin. I showed them their mistake in that also; for Adam and Eve had each of them an outward body, before the body of death and sin got into them; and that man and woman will have bodies when the body of sin and death is put off again; when they are renewed again into the image of God by Christ Jesus, in which they were before they fell. So they ceased at that time from opposing further; and glorious meetings we had in the Lord's power.

Then passed we to Hexam, where we had a great meeting on top of a hill. The priest threatened that he would come and oppose us, but he came not; so all was quiet. And the everlasting day and renowned Truth of the ever-living God was sounded over those dark countries, and His Son exalted over all. It was proclaimed amongst the people that the day was now come wherein all that made a profession of the Son of God might receive Him; and that to as many as would receive Him He would give power to become the sons of God, as He had done to me.

GEORGE FOX



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EARLY QUAKERISM

It was further declared that he who had the Son of God, had life eternal; but he that had not the Son of God, though he professed all the Scriptures from the first of Genesis to the last of the Revelation, had no life.

So after all were directed to the light of Christ, by which they might see Him, receive Him, and know where their true teacher was, and the everlasting Truth had been largely declared amongst them, we passed through Hexam peaceably, and came into Gilsland, a country noted for thieving.

The next day we came into Cumberland again, where we had a general meeting of thousands of people on top of an hill near Langlands. A glorious and heavenly meeting it was; for the glory of the Lord did shine over all; and there were as many as one could well speak over [reach by the power of the unaided voice], the multitude was so great. Their eyes were turned to Christ, their teacher; and they came to sit under their own vine; insomuch that Francis Howgill, coming afterwards to visit them, found they had no need of words; for they were sitting under their teacher Christ Jesus; in the sense whereof He sat down amongst them, without speaking anything.

A great convincement there was in Cumberland, Bishoprick, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire; and the plants of God grew and flourished, the heavenly rain descending, and God's glory shining upon them. Many mouths were opened by the Lord to His praise; yea, to babes and sucklings he ordained strength.

GEORGE FOX



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Toward the end of the year, the movement of Friend [George Fox](#) was beginning noticeably to prosper:

FOX'S JOURNAL:

** About this time the priests and professors fell to prophesying against us afresh. They had said long before that we should be destroyed within a month; and after that, they prolonged the time to half a year. But that time being long expired, and we mightily increased in number, they now gave forth that we would eat out one another. For often after meetings many tender people, having a great way to go, tarried at Friends' houses by the way, and sometimes more than there were beds to lodge in; so that some lay on the hay-mows. Hereupon Cain's fear possessed the professors and world's people; for they were afraid that when we had eaten one another out, we should all come to be maintained by the parishes, and be chargeable to them.*

But after awhile, when they saw that the Lord blessed and increased Friends, as he did Abraham, both in the field and in the basket, at their goings forth and their comings in, at their risings up and their lyings down, and that all things prospered with them; then they saw the falseness of all their prophecies against us, and that it was in vain to curse whom God had blessed.

At the first convincement, when Friends could not put off their hats to people, or say You to a single person, but Thou and Thee; – when they could not bow, or use flattering words in salutation, or adopt the fashions and customs of the world, many Friends, that were tradesmen of several sorts, lost their customers at first, for the people were shy of them, and would not trade with them; so that for a time some Friends could hardly get money enough to buy bread.

But afterwards, when people came to have experience of Friends' honesty and faithfulness, and found that their yea was yea, and their nay was nay; that they kept to a word in their dealings, and would not cozen and cheat, but that if a child were sent to their shops for anything, he was as well used as his parents would have been; – then the lives and conversation of Friends did preach, and reached to the witness of God in the people.

Then things altered so, that all the inquiry was, "Where is there a draper, or shop-keeper, or tailor, or shoemaker, or any other tradesman, that is a Quaker?" Insomuch that Friends had more trade than many of their neighbours, and if there was any trading, they had a great part of it. Then the envious professors altered their note, and began to cry out, "If we let these Quakers alone, they will take the trade of the nation out of our hands."

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

This has been the Lord's doing to and for His people! which my desire is that all who profess His holy truth may be kept truly sensible of, and that all may be preserved in and by His power and Spirit, faithful to God and man. Faithful first to God, in obeying Him in all things; and next in doing unto all men that which is just and righteous in all things, that the Lord God maybe glorified in their practising truth, holiness, godliness, and righteousness amongst people in all their lives and conversation. While Friends abode in the northern parts, a priest of Wrexham, in Wales, named Morgan Floyd, having heard reports concerning us, sent two of his congregation into the north to inquire concerning us, to try us, and bring him an account of us. When these triers came amongst us, the power of the Lord seized on them, and they were both convinced of the truth. So they stayed some time with us, and then returned to Wales; where afterwards one of them departed from his convincement; but the other, named John-ap-John, abode in the truth, and received a part in the ministry, in which he continued faithful.

** About this time the oath or engagement to Oliver Cromwell was tendered to the soldiers, many of whom were disbanded because, in obedience to Christ, they could not swear. John Stubbs, for one, who was convinced when I was in Carlisle prison, became a good soldier in the Lamb's war, and a faithful minister of Christ Jesus; travelling much in the service of the Lord in Holland, Ireland, Scotland, Italy, Egypt, and America. And the Lord's power preserved him from the hands of the papists, though many times he was in great danger of the Inquisition. But some of the soldiers, who had been convinced in their judgment, but had not come into obedience to the Truth, took Oliver Cromwell's oath; and, going afterwards into Scotland, and coming before a garrison there, the garrison, thinking they had been enemies, fired at them, and killed diverse of them, which was a sad event.*

During this year Friend [George Fox](#) had written an epistle entitled "Fear Not The Powers of Darkness":



Friends, - Fear not the powers of darkness, but keep your meetings, and meet in that which keeps you over them; and in the power of God ye will have unity.

And dwell in love and unity with one another, and know one another in the power of an endless life, which doth not change. And know the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, which is above the first Adam, the earthly, where all strife and transgression is. And all Friends every where, be faithful in the life and power of God, and keep your meetings (above all the world) in that which changeth not, that nothing but Christ may reign among you, the power of God, and wisdom of God, the sanctification and redemption; that the just over all may reign, and the seed of God may have the dominion in you all; that with that ye may all be ordered to the glory of God, and kept in the bond of peace, and reign in the love of God, (which is out of the iniquity, and rejoiceth not in it,) which thinks no evil. And have this love shed abroad in all your hearts, and feel it abiding in you; which love of God edifies the body. And know the word of God abiding in you, which was in the beginning, and brings to the beginning;



which word being ingrafted, it saves the soul, and hammers down, and throws down, and burns up that which wars against it.
G.F.

His epistle entitled "To Friends, Concerning The Light" dates to this year:



To all Friends everywhere, scattered abroad: in the light dwell which comes from Christ, that with it ye may see Christ your saviour; that ye may grow up in him. For they who are in him, are new creatures; and "old things are passed away and all things become new." And who are in him, are led by the Spirit, to them there is no condemnation; but they dwell in that which doth condemn the world, and with the light see the deceivers, and the antichrists, which are entered into the world. And such teachers as bear rule by their means; and such as seek for the fleece, and make a prey upon the people, and are hirelings, as such as go in the way of Cain, and run greedily after the error of Balaam; and such as are called of men master, and stand praying in the synagogues, and have the chief seats in the assemblies, all which are in the world, who by those that dwelt in the light, were cried against; for it did them condemn, and all such as speak a divination of their own brain, and are filthy dreamers, who use their tongues, and steal the words from their neighbors; with the light, the world and all these aforesaid are comprehended, and all that is in it; and all they that hate it, and all the antichrists that oppose it, and all the false prophets and deceivers, that are turned from it, with the light are comprehended, and with the light are condemned, and all that are turned from it and hate it.

"I am the light of the world," saith Christ, and he doth enlighten every one that cometh into the world; and he that loves the light, and walks in the light, receives the light of life: and the other, he hates the light, because his deeds are evil, and the light doth reprove him. And this is the condemnation, that the light is come into the world, in which light, they that love it, walk; which is the condemnation of him that hates it. And all the antichrists, and all the false prophets, and all the deceivers, the beast, and the well-favoured harlot, all these are seen with the light to be in that nature, acting contrary to the light; and with the light are they comprehended, and by the light condemned.

For he is not an antichrist, that walks in the light that comes from Christ; he is no deceiver, that walks in the light that comes from Christ. Many deceivers are entered into the world. The world hates the light, and deceivers are turned from the light, and the antichrists they are turned from the light, therefore they oppose it, and some of them call it a natural conscience, a natural light; and such put the letter for the light. But with the light, which never changes, (which was before the world was,) are these deceivers seen, where they



enter into the world. For many deceivers are entered into the world, and the false prophets are entered into the world; the world hates the light, and if it were possible, they would deceive the elect. But in the light the elect do dwell, which the antichrists, deceivers, and false prophets are turned from, into the world, that hate the light: that light which they do hate, the children of God do dwell in, the elect. So it is not possible, that the antichrists and deceivers, that are entered into the world, that hate the light, should deceive the elect, who dwell in light which they hate; which light doth them all comprehend, and the world; which light was before the world was, and is the world's condemnation; in which light the elect walk. And here it is not possible, that they that dwell in the light should be deceived, which comprehends the world, and is the world's condemnation. Which light shall bring every tongue to confess, and every knee to bow: when the judgments of God come upon them, it shall make them confess, that the judgments of God are just.

G.F.

Friend [George Fox](#)'s epistle entitled "Concerning The Spiritual Warfare" also dates to this year:



The word of the Lord God to all my brethren, babes, and soldiers, that are in the spiritual warfare of our Lord Jesus Christ. Arm yourselves, like men of war, that ye may know, what to stand against. Spare not, pity not that which is for the sword (of the spirit,) plague, and famine, and set up truth, and confound the deceit, which stains the earth, and cumpers the ground. The dead stinks upon the earth, and with them the earth is stained, therefore bury it. And wait in the light which comes from Jesus, to be clothed with his zeal, to stand against all them who act contrary to the light which comes from Jesus, and yet profess the words declared from the light; which are sayers, but not doers. All such are to be trodden with the city under foot; and woe proceeds from the Lord against all such, and the stone is falling upon such, and fallen, to grind them to powder. Arm yourselves like men of war; the mighty power of God goes along with you, to enable you to stand over all the world, and (spiritually) to chain, to fetter, to bind, and to imprison, and to lead out of prison; to famish, to feed, and to make fat, and to bring into green pastures. So the name and power of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you! And go on in the work of the Lord, that ye may trample upon all deceit within and without, and their minds turned towards Christ Jesus, who doth enlighten them, that they may all see the Lord Jesus among them, their head, and they his branches; in the light waiting, and growing up in Christ Jesus, from whence it comes, that they may bring forth fruit to the glory of his name. And all waiting and walking in the light, with it ye will see the Lord Jesus amongst you. And ye will see with the light all that hate it, who profess Christ Jesus' words declared from his light, and walk not in it; by his light are they, and all their profession, condemned. And to you this is the word of the Lord.

G.F.



1654

[Willem Séwel](#) was born in Amsterdam, son of [Jakob and Judith Zinspenning Séwel](#), who were Mennonites and who would become, during the period 1657-1664, the 1st Dutch leaders of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

While in England, an American visitor named Richard Smith was converted to Quakerism. He would return to Paumanok Long Island as presumably the 1st American [Friend](#).

When the Reverend Henry Dunster confessed that he had embraced [Baptist](#) ideas and resigned or was dismissed as the 1st President of the College at Cambridge, the Reverend Charles Chauncy, minister at Scituate MA, worn down by controversy and by the tribulations of colonial life, had been contemplating a return to England, where the Puritans had seized power and the bishop who earlier had tormented him had “given his head to the block.” When offered the opportunity to replace the Reverend Dunster, however, he elected to remain in the colony on this side of the water. (He was made President of Harvard College expressly on condition that he “forbear to disseminate or publish any tenets concerning immersion baptism,” but did this mean that the man was going to forswear all irrelevant theological disputation? Get a clue! He would, for instance, as the “chief teacher,” advise students that they might “knock down” a [Quaker](#) as if he were a wolf. The final controversy of the Reverend Chauncy’s combative existence would come not in regard to dipping infants in the baptismal font rather than sprinkling them with the water, but in regard to what was known as the “Halfway Covenant.” The Puritans had been in the habit of granting to the grandchildren of members of the elect the privilege of automatic baptism. The Reverend Chauncy would challenge this practice, pointing out that initiation into a state of grace could conceivably not be based upon mere biological inheritance.)

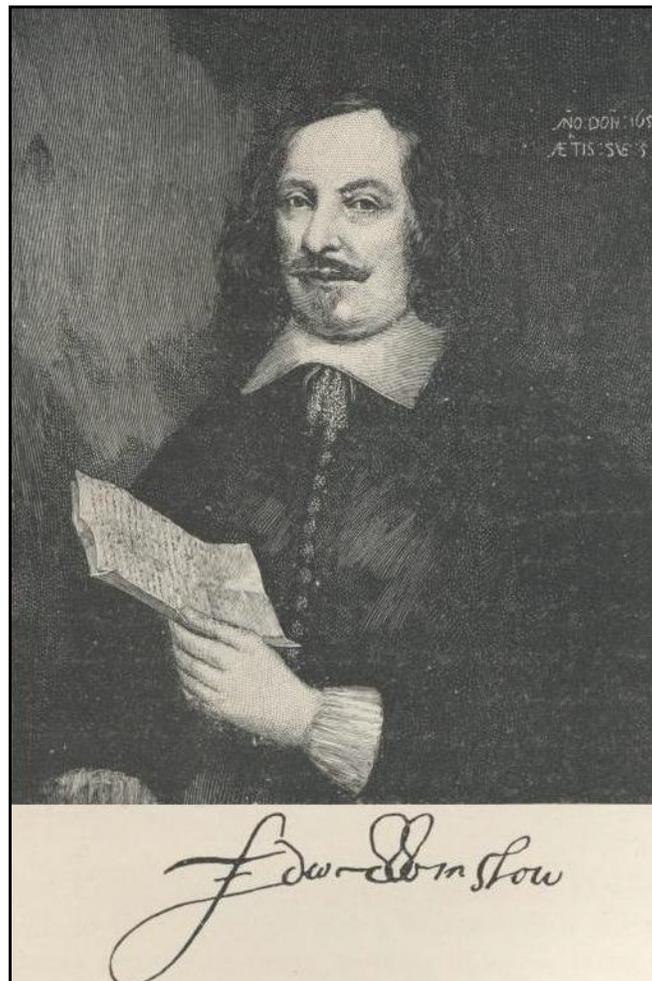
SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Lord Protector [Oliver Cromwell](#), striving to overthrow the Spanish power in the West Indies, fitted out large



naval and military forces under Admiral Penn and General Venables and sent them to Jamaica to operate against Hispaniola. He named a board of three commissioners, with controlling authority, of which Edward Winslow became the head.



With Ireland's armies in defeat and exile, the only mounted persons on the island were English soldiers.



To the English ruling class Ireland was a tabula rasa on which it could inscribe what it would.

At about this point one of these English soldiers, Friend [William Edmundson](#), got on his horse and visited two Quaker families in Rosenallis in county Laois in Ireland, apparently the Cantrill family of Tineil and the Chander family of Ballyhide.



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

In about this timeframe [Thomas Angell](#) acted as constable for the town of [Providence](#) in the precedent-setting case of Richard Chasmore, also known as “Long Dick” (the man’s offense was that he had knowingly harbored [Quakers](#)), in which [Rhode Island](#)’s sovereignty over its citizens versus the authority of the Massachusetts Bay Colony was tested. It wasn’t that they themselves had any love for Quakers, it was merely that they resented the implication that the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) was the only man in Rhode Island with any power, and took exception to the presumption of the Massachusetts Bay Colony authorities that they had authority even while standing on Rhode Island land. By stonewalling during this altercation, Thomas Angell and his four deputies withstood the implied challenges of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Some Particular Baptists who had recently emigrated from England organized the worship group of [Chad Brown](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) as a [Baptist](#) church.²⁹



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

At the beginning of the year, [George Fox](#) passed from Swarthmore into Lancaster:

29. According to an article “Was [Roger Williams](#) Really a [Baptist](#)?” published by the Baptist Publishing House of Texarkana TX, by Professor of Church History Louis F. Asher of the Baptist Missionary Association Theological Seminary, “evidence is lacking to show that the group at Providence constituted a [Baptist](#) church before about 1654, at which time a Baptist church was organized by some Particular Baptists who had recently migrated from England.” The historian of the First Baptist Church In America, Professor Stanley Lemons, however, disagrees with this evaluation, and points out that it is one made by “Particular Baptists” and spread around by the “Bible Baptist Association.” According to this Rhode Island viewpoint, the work of Dr. Asher, “a now-deceased professor at a tiny, splinter Baptist seminary in Texas,” is not to be relied upon.

We may note that according to this Particular Baptist claim, this occurrence was fully a dozen years after the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) had disentangled himself from this worship group in 1642. In this dispute, some Baptists assert that it was the Reverend Williams who was the **very first American Baptist** pastor! (Well, whatever the interpretation, it is a fact that he did not minister in the white building that presently proclaims itself to be the first Baptist church in America — which magnificent structure he would never see because it would not be erected on Mr. Angell’s house lot **for more than a century**! The assertion that this is the First Baptist Church In America, the FBCIA, only works if one is willing to parse the term “This Church” as an abbreviation for “The Continuing Congregation Associated Now With This Building.”)



When the churches were settled in the north, and Friends were established under Christ's teaching, and the glory of the Lord shined over them, I passed from Swarthmore to Lancaster about the beginning of the year 1654, visiting Friends, till I came to Synder-hill green, where a meeting had been appointed three weeks before. We passed through Halifax, a rude town of professors, and came to Thomas Taylor's, who had been a captain, where we met with some janglers [Ranters]; but the Lord's power was over all; for I travelled in the motion of God's power.

When I came to Synder-hill green, there was a mighty meeting. Some thousands of people, as it was judged, were there, and many persons of note, captains and other officers. There was a general convincement; for the Lord's power and Truth was set over all, and there was no opposition.

** About this time did the Lord move upon the spirits of many whom He had raised up and sent forth to labour in His vineyard, to travel southwards, and spread themselves in the service of the gospel to the eastern, southern, and western parts of the nation. Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough went to London; John Camm and John Audland to Bristol; Richard Hubberthorn and George Whitehead towards Norwich; Thomas Holmes into Wales; and many others different ways: for above sixty ministers had the Lord raised up, and did now send abroad out of the north country. The sense of their service was very weighty upon me.*

About this time Rice Jones, of Nottingham, (who had been a Baptist, and was turned Ranter), and his company, began to prophesy against me; giving out that I was then at the highest, and that after that time I should fall down as fast. He sent a bundle of railing papers from Nottingham to Mansfield Clawson, and the towns thereabouts, judging Friends for declaring the Truth in the markets and in steeple-houses; which papers I answered. But his and his company's prophecies came upon themselves; for soon after they fell to pieces, and many of his followers became Friends, and continued so.

And through the Lord's blessed power, Truth and Friends have increased, and do increase in the increase of God: and I, by the same power, have been and am preserved, and kept in the everlasting Seed, that never fell, nor changes. But Rice Jones took the oaths that were put to him, and so disobeyed the command of Christ.

Many such false prophets have risen up against me, but the Lord hath blasted them, and will blast all who rise against the blessed Seed, and me in that. My confidence is in the Lord; for I saw their end, and how the Lord would confound them, before He sent me forth.

I travelled up and down in Yorkshire, as far as Holderness, and to the land's end that way, visiting Friends and the churches of Christ; which were finely settled under Christ's teaching. At length I came to Captain Bradford's house, whither came many Ranters from York to wrangle; but they were confounded and stopped. Thither came also she who was called the Lady Montague, who was then convinced, and lived and died in the Truth.



Thence I went to Drayton in Leicestershire to visit my relations. As soon as I was come in, Nathaniel Stephens, the priest, having got another priest, and given notice to the country, sent to me to come to them, for they could not do anything till I came. Having been three years away from my relations, I knew nothing of their design. But at last I went into the steeple-house yard, where the two priests were; and they had gathered abundance of people.

When I came there, they would have had me go into the steeple-house. I asked them what I should do there; and they said that Mr. Stephens could not bear the cold. I told them he might bear it as well as I. At last we went into a great hall, Richard Farnsworth being with me; and a great dispute we had with these priests concerning their practices, how contrary they were to Christ and His apostles.

** The priests would know where tithes were forbidden or ended. I showed them out of the seventh chapter to the Hebrews that not only tithes, but the priesthood that took tithes, was ended; and the law by which the priesthood was made, and tithes were commanded to be paid, was ended and annulled. Then the priests stirred up the people to some lightness and rudeness.*

I had known Stephens from a child, therefore I laid open his condition, and the manner of his preaching; and how he, like the rest of the priests, did apply the promises to the first birth, which must die. But I showed that the promises were to the Seed, not to many seeds, but to one Seed, Christ; who was one in male and female; for all were to be born again before they could enter into the kingdom of God.

Then he said, I must not judge so; but I told him that He that was spiritual judged all things. Then he confessed that that was a full Scripture; "but, neighbours," said he, "this is the business; George Fox is come to the light of the sun, and now he thinks to put out my star-light."

I told him that I would not quench the least measure of God in any, much less put out his star-light, if it were true star-light – light from the Morning Star. But, I told him, if he had anything from Christ or God, he ought to speak it freely, and not take tithes from the people for preaching, seeing that Christ commanded His ministers to give freely, as they had received freely. So I charged him to preach no more for tithes or any hire. But he said he would not yield to that.

After a while the people began to be vain and rude, so we broke up; yet some were made loving to the Truth that day. Before we parted I told them that if the Lord would, I intended to be at the town again that day week. In the interim I went into the country, and had meetings, and came thither again that day week.

Against that time this priest had got seven priests to help him; for priest Stephens had given notice at a lecture on a market-day at Adderston, that such a day there would be a meeting and a dispute with me. I knew nothing of it; but had only said I should be in town that day week again. These eight priests had gathered several hundreds of people, even most of the country thereabouts, and they would have had me go into the steeple-house; but I would not go in, but got on a hill, and there spoke to them and the people.



There were with me Thomas Taylor, who had been a priest, James Parnell, and several other Friends. The priests thought that day to trample down Truth; but the Truth overcame them. Then they grew light, and the people rude; and the priests would not stand trial with me; but would be contending here a little and there a little, with one Friend or another. At last one of the priests brought his son to dispute with me; but his mouth was soon stopped. When he could not tell how to answer, he would ask his father; and his father was confounded also, when he came to answer for his son.

** So, after they had toiled themselves, they went away in a rage to priest Stephens's house to drink. As they went away, I said, "I never came to a place where so many priests together would not stand the trial with me." Thereupon they and some of their wives came about me, laid hold of me, and fawningly said, "What might you not have been, if it had not been for the Quakers!"*

Then they began to push Friends to and fro, to thrust them from me, and to pluck me to themselves. After a while several lusty fellows came, took me up in their arms, and carried me into the steeple-house porch, intending to carry me into the steeple-house by force; but the door being locked they fell down in a heap, having me under them. As soon as I could, I got up from under them, and went to the hill again. Then they took me from that place to the steeple-house wall, and set me on something like a stool; and all the priests being come back, stood under with the people.

The priests cried, "Come, to argument, to argument." I said that I denied all their voices, for they were the voices of hirelings and strangers. They cried, "Prove it, prove it." Then I directed them to the tenth of John, where they might see what Christ said of such. He declared that He was the true Shepherd that laid down His life for His sheep, and His sheep heard His voice and followed Him; but the hireling would fly when the wolf came, because he was a hireling. I offered to prove that they were such hirelings. Then the priests plucked me off the stool again; and they themselves got all upon stools under the steeple-house wall.

Then I felt the mighty power of God arise over all, and I told them that if they would but give audience, and hear me quietly, I would show them by the Scriptures why I denied those eight priests, or teachers, that stood before me, and all the hireling teachers of the world whatsoever; and I would give them Scriptures for what I said. Whereupon both priests and people consented. Then I showed them out of the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micah, Malachi, and others, that they were in the steps of such as God sent His true prophets to cry against.

When I appealed to that of God in their consciences, the Light of Christ Jesus in them, they could not abide to hear it. They had been all quiet before; but then a professor said, "George, what! wilt thou never have done?" I told him I should have done shortly. I went on a little longer, and cleared myself of them in the Lord's power. When I had done, all the priests and people stood silent for a time.

GEORGE FOX



At last one of the priests said that they would read the Scriptures I had quoted. I told them I desired them to do so with all my heart. They began to read the twenty-third of Jeremiah, where they saw the marks of the false prophets that he cried against. When they had read a verse or two I said, "Take notice, people"; but the priests said, "Hold thy tongue, George." I bade them read the whole chapter, for it was all against them. Then they stopped, and would read no further. My father, though a hearer and follower of the priest, was so well satisfied that he struck his cane upon the ground, and said, "Truly, I see that he that will but stand to the truth, it will bear him out." After this I went into the country, had several meetings, and came to Swannington, where the soldiers came; but the meeting was quiet, the Lord's power was over all, and the soldiers did not meddle. Then I went to Leicester; and from Leicester to Whetstone. There came about seventeen troopers of Colonel Hacker's regiment, with his marshal, and took me up before the meeting, though Friends were beginning to gather together; for there were several Friends from diverse parts. I told the marshal he might let all the Friends go; that I would answer for them all. Thereupon he took me, and let all the Friends go; only Alexander Parker went along with me. At night they had me before Colonel Hacker, his major, and captains, a great company of them; and a great deal of discourse we had about the priests, and about meetings; for at this time there was a noise of a plot against Oliver Cromwell. [Rufus Jones points out that at this point, Cromwell having been Lord Protector for about a half a year, the plot by Gerard and Vowel was being exposed, and that it had been this Colonel Hacker and his regiment that had superintended the execution of Charles I, keeping back the threatening crowd of Londoners – Hacker presumably was suspecting the Quakers of plotting on behalf of Charles II.] Much reasoning I had with them about the Light of Christ, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Colonel Hacker asked whether it was not this Light of Christ that made Judas betray his Master, and afterwards led him to hang himself? I told him, "No; that was the spirit of darkness, which hated Christ and His Light." Then Colonel Hacker said I might go home, and keep at home, and not go abroad to meetings. I told him I was an innocent man, free from plots, and denied all such work. His son Needham said, "Father, this man hath reigned too long; it is time to have him cut off." I asked him, "For what? What have I done? Whom have I wronged? I was bred and born in this country, and who can accuse me of any evil, from childhood up?" Colonel Hacker asked me again if I would go home, and stay at home. I told him that if I should promise him this, it would manifest that I was guilty of something, to make my home a prison; and if I went to meetings they would say I broke their order. Therefore I told them I should go to meetings as the Lord should order me, and could not submit to their requirings; but I said we were a peaceable people. "Well, then," said Colonel Hacker, "I will send you to-morrow morning by six o'clock to my Lord Protector, by Captain Drury, one of his life-guard."

GEORGE FOX



That night I was kept prisoner at the Marshalsea; and the next morning by the sixth hour I was delivered to Captain Drury. I desired that he would let me speak with Colonel Hacker before I went; and he took me to his bedside. Colonel Hacker again admonished me to go home, and keep no more meetings. I told him I could not submit to that; but must have my liberty to serve God, and to go to meetings. "Then," said he, "you must go before the Protector." Thereupon I kneeled at his bedside, and besought the Lord to forgive him; for he was as Pilate, though he would wash his hands; and I bade him remember, when the day of his misery and trial should come upon him, what I had said to him. But he was stirred up and set on by Stephens, and the other priests and professors, wherein their envy and baseness was manifest. When they could not overcome me by disputes and arguments, nor resist the Spirit of the Lord that was in me, they got soldiers to take me up.

Afterwards, when Colonel Hacker was imprisoned in London, a day or two before his execution, he was put in mind of what he had done against the innocent; and he remembered it, and confessed it to Margaret Fell, saying he knew well whom she meant; and he had trouble upon him for it. Now I was carried up a prisoner by Captain Drury from Leicester; and when we came to Harborough he asked me if I would go home and stay a fortnight? I should have my liberty, he said, if I would not go to, nor keep meetings. I told him I could not promise any such thing. Several times upon the road did he ask and try me after the same manner, and still I gave him the same answers. So he brought me to London, and lodged me at the Mermaid over against the Mews at Charing-Cross. As we travelled I was moved of the Lord to warn people at the inns and places where I came of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them. William Dewsbury and Marmaduke Storr being in prison at Northampton, Captain Drury let me go and visit them.

After Captain Drury had lodged me at the Mermaid, he left me there, and went to give the Protector an account of me. When he came to me again, he told me that the Protector required that I should promise not to take up a carnal sword or weapon against him or the government, as it then was, and that I should write it in what words I saw good, and set my hand to it. I said little in reply to Captain Drury.

** The next morning I was moved of the Lord to write a paper to the Protector, Oliver Cromwell; wherein I did, in the presence of the Lord God, declare that I denied the wearing or drawing of a carnal sword, or any other outward weapon, against him or any man; and that I was sent of God to stand a witness against all violence, and against the works of darkness; and to turn people from darkness to light; and to bring them from the causes of war and fighting, to the peaceable gospel. When I had written what the Lord had given me to write, I set my name to it, and gave it to Captain Drury to hand to Oliver Cromwell, which he did.*

GEORGE FOX



After some time Captain Drury brought me before the Protector himself at Whitehall. It was in a morning, before he was dressed, and one Harvey, who had come a little among Friends, but was disobedient, waited upon him. When I came in I was moved to say, "Peace be in this house"; and I exhorted him to keep in the fear of God, that he might receive wisdom from Him, that by it he might be directed, and order all things under his hand to God's glory.

I spoke much to him of Truth, and much discourse I had with him about religion; wherein he carried himself very moderately. But he said we quarrelled with priests, whom he called ministers. I told him I did not quarrel with them, but that they quarrelled with me and my friends. "But," said I, "if we own the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, we cannot hold up such teachers, prophets, and shepherds, as the prophets, Christ, and the apostles declared against; but we must declare against them by the same power and Spirit."

Then I showed him that the prophets, Christ, and the apostles declared freely, and against them that did not declare freely; such as preached for filthy lucre, and divined for money, and preached for hire, and were covetous and greedy, that could never have enough; and that they that have the same spirit that Christ, and the prophets, and the apostles had, could not but declare against all such now, as they did then. As I spoke, he several times said, it was very good, and it was truth. I told him that all Christendom (so called) had the Scriptures, but they wanted the power and Spirit that those had who gave forth the Scriptures; and that was the reason they were not in fellowship with the Son, nor with the Father, nor with the Scriptures, nor one with another.

Many more words I had with him; but people coming in, I drew a little back. As I was turning, he caught me by the hand, and with tears in his eyes said, "Come again to my house; for if thou and I were but an hour of a day together, we should be nearer one to the other"; adding that he wished me no more ill than he did to his own soul. I told him if he did he wronged his own soul; and admonished him to hearken to God's voice, that he might stand in his counsel, and obey it; and if he did so, that would keep him from hardness of heart; but if he did not hear God's voice, his heart would be hardened. He said it was true.

Then I went out; and when Captain Drury came out after me he told me the Lord Protector had said I was at liberty, and might go whither I would. Then I was brought into a great hall, where the Protector's gentlemen were to dine. I asked them what they brought me thither for. They said it was by the Protector's order, that I might dine with them. I bid them let the Protector know that I would not eat of his bread, nor drink of his drink. When he heard this he said, "Now I see there is a people risen that I cannot win with gifts or honours, offices or places; but all other sects and people I can." It was told him again that we had forsaken our own possessions; and were not like to look for such things from him.

GEORGE FOX



Being set at liberty, I went to the inn where Captain Drury at first lodged me. This captain, though he sometimes carried it fairly, was an enemy to me and to Truth, and opposed it. When professors came to me, while I was under his custody, and he was by, he would scoff at trembling, and call us Quakers, as the Independents and Presbyterians had nicknamed us before. But afterwards he came and told me that, as he was lying on his bed to rest himself in the daytime, a sudden trembling seized on him; that his joints knocked together, and his body shook so that he could not rise from his bed. He was so shaken that he had not strength enough left to rise. But he felt the power of the Lord was upon him; and he tumbled off his bed, and cried to the Lord, and said he would never speak more against the Quakers, such as trembled at the word of God.

During the time I was prisoner at Charing-Cross, there came abundance to see me, almost of all sorts, priests, professors, officers of the army, etc. Once a company of officers, being with me, desired me to pray with them. I sat still, with my mind retired to the Lord. At last I felt the power and Spirit of God move in me; and the Lord's power did so shake and shatter them that they wondered, though they did not live in it.

** Among those that came was Colonel Packer, with several of his officers. While they were with me, there came in one Cob, and a great company of Ranters with him. The Ranters began to call for drink and tobacco; but I desired them to forbear it in my room, telling them if they had such a mind to it, they might go into another room. One of them cried, "All is ours"; and another of them said, "All is well." I replied, "How is all well, while thou art so peevish, envious, and crabbed?" for I saw he was of a peevish nature. I spake to their conditions, and they were sensible of it, and looked one upon another, wondering. Then Colonel Packer began to talk with a light, chaffy mind, concerning God, and Christ, and the Scriptures. It was a great grief to my soul and spirit when I heard him talk so lightly; so that I told him he was too light to talk of the things of God, for he did not know the solidity of a man. Thereupon the officers raged, and were wroth that I should speak so of their colonel.*

This Packer was a Baptist, and he and the Ranters bowed and scraped to one another very much; for it was the manner of the Ranters to be exceedingly complimentary (as they call it), so that Packer bade them give over their compliments. But I told them they were fit to go together, for they were both of one spirit.

This Colonel Packer lived at Theobald's, near Waltham, and was made a justice of the peace. He set up a great meeting of the Baptists at Theobald's Park; for he and some other officers had purchased it. They were exceedingly high, and railed against Friends and Truth, and threatened to apprehend me with their warrants if ever I came there. Yet after I was set at liberty, I was moved of the Lord God to go down to Theobald's, and appoint a meeting hard by them; to which many of his people came, and diverse of his hearers were convinced of the way of Truth, and received Christ, the free teacher, and came off from the Baptist; and that made him rage the more. But the Lord's power came over him, so that he had not power to meddle with me.



Then I went to Waltham, close by him, and had a meeting there; but the people were very rude, and gathered about the house and broke the windows. Thereupon I went out to them, with the Bible in my hand, and desired them to come in; and told them that I would show them Scripture both for our principles and practices. When I had done so, I showed them also that their teachers were in the steps of such as the prophets, and Christ, and the apostles testified against. Then I directed them to the Light of Christ and Spirit of God in their own hearts, that by it they might come to know their free teacher, the Lord Jesus Christ. The meeting being ended, they went away quieted and satisfied, and a meeting hath since been settled in that town. But this was some time after I was set at liberty by Oliver Cromwell.

** When I came from Whitehall to the Mermaid at Charing-Cross, I stayed not long there, but went into the city of London, where we had great and powerful meetings. So great were the throngs of people that I could hardly get to and from the meetings for the crowds; and the Truth spread exceedingly. Thomas Aldam, and Robert Craven, who had been sheriff of London, and many Friends, came up to London after me; but Alexander Parker abode with me.*

After a while I went to Whitehall again, and was moved to declare the day of the Lord amongst them, and that the Lord was come to teach His people Himself. So I preached Truth, both to the officers, and to them that were called Oliver's gentlemen, who were of his guard. But a priest opposed while I was declaring the Word of the Lord amongst them; for Oliver had several priests about him, of which this was his newsmonger, an envious priest, and a light, scornful, chaffy man. I bade him repent, and he put it in his newspaper the next week that I had been at Whitehall and had bidden a godly minister there to repent.

When I went thither again I met with him; and abundance of people gathered about me. I manifested the priest to be a liar in several things that he had affirmed; and he was put to silence. He put in the news that I wore silver buttons; which was false, for they were but alchemy [potmetal made to resemble the color of gold]. Afterwards he put in the news that I hung ribands on people's arms, which made them follow me. This was another of his lies, for I never used nor wore ribands in my life.

Three Friends went to examine this priest, that gave forth this false intelligence, and to know of him where he had had that information. He said it was a woman that told him so, and that if they would come again he would tell them the woman's name. When they came again he said it was a man, but would not tell them his name then, but said that if they would come again he would tell them his name and where he lived. They went the third time; and then he would not say who told him; but offered, if I would give it under my hand that there was no such thing he would put that into the news. Thereupon the Friends carried it to him under my hand; but when they came he broke his promise, and would not put it in: but was in a rage, and threatened them with the constable.

GEORGE FOX



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

** This was the deceitful doing of this forger of lies; and these lies he spread over the nation in the news, to render Truth odious and to put evil into people's minds against Friends and Truth; of which a more large account may be seen in a book printed soon after this time, for the clearing of Friends and Truth from the slanders and false reports raised and cast upon them.*

These priests, the newsmongers, were of the Independent sect, like them in Leicester; but the Lord's power came over all their lies, and swept them away; and many came to see the naughtiness of these priests. The God of heaven carried me over all in His power, and His blessed power went over the nation; insomuch that many Friends about this time were moved to go up and down to sound forth the everlasting gospel in most parts of this nation, and also in Scotland; and the glory of the Lord was felt over all, to His everlasting praise.

A great convincement there was in London; some in the Protector's house and family. I went to see him again, but could not get to him, the officers were grown so rude.

GEORGE FOX

April 20: [John Smith](#) and [Friend](#) Deborah Howland Smith of Plymouth had a son they named Eleazer or Eliezer Smith.

1655

In a metaphor for the Inner Light which Henry David Thoreau would later exploit (transposed from vision to hearing) in WALDEN, Friend William Dewsbury wrote that

God alone is the Teacher of His people and hath given to everyone a measure of grace, which is the light....

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

During this year a number of [Quakers](#) were departing from England as "Publishers of the Truth" to various parts of the world. Among these were Ann Austin, a London mother who had raised five children, and Mary Fisher, an unmarried Yorkshire serving maid of 32. These people were claiming not to be missionaries out to convert others, but instead to be looking at "that of God in every one" in search of those in all lands who, although as yet unaware of this, already were "true fellow-followers with them." They would journey to the New World, where there was already precisely one Quaker: Friend Richard Smith of Long Island, who had converted to Quakerism while in England in the previous year.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

[Nathaniel Batts](#) (1620-1679) made himself the earliest permanent white settler in [North Carolina](#).

Puritans took over the Maryland government, and one of the very first items on their agenda was repeal of the 1649  “Act Concerning Religion” with its really quite minimal protections for religious diversity.

Late in this year, or in the following year, [Quakers](#) came to Southern Maryland upon being expelled from Virginia. Among them was [Friend Elizabeth Harris](#), who proceeded to convince Puritan leaders like Richard Preston to seek the “Inward Truth.” Richard Preston had his home at Preston-on-Patuxent, which was the seat of the Maryland government for a period until 1658. Elizabeth Harris would convince others as well, and meetings would begin to be established in Calvert County — for instance, at the Upper and Lower Cliffs.

No respecter of personages or of the rich and famous, [Friend George Fox](#) entitled a message to the Pope et al “A Warning from the Lord to the Pope and to all his Train of Idolatries”:

*It came upon me about this time from the Lord to write a short paper and send it forth as an exhortation and warning to the Pope, and to all kings and rulers in Europe.
Besides this I was moved to write a letter to the Protector (so called) to warn him of the mighty work the Lord hath to do in the nations, and the shaking of them; and to beware of his own wit, craft, subtilty, and policy, and of seeking any by-ends to himself.*

This paper to the Lord Protector from a leader of the [Quakers](#) would in the following year be published “at the Black-Spread Eagle.”

Friend George was writing quite a lot, for instance one of his letters was “to all professors of Christianity” and contained within it many pronouncements of the following sort:

Let us be glad, and rejoice for ever! Singleness of heart is come; pureness of heart is come; joy and gladness is come. The glorious God is exalting Himself; Truth hath been talked of, but now it is possessed. Christ hath been talked of; but now He is come and possessed. The glory hath been talked of; but now it is possessed, and the glory of man is defacing. The Son of God hath been talked of; but now He is come, and hath given us an understanding. Unity hath been talked of; but now it is come. Virgins have been talked of; but now they are come with oil in their lamps.

Friend [George Fox](#)’s epistle entitled “That With The Light, They May See Their Salvation”:



Friends, - All to the light, which Jesus Christ hath enlightened you withal, take heed, that with the light of Christ, the saviour of your souls, ye may all come to see and enjoy rest; and the new covenant ye may all witness, where ye need no man to teach you, saying, know the Lord. And this light shows you sin, and the evil of the world, and the lust of it, and the vain fashions of it, that pass away, and the unrighteousness, the ungodliness of it; for they are not in covenant with God, but are contrary to the light, and to be condemned with the light. Therefore to

the light I direct you, that it with ye may see yourselves. Then in it stand, that with it ye may see Jesus, from whence it comes. And join not with your vain thoughts, nor that which doth consult, and set and frame ways; there is the idol maker, and the image maker, and the founder of the images, whom ye will see with the light, if ye take heed to it. And so, the founder of the image will be destroyed, and with that ye will come to hear the voice of the son of God; and who hears his voice shall live. And Stephen, who was stoned to death, witnessed the substance, and Moses' words fulfilled, who said, "Like unto me will God raise up a prophet, him shall ye hear." He heard this prophet, and denied the first temple and priests; and so, to deny that which God had commanded was more than to deny these which God never commanded. Therefore consider in your life time, how much time ye have spent in hearing them, and what assurance ye have of the eternal inheritance that never fades away!
G.F.



His epistle entitled "For Plymouth, Keep Your Meetings" dates to this year (this would be, of course, Plymouth in England):



Friends, - Keep your meetings, that in the truth ye may reign, and in the power spread it abroad. And keep in the truth, that ye may see and feel the Lord's presence amongst you; and for it be valiant upon the earth, and know one another in the power of it. So the Lord God Almighty preserve you in his power to his glory! Amen.
G.F.



Friend [George Fox](#)'s epistle entitled "A Warning to Friends" also dates to this year:



Friends, - I warn and exhort you all in the presence of the Lord God, to meet together in the measure of life, that with it ye may be guided up to God, and in unity kept together to him, the Father of light and life; and God Almighty be with you! And that the dread and terror of the Lord may be among you, and deceit confounded; and that with the measure of life all your minds may be guided up to God, that so ye all may be kept in peace and love. And let this be sent among Friends, to be read in all their meetings. G.F.



His epistle entitled "Concerning the Light" also dates to this year:



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

All Friends everywhere, keep you meetings waiting in the light which comes from the Lord Jesus Christ; so will ye receive power from him, and have the refreshing springs of life opened to your souls, and be kept sensible of the tender mercies of the Lord. And know one another in the life, (ye that be turned to the light,) and in the power, which comes from the Lord Jesus Christ, who is you light, who is your life; that ye may all in the life see Christ to reign among you, who is the truth, from whence ye have light. Here the old serpent is chained, and put into the bottomless pit, and Christ is known to reign, and ye to reign with him; heirs with him, joint heirs, and heirs of God. Here is the dominion received and witnessed of the word that is without end, and the promise of life from the Father of life to you, who are turned to the Son, who to the Father is the way, who is the mediator between the Father and you. All wait to receive the everlasting priest, the everlasting covenant of God, of light, or life, and peace; into which covenant no sin, no darkness, nor death comes, but the blessing of the only wise God, the Father of life, here is known, where no earthly man can approach. But he that is of God knows God's truth; and he that is of the devil, doth his lusts, who was a murderer from the beginning, in whom is no truth, who in it abide not. So he it is that speaks a lie, and speaks of himself, and not God's word; for he is out of the truth. But ye that are turned to the light walk in the light, walk in the truth, with which light, that never changeth, ye may come to see that which was in the beginning, before the world was, where there is no shadow or darkness. In which light as ye wait, ye will come to receive into your hearts the word of faith, which reconciles to God, and is as a hammer, to beat down all that is contrary; and as a sword, to divide the precious from the vile; and as a fire, to burn up that which is contrary to the precious: which word is pure, and endureth forever; which was in the beginning, and is now again witnessed and made manifest. Therefore wait in the light, that ye may all receive it, the same word that ever was, which the scriptures were given forth from. So, friends, keep your meetings; and as ye are moved of the Lord, be obedient to him, and keep your habitations. And be not troubled; but look at that which giveth you to see over the world. So the Lord God Almighty preserve you in all his glory! Amen.

G.F.

George Fox



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Friend [George Fox](#)'s visit to the Southern Counties of this year and the next would end him in Launceston Jail.

FOX'S JOURNAL:

** I travelled till I came to Reading, where I found a few that were convinced of the way of the Lord. I stayed till the First-day, and had a meeting in George Lamboll's orchard; and a great part of the town came to it. A glorious meeting it proved; great convincement there was, and the people were mightily satisfied. Thither came two of Judge Fell's daughters to me, and George Bishop, of Bristol, with his sword by his side, for he was a captain.*

After the meeting many Baptists and Ranters came privately, reasoning and discoursing; but the Lord's power came over them. The Ranters pleaded that God made the devil. I denied it, and told them I was come into the power of God, the seed Christ, which was before the devil was, and bruised his head; and he became a devil by going out of truth; and so became a murderer and a destroyer. I showed them that God did not make him a devil; for God is a God of truth, and made all things good, and blessed them; but God did not bless the devil. And the devil is bad, and was a liar and a murderer from the beginning, and spoke of himself, and not from God.

So the Truth stopped and bound them, and came over all the highest notions in the nation, and confounded them. For by the power of the Lord I was manifest, and sought to be made manifest to the Spirit of God in all, that by it they might be turned to God; as many were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ by the Holy Spirit, and were come to sit under His teaching.

After this I passed to London, where I stayed awhile, and had large meetings; then went into Essex, and came to Cogshall, where was a meeting of about two thousand people, as it was judged, which lasted several hours, and a glorious meeting it was. The Word of life was freely declared, and people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ their Teacher and Saviour, the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

On the Sixth-day I had a large meeting near Colchester, to which many professors and the Independent teachers came. After I had done speaking, and was stepped down from the place on which I stood, one of the Independent teachers began to make a jangling; which Amor Stoddart perceiving, said, "Stand up again, George"; for I was going away, and did not at first hear them. But when I heard the Independent, I stood up again, and after awhile the Lord's power came over him and his company; they were confounded and the Lord's Truth went over all. A great flock of sheep hath the Lord in that country, that feed in His pastures of life.

On the First-day following we had a very large meeting not far from Colchester, wherein the Lord's power was eminently manifested, and the people were very well satisfied; for, being turned to the Lord Jesus Christ's free teaching, they received it gladly. Many of these people were of the stock of the martyrs.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

As I passed through Colchester, I went to visit James Parnell in prison; but the jailer would hardly let us come in or stay with him. Very cruel they were to him. The jailer's wife threatened to have his blood; and in that jail they did destroy him, as the reader may see in a book printed soon after his death, giving an account of his life and death; and also in an epistle printed with his collected books and writings. We came to Yarmouth, where there was a Friend, Thomas Bond, in prison for the Truth of Christ, and there stayed a while. There we had some service; and some were turned to the Lord in that town.

Thence we rode to another town, about twenty miles off, where were many tender people; and I was moved of the Lord to speak to them, as I sat on my horse, in several places as I passed along. We went to another town about five miles beyond, and put up our horses at an inn, Richard Hubberthorn and I having travelled five and forty miles that day. There were some Friendly people in the town; and we had a tender, broken meeting amongst them, in the Lord's power.

We bade the hostler have our horses ready by three in the morning; for we intended to ride to Lynn, about three and thirty miles, next morning. But when we were in bed at our inn, about eleven at night, the constable and officers came, with a great rabble of people, into the inn. They said they were come with a hue-and-cry from a justice of the peace that lived near the town, about five miles off, where I had spoken to the people in the streets, as I rode along. They had been told to search for two horsemen, that rode upon gray horses, and in gray clothes; a house having been broken into the Seventh-day before at night. We told them we were honest, innocent men, and abhorred such things; yet they apprehended us, and set a guard with halberts and pikes upon us that night, calling upon some of those Friendly people, with others, to watch us.

Next morning we were up betimes, and the constable, with his guard, carried us before a justice of the peace about five miles off. We took with us two or three of the sufficient men of the town, who had been with us at the great meeting at Captain Lawrence's, and could testify that we lay both the Seventh-day night and the First-day night at Captain Lawrence's; and it was on the Seventh-day night that they said the house was broken into.

During the time that I was a prisoner at the Mermaid at Charing-Cross, this Captain Lawrence brought several Independent justices to see me there, with whom I had much discourse, at which they took offence. For they pleaded for imperfection, and to sin as long as they lived; but did not like to hear of Christ teaching His people Himself, and making people as clear, whilst here upon the earth, as Adam and Eve were before they fell. These justices had plotted together this mischief against me in the country, pretending that a house was broken into, that they might send their hue-and-cry after me. They were vexed, also, and troubled, to hear of the great meeting at John Lawrence's aforesaid; for a colonel was there convinced that day who lived and died in the Truth.

GEORGE FOX



But Providence so ordered that the constable carried us to a justice about five miles onward in our way towards Lynn, who was not an Independent, as the rest were. When we were brought before him he began to be angry because we did not put off our hats to him. I told him I had been before the Protector, and he was not offended at my hat; and why should he be offended at it, who was but one of his servants? Then he read the hue-and-cry; and I told him that that night wherein the house was said to have been broken into, we were at Captain Lawrence's house and that we had several men present who could testify the truth thereof.

Thereupon the justice, having examined us and them, said he believed we were not the men that had broken into the house; but he was sorry, he said, that he had no more against us. We told him he ought not to be sorry for not having evil against us, but ought rather to be glad; for to rejoice when he got evil against people, as for housebreaking or the like, was not a good mind in him.

It was a good while, however, before he could resolve whether to let us go or send us to prison, and the wicked constable stirred him up against us, telling him we had good horses and that if it pleased him he would carry us to Norwich jail. But we took hold of the justice's confession that he believed we were not the men that had broken into the house; and, after we had admonished him to fear the Lord in his day, the Lord's power came over him, so that he let us go; so their snare was broken.

A great people was afterwards gathered to the Lord in that town, where I was moved to speak to them in the street, and whence the hue-and-cry came.

Being set at liberty, we passed on to Cambridge. When I came into the town the scholars, hearing of me, were up, and were exceeding rude. I kept on my horse's back, and rode through them in the Lord's power; but they unhorsed Amor Stoddart before he could get to the inn. When we were in the inn they were so rude in the courts and in the streets that the miners, colliers and carters could not be ruder. The people of the house asked us what we would have for supper. "Supper!" said I, "were it not that the Lord's power is over them, these rude scholars look as if they would pluck us in pieces and make a supper of us." They knew I was so against the trade of preaching, which they were there as apprentices to learn, that they raged as greatly as ever Diana's craftsmen did against Paul.

At this place John Crook met us. When it was night the mayor of the town being friendly, came and fetched me to his house; and as we walked through the streets there was a bustle in the town; but they did not know me, it being darkish. They were in a rage, not only against me, but against the mayor also; so that he was almost afraid to walk the streets with me for the tumult. We sent for the Friendly people, and had a fine meeting in the power of God; and I stayed there all night.

Next morning, having ordered our horses to be ready by the sixth hour, we passed peaceably out of town. The destroyers were disappointed: for they thought I would have stayed longer in the town, and intended to have done us mischief; but our passing away early in the morning frustrated their evil purposes against us.



FOX'S JOURNAL:

At Evesham I heard that the magistrates had cast several Friends into diverse prisons, and that, hearing of my coming, they made a pair of high stocks. I sent for Edward Pittaway, a Friend that lived near Evesham, and asked him the truth of the thing. He said it was so. I went that night with him to Evesham; and in the evening we had a large, precious meeting, wherein Friends and people were refreshed with the Word of life, the power of the Lord.

Next morning I rode to one of the prisons, and visited Friends there, and encouraged them. Then I rode to the other prison, where were several prisoners. Amongst them was Humphry Smith, who had been a priest, but was now become a free minister of Christ. When I had visited Friends at both prisons, and was turned to go out of the town, I espied the magistrates coming up the town, intending to seize me in prison. But the Lord frustrated their intent, the innocent escaped their snare, and God's blessed power came over them all. But exceeding rude and envious were the priests and professors about this time in these parts. I went from Evesham to Worcester, and had a quiet and a precious meeting there. From Worcester we went to Tewkesbury, where in the evening we had a great meeting, to which came the priest of the town with a great rabble of rude people.

Leaving Tewkesbury, we passed to Warwick, where in the evening we had a meeting with many sober people at a widow-woman's house. A precious meeting we had in the Lord's power; several were convinced and turned to the Lord. After the meeting a Baptist in the company began to jangle; and the bailiff of the town, with his officers, came in and said, "What do these people here at this time of night?" So he secured John Crook, Amor Stoddart, Gerrard Roberts and me; but we had leave to go to our inn, and to be forthcoming in the morning.

The next morning many rude people came into the inn, and into our chambers, desperate fellows; but the Lord's power gave us dominion over them. Gerrard Roberts and John Crook went to the bailiff to know what he had to say to us. He said we might go our ways, for he had little to say to us. As we rode out of town it lay upon me to ride to his house to let him know that, the Protector having given forth an instrument of government in which liberty of conscience was granted, it was very strange that, contrary to that instrument of government, he would trouble peaceable people that feared God.

The Friends went with me, but the rude people gathered about us with stones. One of them took hold of my horse's bridle and broke it; but the horse, drawing back, threw him under him. Though the bailiff saw this, yet he did not stop, nor so much as rebuke the rude multitude; so that it was strange we were not slain or hurt in the streets; for the people threw stones and struck at us as we rode along the town.

GEORGE FOX



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

When we were quite out of the town I told Friends that it was upon me from the Lord that I must go back into the town again; and if any one of them felt anything upon him from the Lord he might follow me; the rest, that did not, might go on to Dun-Cow. So I passed through the market in the dreadful power of God, declaring the Word of life to them; and John Crook followed me. Some struck at me; but the Lord's power was over them, and gave me dominion over all. I showed them their unworthiness to claim the name of Christians, and the unworthiness of their teachers, that had not brought them into more sobriety; and what a shame they were to Christianity.

Having cleared myself, I turned out of the town again, and passed to Coventry, where we found the people closed up with darkness. I went to the house of a professor, where I had formerly been, and he was drunk; which grieved my soul so that I did not go into any house in the town; but rode into some of the streets, and into the market-place. I felt that the power of the Lord was over the town.

Then I went on to Dun-Cow, and had a meeting in the evening, and some were turned to the Lord by His Spirit, as some also were at Warwick and at Tewkesbury. We lay at Dun-Cow that night; we met with John Camm, a faithful minister of the everlasting gospel. In the morning there gathered a rude company of priests and people who behaved more like beasts than men, for some of them came riding on horseback into the room where we were; but the Lord gave us dominion over them.

Thence we passed into Leicestershire, and after that to Baddesley in Warwickshire. Here William Edmundson, who lived in Ireland, having some drawings upon his spirit to come into England to see me, met with me; by whom I wrote a few lines to Friends then convinced in the north of Ireland.

Friends:

In that which convinced you, wait; that you may have that removed you are convinced of. And all my dear Friends, dwell in the life, and love, and power, and wisdom of God, in unity one with another, and with God; and the peace and wisdom of God fill all your hearts that nothing may rule in you but the life which stands in the Lord God.

G.F.

When these few lines were read amongst the Friends in Ireland at their meeting, the power of the Lord came upon all in the room.

From Baddesley we passed to Swannington and Higham, and so into Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire, having great meetings; and many were turned to the Lord by His power and Spirit.

GEORGE FOX



When we came to Baldock in Hertfordshire, I asked if there was nothing in that town, no profession; and it was answered me that there were some Baptists, and a Baptist woman who was sick. John Rush, of Bedfordshire, went with me to visit her.

When we came in there were many tender people about her. They told me she was not a woman for this world, but if I had anything that would comfort her concerning the world to come, I might speak to her. I was moved of the Lord God to speak to her; and the Lord raised her up again, to the astonishment of the town and country. This Baptist woman and her husband, whose name was Baldock, came to be convinced, and many hundreds of people have met at their house since. Great meetings and convincements were in those parts afterwards; many received the Word of life, and sat down under the teaching of Christ, their Saviour.

When we had visited this sick woman we returned to our inn, where were two desperate fellows fighting so furiously that none durst come nigh to part them. But I was moved, in the Lord's power, to go to them; and when I had loosed their hands, I held one of them by one hand and the other by the other, showed them the evil of their doings, and reconciled them one to the other; and they were so loving and thankful to me that people marveled at it.

Now, after I had tarried some time in London, and had visited Friends in their meetings, I went out of town, leaving James Nayler in the city. As I passed from him I cast my eyes upon him, and a fear struck me concerning him; but I went away and rode down to Ryegate, in Surrey, where I had a little meeting. There the Friends told me of one Thomas Moore, a justice of the peace, that lived not far from Ryegate, a Friendly, moderate man. I went to visit him at his house, and he came to be a serviceable man in Truth.

Thence we went to Dorchester, and alighted at an inn, a Baptist's house. We sent into the town to the Baptists, to ask them to let us have their meeting-house to assemble in, and to invite the sober people to the meeting; but they denied it us. We sent to them again, to know why they would deny us their meeting-house, so the thing was noised about in the town. Then we sent them word that if they would not let us come to their house, they, or any people that feared God, might come to our inn, if they pleased; but they were in a great rage. Their teacher and many of them came up, and slapped their Bibles on the table.

I asked them why they were so angry, – "Were they angry with the Bible?" But they fell into a discourse about their water-baptism. I asked them whether they could say they were sent of God to baptize people, as John was, and whether they had the same Spirit and power that the apostles had? They said they had not.

Then I asked them how many powers there are, – whether there are any more than the power of God and the power of the devil. They said there was not any other power than those two. Then said I, "If you have not the power of God that the apostles had, you act by the power of the devil." Many sober people were present, who said they have thrown themselves on their backs. Many substantial people were convinced that night; a precious service we had there for the Lord, and His power came over all.

GEORGE FOX



FOX'S JOURNAL:

* Next morning, as we were passing away, the Baptists, being in a rage, began to shake the dust off their feet after us. "What," said I, "in the power of darkness! We, who are in the power of God, shake off the dust of our feet against you."

Leaving Dorchester, we came to Weymouth; where also we inquired after sober people; and about fourscore of them gathered together at a priest's house. Most of them received the Word of life and were turned to their teacher, Christ Jesus, who had enlightened them with His divine Light, by which they might see their sins, and Him who saveth from sin. A blessed meeting we had with them, and they received the Truth in the love of it, with gladness of heart.

The meeting held several hours. The state of their teachers, and their apostasy was opened to them; and the state of the apostles, and of the Church in their days; and the state of the law and of the prophets before Christ, and how Christ came to fulfill them; that He was their teacher in the apostles' days; and that He was come now to teach His people Himself by His power and spirit. All was quiet, the meeting broke up peaceably, the people were very loving; and a meeting is continued in that town to this day. Many are added to them; and some who had been Ranters came to own the Truth, and to live very soberly.

There was a captain of horse in the town, who sent to me, and would fain have had me stay longer; but I was not to stay. He and his man rode out of town with me about seven miles; Edward Pyot also being with me. This captain was the fattest, merriest, cheerfullest man, and the most given to laughter, that ever I met with: insomuch that I was several times moved to speak in the dreadful power of the Lord to him; yet it was become so customary to him that he would presently laugh at anything he saw. But I still admonished him to come to sobriety, and the fear of the Lord and sincerity.

We lay at an inn that night, and the next morning I was moved to speak to him again, when he parted from us. The next time I saw him he told me that when I spoke to him at parting, the power of the Lord so struck him that before he got home he was serious enough, and discontinued his laughing. He afterwards was convinced, and became a serious and good man, and died in the Truth.

After this we passed to Totness, a dark town. We lodged there at an inn; and that night Edward Pyot was sick, but the Lord's power healed him, so that the next day we got to Kingsbridge, and at our inn inquired for the sober people of the town. They directed us to Nicholas Tripe and his wife; and we went to their house. They sent for the priest, with whom we had some discourse; but he, being confounded, quickly left us. Nicholas Tripe and his wife were convinced; and since that time there has been a good meeting of Friends in that country.

GEORGE FOX



FOX'S JOURNAL:

In the evening we returned to our inn. There being many people drinking in the house, I was moved of the Lord to go amongst them, and to direct them to the Light with which Christ, the heavenly man, had enlightened them; by which they might see all their evil ways, words, and deeds, and by the same Light might also see Christ Jesus their Saviour.

The innkeeper stood uneasy, seeing it hindered his guests from drinking; and as soon as the last words were out of my mouth he snatched up the candle, and said, "Come, here is a light for you to go into your chamber." Next morning, when he was cool, I represented to him what an uncivil thing it was for him so to do; then, warning him of the day of the Lord, we got ready and passed away.

We came next day to Plymouth, refreshed ourselves at our inn, and went to Robert Cary's, where we had a very precious meeting. At this meeting was Elizabeth Trelawny, daughter to a baronet. She being somewhat thick of hearing, came close up to me, and clapped her ear very nigh me while I spake; and she was convinced. After this meeting came in some jangling Baptists; but the Lord's power came over them, and Elizabeth Trelawny gave testimony thereto. A fine meeting was settled there in the Lord's power, which hath continued ever since, where many faithful Friends have been convinced.

Thence we passed into Cornwall, and came to an inn in the parish of Menheriot. At night we had a meeting at Edward Hancock's, to which came Thomas Mounce and a priest, with many people. We brought the priest to confess that he was a minister made by the state, and maintained by the state; and he was confounded and went his way; but many of the people stayed.

I directed them to the Light of Christ, by which they might see their sins; and their Saviour Christ Jesus, the way to God, their Mediator, to make peace betwixt God and them; their Shepherd to feed them, and their Prophet to teach them. I directed them to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might know the Scriptures, and be led into all Truth; and by the Spirit might know God, and in it have unity one with another. Many were convinced at that time, and came under Christ's teaching; and there are fine gatherings in the name of Jesus in those parts at this day.

When we came to Ives, Edward Pyot's horse having cast a shoe, we stayed to have it set; and while he was getting his horse shod, I walked down to the seaside. When I returned I found the town in an uproar. They were haling Edward Pyot and the other Friend before Major Peter Ceely, a major in the army and a justice of the peace. I followed them into the justice's house, though they did not lay hands upon me.

When we came in, the house was full of rude people; whereupon I asked if there were not an officer among them to keep the people civil. Major Ceely said that he was a magistrate. I told him that he should then show forth gravity and sobriety, and use his authority to keep the people civil; for I never saw any people ruder; the Indians were more like Christians than they.

GEORGE FOX

**FOX'S JOURNAL:**

After a while they brought forth a paper, and asked whether I would own it. I said, Yes. Then he tendered the oath of abjuration to us; whereupon I put my hand in my pocket and drew forth the answer to it which I had given to the Protector. After I had given him that, he examined us severally, one by one. He had with him a silly young priest, who asked us many frivolous questions; and amongst the rest he desired to cut my hair, which was then pretty long; but I was not to cut it, though many times many were offended at it. I told them I had no pride in it, and it was not of my own putting on. At length the justice put us under a guard of soldiers, who were hard and wild, like the justice himself; nevertheless we warned the people of the day of the Lord, and declared the Truth to them. The next day he sent us, guarded by a party of horse with swords and pistols, to Redruth. On First-day the soldiers would have taken us away; but we told them it was their Sabbath, and it was not usual to travel on that day.

Several of the townspeople gathered about us, and whilst I held the soldiers in discourse, Edward Pyot spoke to the people; and afterwards he held the soldiers in discourse, whilst I spoke to the people. In the meantime the other Friend got out the back way, and went to the steeple-house to speak to the priest and people. The people were exceedingly desperate, in a mighty rage against him, and they sorely abused him. The soldiers also, missing him, were in a great rage, ready to kill us; but I declared the day of the Lord and the Word of eternal life to the people that gathered about us.

In the afternoon the soldiers were resolved to take us away, so we took horse. When we were come to the town's end I was moved of the Lord to go back again, to speak to the old man of the house. The soldiers drew out their pistols, and swore I should not go back. I heeded them not, but rode back, and they rode after me. I cleared myself to the old man and the people, and then returned with them, and reproved them for being so rude and violent.

At night we were brought to a town then called Smethick, but since known as Falmouth. It being the evening of the First-day, there came to our inn the chief constable of the place, and many sober people, some of whom began to inquire concerning us. We told them we were prisoners for Truth's sake; and much discourse we had with them concerning the things of God. They were very sober and loving to us. Some were convinced, and stood faithful ever after. When the constable and these people were gone, others came in, who were also very civil, and went away very loving. When all were gone, we went to our chamber to go to bed; and about the eleventh hour Edward Pyot said, "I will shut the door; it may be some may come to do us mischief." Afterwards we understood that Captain Keat, who commanded the party, had intended to do us some injury that night; but the door being bolted, he missed his design. Next morning Captain Keat brought a kinsman of his, a rude, wicked man, and put him into the room; himself standing without. This evil-minded man walked huffing up and down the room; I bade him fear the Lord. Thereupon he ran upon me, struck me with both his hands, and, clapping his leg behind me, would have thrown me down if he could; but he was not able, for I stood stiff and still, and let him strike.

GEORGE FOX



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

As I looked towards the door, I saw Captain Keat look on, and see his kinsman thus beat and abuse me. I said to him, "Keat, dost thou allow this?" He said he did. "Is this manly or civil," said I, "to have us under a guard, and then put a man to abuse and beat us? Is this manly, civil, or Christian?" I desired one of our friends to send for the constables, and they came.

Then I desired the Captain to let the constables see his warrant or order, by which he was to carry us; which he did. His warrant was to conduct us safe to Captain Fox, governor of Pendennis Castle; and if the governor should not be at home, he was to convey us to Launceston jail. I told him he had broken his order concerning us; for we, who were his prisoners, were to be safely conducted; but he had brought a man to beat and abuse us; so he having broken his order, I wished the constable to keep the warrant. Accordingly he did, and told the soldiers they might go their ways, for he would take charge of the prisoners; and if it cost twenty shillings in charges to carry us up, they should not have the warrant again. I showed the soldiers the baseness of their carriage towards us; and they walked up and down the house, pitifully blank and down.

The constables went to the castle, and told the officers what they had done. The officers showed great dislike of Captain Keat's base carriage towards us; and told the constables that Major-General Desborough was coming to Bodmin, and that we should meet him; and it was likely he would free us. Meanwhile our old guard of soldiers came by way of entreaty to us, and promised that they would be civil to us if we would go with them.

Thus the morning was spent till about the eleventh hour; and then, upon the soldiers' entreaty, and their promise to be more civil, the constables gave them the order again; and we went with them.

Great was the civility and courtesy of the constables and people of that town towards us. They kindly entertained us, and the Lord rewarded them with His truth; for many of them have since been convinced thereof, and are gathered into the name of Jesus, and sit under Christ, their Teacher and Saviour.

Captain Keat, who commanded our guard, understanding that Captain Fox, who was governor of Pendennis Castle, was gone to meet Major-General Desborough, did not carry us thither; but took us directly to Bodmin, in the way to Launceston. We met Major-General Desborough on the way. The captain of his troop, who rode before him, knew me, and said, "Oh, Mr. Fox, what do you here?" I replied, "I am a prisoner." "Alack," he said, "for what?" I told him I was taken up as I was travelling. "Then," said he, "I will speak to my lord, and he will set you at liberty."

So he came from the head of his troop, and rode up to the coach, and spoke to the Major-General. We also gave him an account of how we were taken. He began to speak against the Light of Christ; against which I exhorted him. Then he told the soldiers that they might carry us to Launceston; for he could not stay to talk with us, lest his horses should take cold.

GEORGE FOX

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

To Bodmin we were taken that night; and when we came to our inn Captain Keat, who was in before us, put me into a room and went his way. When I was come in, there stood a man with a naked rapier in his hand. Whereupon I turned out again, called for Captain Keat, and said, "What now, Keat; what trick hast thou played now, to put me into a room where there is a man with his naked rapier? What is thy end in this?" "Oh," said he, "pray hold your tongue; for if you speak to this man, we cannot rule him, he is so devilish." "Then," said I, "dost thou put me into a room where there is such a man with a naked rapier that thou sayest you cannot rule him? What an unworthy, base trick is this? and to put me single into this room, away from my friends that were fellow-prisoners with me?" Thus his plot was discovered and the mischief they intended was prevented.

Afterward we got another room, where we were together all night; and in the evening we declared the Truth to the people; but they were dark and hardened. The soldiers, notwithstanding their fair promises, were very rude and wicked to us again, and sat up drinking and roaring all night.

Next day we were brought to Launceston, where Captain Keat delivered us to the jailer. Now was there no Friend, nor Friendly people, near us; and the people of the town were a dark, hardened people. The jailer required us to pay seven shillings a week for our horse-meat [fodder], and seven shillings a week apiece for our diet. After some time several sober persons came to see us, and some people of the town were convinced, and many friendly people out of several parts of the country came to visit us, and were convinced.

Then got up a great rage among the professors and priests against us. They said, "This people 'Thou' and 'Thee' all men without respect and will not put off their hats, nor bow the knee to any man; but we shall see, when the assize comes, whether they will dare to 'Thou' and 'Thee' the judge, and keep on their hats before him." They expected we should be hanged at the assize.

But all this was little to us; for we saw how God would stain the world's honour and glory; and were commanded not to seek that honour, nor give it; but knew the honour that cometh from God only, and sought that.

It was nine weeks from the time of our commitment to the time of the assizes, to which abundance of people came from far and near to hear the trial of the Quakers. Captain Braden lay there with his troop of horse. His soldiers and the sheriff's men guarded us to the court through the multitude that filled the streets; and much ado they had to get us through. Besides, the doors and windows were filled with people looking upon us. When we were brought into the court, we stood a while with our hats on, and all was quiet. I was moved to say, "Peace be amongst you."

Judge Glynne, a Welshman, then Chief-Justice of England, said to the jailer, "What be these you have brought here into the court?" "Prisoners, my lord," said he.

"Why do you not put off your hats?" said the Judge to us. We said nothing. "Put off your hats," said the Judge again. Still we said nothing. Then said the Judge, "The Court commands you to put off your hats."

GEORGE FOX



FOX'S JOURNAL:

Then I spoke, and said, "Where did ever any magistrate, king, or judge, from Moses to Daniel, command any to put off their hats, when they came before him in his court, either amongst the Jews, the people of God, or amongst the heathen? and if the law of England doth command any such thing, show me that law either written or printed."

Then the Judge grew very angry, and said, "I do not carry my law-books on my back." "But," said I, "tell me where it is printed in any statute-book, that I may read it."

*Then said the Judge, "Take him away, prevaricator! I'll **ferk** him." So they took us away, and put us among the thieves.*

Presently after he calls to the jailer, "Bring them up again." "Come," said he, "where had they hats, from Moses to Daniel; come, answer me: I have you fast now."

I replied, "Thou mayest read in the third of Daniel, that the three children were cast into the fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar's command, with their coats, their hose, and their hats on."

This plain instance stopped him: so that, not having anything else to say to the point, he cried again, "Take them away, jailer."

Accordingly we were taken away, and thrust in among the thieves, where we were kept a great while; and then, without being called again, the sheriff's men and the troopers made way for us (but we were almost spent) to get through the crowd of people, and guarded us to the prison again, a multitude of people following us, with whom we had much discourse and reasoning at the jail.

We had some good books to set forth our principles, and to inform people of the Truth. The Judge and justices hearing of this, they sent Captain Bradden for them. He came into the jail to us, and violently took our books from us, some out of Edward Pyot's hands, and carried them away; so we never got them again.

[While in the jail Fox addressed a paper "against swearing" to the grand and petty juries.]

This paper passing among them from the jury to the justices, they presented it to the Judge; so that when we were called before the Judge, he bade the clerk give me that paper, and then asked me whether that seditious paper was mine. I said to him, "If they will read it out in open court, that I may hear it, if it is mine I will own it, and stand by it." He would have had me take it and look upon it in my own hand; but I again desired that it might be read, that all the country might hear it, and judge whether there was any sedition in it or not; for if there were, I was willing to suffer for it.

At last the clerk of the assize read it, with an audible voice, that all the people might hear it. When he had done I told them it was my paper; that I would own it, and so might they too, unless they would deny the Scripture: for was not this Scripture language, and the words and commands of Christ, and the Apostle, which all true Christians ought to obey?

GEORGE FOX

**FOX'S JOURNAL:**

Then they let fall that subject; and the Judge fell upon us about our hats again, bidding the jailer take them off; which he did, and gave them to us; and we put them on again. Then we asked the Judge and the justices, for what cause we had lain in prison these nine weeks, seeing they now objected to nothing but our hats. And as for putting off our hats, I told them that that was the honour which God would lay in the dust, though they made so much ado about it; the honour which is of men, and which men seek one of another, and is a mark of unbelievers. For "How can ye believe," saith Christ, "who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?" Christ saith, "I receive not honour from men"; and all true Christians should be of His mind.

Then the Judge began to make a pompous speech, how he represented the Lord Protector's person, who made him Lord Chief-Justice of England, and sent him to come that circuit, etc. We desired him, then, that he would do us justice for our false imprisonment which we had suffered nine weeks wrongfully. But instead of that, they brought an indictment framed against us; so full of lies that I thought it had been against some of the thieves, - "that we came by force and arms, and in a hostile manner, into the court"; who were brought as aforesaid. I told them it was all false; and still we cried for justice for our false imprisonment, being taken up in our journey without cause by Major Ceely.

Then Peter Ceely said to the Judge, "May it please you, my lord, this man (pointing to me) went aside with me, and told me how serviceable I might be for his design; that he could raise forty thousand men at an hour's warning, involve the nation in blood, and so bring in King Charles. I would have aided him out of the country, but he would not go. If it please you, my lord, I have a witness to swear it."

So he called upon his witness; but the Judge not being forward to examine the witness, I desired that he would be pleased to let my mittimus be read in the face of the court and the country, in which the crime was signified for which I was sent to prison. The Judge said it should not be read. I said, "It ought to be, seeing it concerned my liberty and my life." The Judge said again, "It shall not be read." I said, "It ought to be read; for if I have done anything worthy of death, or of bonds, let all the country know it."

Then seeing they would not read it, I spoke to one of my fellow-prisoners: "Thou hast a copy of it; read it up." "It shall not be read," said the Judge; "jailer, take him away. I'll see whether he or I shall be master."

So I was taken away, and awhile after called for again. I still called to have the mittimus read; for that signified the cause of my commitment. I again spoke to the Friend, my fellow-prisoner, to read it up; which he did. The Judge, justices, and the whole court were silent; for the people were eager to hear it.

GEORGE FOX



FOX'S JOURNAL:

It was as followeth:

Peter Ceely, one of the justices of the peace of this county, to the keeper of His Highness's jail at Launceston, or his lawful deputy in that behalf, greeting:

I send you here withal by the bearers hereof, the bodies of Edward Pyot, of Bristol, and George Fox, of Drayton-in-the-Clay, in Leicestershire, and William Salt, of London, which they pretend to be the places of their habitations, who go under the notion of Quakers, and acknowledge themselves to be such; who have spread several papers tending to the disturbance of the public peace, and cannot render any lawful cause of coming into those parts, being persons altogether unknown, having no pass for travelling up and down the country, and refusing to give sureties for their good behaviour, according to the law in that behalf provided; and refuse to take oath of abjuration, etc. These are, therefore, in the name of his highness the Lord Protector, to will and command you, that when the bodies of the said Edward Pyot, George Fox, and William Salt, shall be unto you brought, you them receive, and in His Highness's prison aforesaid you safely keep them, until by due course of law they shall be delivered. Hereof fail you not, as you will answer the contrary at your perils. Given under my hand and seal, at St. Ives, the 18th day of January, 1655.

P. Ceely.

When it was read I spoke thus to the Judge and justices:

Thou that sayest thou art Chief-Justice of England, and you justices, know that, if I had put in sureties, I might have gone whither I pleased, and have carried on the design (if I had had one) with which Major Ceely hath charged me. And if I had spoken those words to him, which he hath here declared, judge ye whether bail or mainprize could have been taken in that case.

GEORGE FOX



Then, turning my speech to Major Ceely, I said:

When or where did I take thee aside? Was not thy house full of rude people, and thou as rude as any of them, at our examination; so that I asked for a constable or some other officer to keep the people civil? But if thou art my accuser, why sittest thou on the bench? It is not the place of accusers to sit with the judge. Thou oughtest to come down and stand by me, and look me in the face.

Besides, I would ask the Judge and justices whether Major Ceely is not guilty of this treason, which he charges against me, in concealing it so long as he hath done? Does he understand his place, either as a soldier or a justice of the peace? For he tells you here that I went aside with him, and told him what a design I had in hand, and how serviceable he might be for my design: that I could raise forty thousand men in an hour's time, bring in King Charles, and involve the nation in blood. He saith, moreover, that he would have aided me out of the country, but I would not go; and therefore he committed me to prison for want of sureties for the good behaviour, as the mittimus declares.

Now, do you not see plainly that Major Ceely is guilty of this plot and treason he talks of, and hath made himself a party to it by desiring me to go out of the country, demanding bail of me, and not charging me with this pretended treason till now, nor discovering it? But I deny and abhor his words, and am innocent of his devilish design.

So that business was let fall; for the Judge saw clearly enough that instead of ensnaring me, Major Ceely had ensnared himself.

** Major Ceely got up again, and said,*

If it please you, my lord, to hear me: this man struck me, and gave me such a blow as I never had in my life.

At this I smiled in my heart, and said,

Major Ceely, art thou a justice of the peace, and a major of a troop of horse, and tellest the Judge, in the face of the court and country, that I, a prisoner, struck thee and gave thee such a blow as thou never hadst the like in thy life? What! art thou not ashamed? Prithee, Major Ceely, where did I strike thee? and who is thy witness for that? who was by?



FOX'S JOURNAL:

He said it was in the Castle-Green, and Captain Bradden was standing by when I struck him. I desired the Judge to let him produce his witness for that; and called again upon Major Ceely to come down from the bench, telling him that it was not fit that the accuser should sit as judge over the accused. When I called again for his witness he said that Captain Bradden was his witness.

Then I said, "Speak, Captain Bradden, didst thou see me give him such a blow, and strike him as he saith?" Captain Bradden made no answer; but bowed his head towards me. I desired him to speak up, if he knew any such thing; but he only bowed his head again. "Nay," said I, "speak up, and let the court and country hear, and let not bowing of the head serve the turn. If I have done so, let the law be inflicted on me; I fear not sufferings, nor death itself, for I am an innocent man concerning all this charge."

But Captain Bradden never testified to it; and the Judge, finding those snares would not hold, cried, "Take him away, jailer;" and then, when we were taken away, he fined us twenty marks apiece for not putting off our hats; and sentenced us to be kept in prison till we paid it; so he sent us back to the jail.

At night Captain Bradden came to see us, and seven or eight justices with him, who were very civil to us, and told us they believed neither the Judge nor any in the court gave credit to the charges which Major Ceely had brought forward against me in the face of the country. And Captain Bradden said that Major Ceely had an intent to take away my life if he could have got another witness.

"But," said I, "Captain Bradden, why didst not thou witness for me, or against me, seeing Major Ceely produced thee for a witness, that thou saw me strike him? and when I desired thee to speak either for me or against me, according to what thou saw or knew, thou wouldst not speak."

"Why," said he, "when Major Ceely and I came by you, as you were walking in the Castle-Green, he put off his hat to you, and said, 'How do you do, Mr. Fox? Your servant, Sir.' Then you said to him, 'Major Ceely, take heed of hypocrisy, and of a rotten heart: for when came I to be thy master, and thou my servant? Do servants cast their masters into prison?' This was the great blow he meant you gave him."

Then I called to mind that they walked by us, and that he spoke so to me, and I to him; which hypocrisy and rotten-heartedness he manifested openly, when he complained of this to the Judge in open court, and in the face of the country; and would have made them all believe that I struck him outwardly with my hand.

GEORGE FOX



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

There came also to see us one Colonel Rouse a justice of the peace, and a great company with him. He was as full of words and talk as ever I heard any man in my life, so that there was no speaking to him. At length I asked him whether he had ever been at school, and knew what belonged to questions and answers; (this I said to stop him).

"At school!" said he, "Yes."

"At school!" said the soldiers; "doth he say so to our colonel, that is a scholar?"

"Then," said I, "if he be so, let him be still and receive answers to what he hath said."

Then I was moved to speak the Word of life to him in God's dreadful power; which came so over him that he could not open his mouth. His face swelled, and was red like a turkey; his lips moved, and he mumbled something; but the people thought he would have fallen down. I stepped up to him, and he said he was never so in his life before: for the Lord's power stopped the evil power in him; so that he was almost choked.

The man was ever after very loving to Friends, and not so full of airy words to us; though he was full of pride; but the Lord's power came over him, and the rest that were with him.

Another time there came an officer of the army, a very malicious, bitter professor whom I had known in London. He was full of his airy talk also, and spoke slightly of the Light of Christ, and against the Truth, and against the Spirit of God being in men, as it was in the apostles' days; till the power of God, that bound the evil in him, had almost choked him as it did Colonel Rouse: for he was so full of evil that he could not speak, but blubbered and stuttered. But from the time that the Lord's power struck him and came over him, he was ever after more loving to us.

* The assizes being over, and we settled in prison upon such a commitment that we were not likely to be soon released, we broke off from giving the jailer seven shillings a week apiece for our horses, and seven shillings a week for ourselves, and sent our horses into the country. Upon which he grew very wicked and devilish, and put us down into Doomsdale, a nasty, stinking place, where they used to put murderers after they were condemned.

The place was so noisome that it was observed few that went in did ever come out again in health. There was no house of office in it; and the excrement of the prisoners that from time to time had been put there had not been carried out (as we were told) for many years. So that it was all like mire, and in some places to the tops of the shoes in water and urine; and he would not let us cleanse it, nor suffer us to have beds or straw to lie on.

GEORGE FOX



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

At night some friendly people of the town brought us a candle and a little straw; and we burned a little of our straw to take away the stink. The thieves lay over our heads, and the head jailer in a room by them, over our heads also. It seems the smoke went up into the room where the jailer lay; which put him into such a rage that he took the pots of excrement from the thieves and poured them through a hole upon our heads in Doomsdale, till we were so bespattered that we could not touch ourselves nor one another. And the stink increased upon us; so that what with stink, and what with smoke, we were almost choked and smothered. We had the stink under our feet before, but now we had it on our heads and backs also; and he having quenched our straw with the filth he poured down, had made a great smother in the place. Moreover, he railed at us most hideously, calling us hatchet-faced dogs, and such strange names as we had never heard of. In this manner we were obliged to stand all night, for we could not sit down, the place was so full of filthy excrement.

A great while he kept us after this manner before he would let us cleanse it, or suffer us to have any victuals brought in but what we got through the grate. One time a girl brought us a little meat; and he arrested her for breaking his house, and sued her in the town-court for breaking the prison. A great deal of trouble he put the young woman to; whereby others were so discouraged that we had much ado to get water, drink, or victuals. Near this time we sent for a young woman, Ann Downer, from London, who could write and take things well in short-hand, to buy and dress our meat for us; which she was very willing to do, it being also upon her spirit to come to us in the love of God; and she was very serviceable to us.

The head-jailer, we were informed, had been a thief, and was burnt both in the hand and in the shoulder; his wife, too, had been burnt in the hand. The under-jailer had been burnt both in the hand and in the shoulder: his wife had been burnt in the hand also. Colonel Bennet, a Baptist teacher, having purchased the jail and lands belonging to the castle, had placed this head-jailer there. The prisoners and some wild people would be talking of spirits that haunted Doomsdale, and how many had died in it, thinking perhaps to terrify us therewith. But I told them that if all the spirits and devils in hell were there, I was over them in the power of God, and feared no such thing; for Christ, our Priest, would sanctify the walls of the house to us, He who had bruised the head of the devil. The priest was to cleanse the plague out of the walls of the house under the law, which had been ended by Christ, our Priest, who sanctifies both inwardly and outwardly the walls of the house, the walls of the heart, and all things to his people.

GEORGE FOX



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

By this time the general quarter-sessions drew nigh; and the jailer still carrying himself basely and wickedly towards us, we drew up our suffering case, and sent it to the sessions at Bodmin. On the reading thereof, the justices gave order that Doomsdale door should be opened, and that we should have liberty to cleanse it, and to buy our meat in the town. We also sent a copy of our sufferings to the Protector, setting forth how we had been taken and committed by Major Ceely; and abused by Captain Keat as aforesaid, and the rest in order. The Protector sent down an order to Captain Fox, governor of Pendennis Castle, to examine the matter about the soldiers abusing us, and striking me.

There were at that time many of the gentry of the country at the Castle; and Captain Keat's kinsman, that struck me, was sent for before them, and much threatened. They told him that if I should change my principles, I might take the extremity of the law against him, and might recover sound damages of him. Captain Keat also was checked, for suffering the prisoners under his charge to be abused.

This was of great service in the country; for afterwards Friends might speak in any market or steeple-house thereabouts, and none would meddle with them. I understood that Hugh Peters, one of the Protector's chaplains, told him they could not do George Fox a greater service for the spreading of his principles in Cornwall, than to imprison him there.

And indeed my imprisonment there was of the Lord, and for His service in those parts; for after the assizes were over, and it was known that we were likely to continue prisoners, several Friends from most parts of the nation came in to the country to visit us. Those parts of the west were very dark countries at that time but the Lord's light and truth broke forth, shone over all, and many were turned from darkness to light, and from Satan's power unto God. Many were moved to go to the steeple-houses; and several were sent to prison to us; and a great convincement began in the country. For now we had liberty to come out, and to walk in the Castle-Green; and many came to us on First-days, to whom we declared the Word of life.

Great service we had among them, and many were turned to God, up and down the country; but great rage possessed the priests and professors against the Truth and us. One of the envious professors had collected many Scripture sentences to prove that we ought to put off our hats to the people; and he invited the town of Launceston to come into the castle-yard to hear him read them. Amongst other instances that he there brought, one was that Saul bowed to the witch of Endor. When he had done, we got a little liberty to speak; and we showed both him and the people that Saul was gone from God, and had disobeyed God when he went to the witch of Endor: that neither the prophets, nor Christ, nor the apostles ever taught people to bow to a witch.

GEORGE FOX



Another time, about eleven at night, the jailer, being half drunk, came and told me that he had got a man now to dispute with me: (this was when we had leave to go a little into the town). As soon as he spoke these words I felt there was mischief intended to my body. All that night and the next day I lay down on a grass-plot to slumber, and felt something still about my body: I started up, and struck at it in the power of the Lord, and still it was about my body.

Then I rose and walked into the Castle-Green, and the under-keeper came and told me that there was a maid would speak with me in the prison. I felt a snare in his words, too, therefore I went not into the prison, but to the grate; and looking in, I saw a man that was lately brought to prison for being a conjurer, who had a naked knife in his hand. I spoke to him, and he threatened to cut my chaps; but, being within the jail he could not come at me. This was the jailer's great disputant. I went soon after into the jailer's house, and found him at breakfast; he had then got his conjurer out with him. I told the jailer his plot was discovered. Then he got up from the table, and cast his napkin away in a rage; and I left them, and went to my chamber; for at this time we were out of Doomsdale.

At the time the jailer had said the dispute should be, I went down and walked in the court (the place appointed) till about the eleventh hour; but nobody came. Then I went up to my chamber again; and after awhile heard one call for me. I stepped to the stairshead, where I saw the jailer's wife upon the stairs, and the conjurer at the bottom of the stairs, holding his hand behind his back, and in a great rage.

I asked him, "Man, what hast thou in thy hand behind thy back? Pluck thy hand before thee," said I; "let's see thy hand, and what thou hast in it."

Then he angrily plucked forth his hand, with a naked knife in it. I showed the jailer's wife their wicked design against me; for this was the man they brought to dispute of the things of God. But the Lord discovered their plot, and prevented their evil design; and they both raged, and the conjurer threatened.

Then I was moved of the Lord to speak sharply to him in the dreadful power of the Lord; and the Lord's power came over him, and bound him down; so that he never after durst appear before me, to speak to me. I saw it was the Lord alone that had preserved me out of their bloody hands; for the devil had a great enmity to me, and stirred up his instruments to seek my hurt. But the Lord prevented them; and my heart was filled with thanksgivings and praises to him.

In Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire, Truth began mightily to spread. Many were turned to Christ Jesus and His free teaching: for many Friends that came to visit us were drawn to declare the Truth in those counties. This made the priests and professors rage, and they stirred up the magistrates to ensnare Friends. They set up watches in the streets and highways, on pretence of taking up suspicious persons, under which colour they stopped and took up Friends coming to visit us in prison; which was done that these Friends might not pass up and down in the Lord's service.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

But that by which they thought to have stopped the Truth was the means of spreading it so much the more; for then Friends were frequently moved to speak to one constable and to another officer, and to the justices before whom they were brought; which caused the Truth to spread the more in all their parishes. And when Friends were got among the watches, it would be a fortnight or three weeks before they could get out of them again; for no sooner had one constable taken and carried them before the justices, and these had discharged them, but another would take them up and carry them before other justices: which put the country to a great deal of needless trouble and charges.

As Thomas Rawlinson was coming out of the north to visit us, a constable in Devonshire took him up, and at night took twenty shillings out of his pocket: and after being thus robbed he was cast into Exeter jail. They cast into prison in Devonshire, under pretence of his being a Jesuit, Henry Pollexfen, who had been a justice of the peace for almost forty years. Many Friends were cruelly beaten by them; nay, some clothiers that were but going to mill with their cloth, and others about their outward occasions, they took up and whipped; though men of about eighty or an hundred pounds by the year, and not above four or five miles from their families.

The mayor of Launceston took up all he could, and cast them into prison. He would search substantial, grave women, their petticoats and their head-cloths. A young man coming to see us, I drew up all the gross, inhuman, and unchristian actions of the mayor, gave it him, and bade him seal it up, and go out again the back way; and then come into the town through the gates. He did so, and the watch took him up and carried him before the mayor; who presently searched his pockets and found the letter. Therein he saw all his actions characterized; which shamed him so that from that time he meddled little with the Lord's servants.

While I was in prison here, the Baptists and Fifth-monarchy men prophesied that this year Christ should come, and reign upon earth a thousand years. And they looked upon this reign to be outward: when He was come inwardly in the hearts of His people, to reign and rule; where these professors would not receive Him. So they failed in their prophecy and expectation, and had not the possession of Him. But Christ is come, and doth dwell and reign in the hearts of His people. Thousands, at the door of whose hearts He hath been knocking have opened to Him, and He is come in, and doth sup with them, and they with Him; the heavenly supper with the heavenly and spiritual man. So many of these Baptists and Monarchy-people turned the greatest enemies to the followers of Christ; but He reigns in the hearts of His saints over all their envy. At the assize diverse justices came to us, and were pretty civil, and reasoned of the things of God soberly; expressing a pity to us. Captain Fox, governor of Pendennis Castle, came and looked me in the face, and said never a word; but went to his company and told them he never saw a simpler man in his life. I called after him, and said, "Stay, man; we will see who is the simpler man." But he went his way. A light, chaffy person.

GEORGE FOX

FOX'S JOURNAL:

Thomas Lower also came to visit us, and offered us money, which we refused; accepting nevertheless of his love. He asked us many questions concerning our denying the Scriptures to be the Word of God; concerning the sacraments, and such like: to all which he received satisfaction. I spoke particularly to him; and he afterwards said my words were as a flash of lightning, they ran so through him. He said he had never met with such men in his life, for they knew the thoughts of his heart; and were as the wise master-builders of the assemblies that fastened their words like nails. He came to be convinced of the truth, and remains a Friend to this day.

When he came home to his aunt Hambley's, where he then lived, and made report to her concerning us, she, with her sister Grace Billing, hearing the report of Truth, came to visit us in prison, and was convinced also. Great sufferings and spoiling of goods both he and his aunt have undergone for the Truth's sake.

After the assizes, the sheriff, with some soldiers, came to guard to execution a woman that was sentenced to die; and we had much discourse with them. One of them wickedly said, "Christ was as passionate a man as any that lived upon the earth;" for which we rebuked him. Another time we asked the jailer what doings there were at the sessions; and he said, "Small matters; only about thirty for bastardy." We thought it very strange that they who professed themselves Christians should make small matters of such things.

But this jailer was very bad himself; I often admonished him to sobriety; but he abused people that came to visit us. Edward Pyot had a cheese sent him from Bristol by his wife; and the jailer took it from him, and carried it to the mayor, to search it for treasonable letters, as he said; and though they found no treason in the cheese, they kept it from us. This jailer might have been rich – if he had carried himself civilly; but he sought his own ruin, which soon after came upon him.

The next year he was turned out of his place, and for some wickedness cast into the jail himself; and there begged of our Friends. And for some unruliness in his conduct he was, by the succeeding jailer, put into Doomsdale, locked in irons, and beaten, and bidden to remember how he had abused those good men whom he had wickedly, without any cause, cast into that nasty dungeon; and told that now he deservedly should suffer for his wickedness; and the same measure he had meted to others, should be meted out to himself. He became very poor, and died in prison; and his wife and family came to misery.

While I was in prison in Launceston, a Friend went to Oliver Cromwell, and offered himself, body for body, to lie in Doomsdale in my stead; if he would take him, and let me have liberty. Which thing so struck him, that he said to his great men and council, "Which of you would do as much for me if I were in the same condition?" And though he did not accept of the Friend's offer, but said he could not do it, for that it was contrary to law, yet the Truth thereby came mightily over him.

GEORGE FOX



FOX'S JOURNAL:

A good while after this he sent down Major-General Desborough, pretending to set us at liberty. When he came, he offered us our liberty if we would say we would go home and preach no more; but we could not promise him. Then he urged that we should promise to go home, if the Lord permitted.

After this Major-General Desborough came to the Castle-Green, and played at bowls with the justices and others. Several Friends were moved to go and admonish them not to spend their time so vainly, desiring them to consider, that though they professed themselves to be Christians, yet they gave themselves up to their pleasures, and kept the servants of God meanwhile in prison; and telling them that the Lord would plead with them and visit them for such things. But notwithstanding what was written or said to him, he went away, and left us in prison.

We understood afterwards that he left the business to Colonel Bennet, who had the command of the jail. For some time after Bennet would have set us at liberty if we would have paid his jailer's fees. But we told him we could give the jailer no fees, for we were innocent sufferers; and how could they expect fees of us, who had suffered so long wrongfully? After a while Colonel Bennet coming to town, sent for us to an inn, and insisted again upon fees, which we refused. At last the power of the Lord came so over him, that he freely set us at liberty on the 13th day of the Seventh month, 1656. We had been prisoners nine weeks at the first assize, called the Lent-assize, which was in the spring of the year.

GEORGE FOX

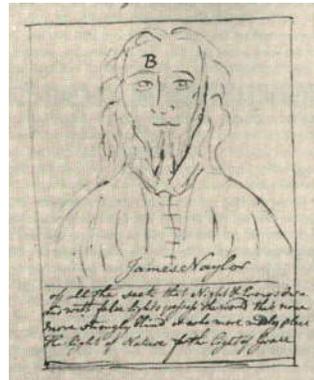
June 16: In Medfield MA, [Friend John Ellis, Sr.](#) got married again, with [Joan Clapp](#), widow of John Clapp of Dorchester. (This may have happened on this date in 1656.)

October: John ap-John, a member of the congregation of Morgan Llywd (Lloyd) the mystical Independent minister of Wrexham, had become the leader of the first Welsh [Quaker](#) group. At this point he was prosecuted by Swansea magistrates and put in prison. Converts in Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire included two Justices, Walter Jenkins of Pontypool and Peter Price of Presteign.

Friend [James Nayler](#), a close colleague of Friend [George Fox](#)'s, was arrested on a charge of extreme blasphemy at Bristol, England. Thomas Carlyle has described the incident, in which Nayler allowed some adoring female supporters to give him a Triumphant Entry into Bristol as if he were the [Second Coming](#) of Christ in the flesh: "In the month of October, 1655, there was seen a strange sight at Bristol in the West. A procession of eight persons: one a man on horseback, riding single; the others, men and women, partly riding double, partly on foot, in the muddiest highway, in the wettest weather; singing, all but the single-rider, at whose bridle splash and walk two women: 'Hosannah! Holy, holy! Lord God of Sabaoth!' ... The single-rider is a raw-boned male figure, 'with lank hair reaching below his cheeks'; hat drawn close over his brows; of abstruse 'down look' and large, dangerous jaws, strictly closed; he sings not; sits there covered, and is sung to by the others, bare. Amid pouring deluges and mud knee-deep: 'so that the rain ran in at their necks, and they vented it at their hose and breeches,' a spectacle to the west of England and posterity! Singing as above; answering no questions except in song. At the High Cross, they are laid hold of by the Authorities; turn out to be James Nayler and

Company.”

Although, as a Puritan entirely hostile toward Quakers and Quakerism, Major-General William Goffe would insist that Friend James be executed, his intransigent attitude would not prevail. On December 16, 1656, the Parliament would resist the ultimate penalty by a vote of 96 over 82 and, instead of being killed, Friend James would be pilloried for two hours, then whipped by the hangman through the streets from Westminster to the Old Exchange in the city, then after two days pilloried for another two hours, then have his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron and be branded in the forehead with the letter B, then in that condition be again flogged through the streets of Bristol, and then be placed in solitary confinement at hard labor during the pleasure of Parliament. Here is Nayler as an early English reader presumed he would have appeared subsequent to the branding:



Death from his injuries and from exposure would come not long after Friend James’s release in September 1659, and according to JAMES NAYLER’S ANSWER TO THE FANATICK HISTORY AS FAR AS IT RELATES TO HIM, just before giving up the ghost he would write the following immortal words: ***“There is a spirit which I feel, which delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong; but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations; as it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other. If it be betrayed, it bears it; for its ground and spring is the mercy and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness; its life is everlasting love unfeigned. It takes its kingdom***



with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth, but through sufferings; for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone; being forsaken. I have fellowship therein, with those who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth; who through death obtained this resurrection, and eternal, holy life!"

Friend [George Fox](#) described the situation in his [JOURNAL](#):

[W]e came to Exeter, where many Friends were in prison; and amongst the rest James Nayler. For a little before we were set at liberty, James had run out into imaginations, and a company with him, who raised a great darkness in the nation. He came to Bristol, and made a disturbance there. From thence he was coming to Launceston to see me; but was stopped by the way, and imprisoned at Exeter; as were several others, one of whom, an honest, tender man, died in prison there. His blood lieth on the heads of his persecutors.

The night that we came to Exeter I spoke with James Nayler: for I saw he was out, and wrong, and so was his company. The next day, being First-day, we went to visit the prisoners, and had a meeting with them in the prison; but James Nayler, and some of them, could not stay the meeting. There came a corporal of horse into the meeting, who was convinced, and remained a very good Friend.

The next day I spoke to James Nayler again; and he slighted what I said, was dark, and much out; yet he would have come and kissed me. But I said that since he had turned against the power of God, I could not receive his show of kindness. The Lord moved me to slight him, and to set the power of God over him. So after I had been warring with the world, there was now a wicked spirit risen amongst Friends to war against. I admonished him and his company.

When he was come to London, his resisting the power of God in me, and the Truth that was declared to him by me, became one of his greatest burdens. But he came to see his out-going, and to condemn it; and after some time he returned to Truth again; as in the printed relation of his repentance, condemnation, and recovery may be more fully seen.



A WONDERFUL FORTNIGHT³⁰

'I look upon Cumberland and Westmorland as the Galilee of Quakerism.'—T. HODGKIN.

'They may have failed in their intellectual formulation, but at least they succeeded in finding a living God, warm and tender and near at hand, the Life of their lives, the Day Star in their hearts; and their travail of Soul, their brave endurance, and their loyal obedience to vision have helped to make our modern world.'—RUFUS M. JONES.

'We ceased from the teachings of all men, and their words and their worships, and their temples and all their baptisms and churches, and we ceased from our own words and professions and practices in religion.... We met together often, and waited upon the Lord in pure silence from our own words, and hearkened to the voice of the Lord and felt His word in our hearts.'—E. BURROUGH.

'John Camm, he was my father according to the flesh, so was he also a spiritual father and instructor of me in the way of Truth and Righteousness ... for his tender care was great for the education of me and the rest of his children and family in the Nurture and Fear of the Lord.'—THOMAS CAMM.

'Death cannot separate us, for in the never-failing love of God there is union for evermore.'—J. CAMM.

30. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



A WONDERFUL FORTNIGHT

I

The annual Fair on Whitsun Wednesday is the gayest time of the whole year at Sedbergh. For a few hours the solid grey town under the green fells gives itself up to gaiety and merriment.

The gentry of the neighbourhood as well as the country folk for miles around come flocking to the annual hiring of farm lads and lasses, which is the main business of the Fair. Thoughts of profit and the chance of making a good bargain fill the heads of the older generation. But the youths and maidens come, eager-eyed, looking for romance. At the Fair they seek to guess what Fate may hold in store for them during the long months of labour that will follow hard on their few hours of jollification.

'All manner of finery was to be had' at the Fair; 'there were morris and rapier dances, wrestling and love-making going on,' and plenty of hard drinking too. 'The Fair at Sedbergh' was the emphatic destination of many a prosperous farmer and labourer on a Whitsun Wednesday morning; but it was 'Sebba Fair' he cursed thickly under his breath as he reeled home at night.

In truth seventeenth-century Sedbergh was a busy place, not only in Fair week, but at other times too, with its stately old church and its grammar school; to say nothing of the fact that, in these days of Oliver's Protectorate, it boasted no less than forty-eight different religious sects among its few hundred inhabitants. Only the sad-eyed Seekers, coming down in little groups from their scattered hamlets, exchanged sorrowful greetings as they met one another amid all the riot and hubbub of the Fair; for they had tried the forty-eight sects in turn for the nourishment their souls needed, and had tried them all in vain.

Until this miraculous Whitsuntide of June 1652, when, suddenly, in a moment, everything was changed.

The little groups of Seekers stood still and looked at one another in astonishment as they came out from the shadow of the narrow street of grey stone houses into the open square in the centre of the town. For there, opposite the market cross and under the spreading boughs of a gigantic yew-tree, they saw a young man standing on a bench, and preaching as they had never heard anyone preach before. Behind him rose the massive square tower, and the long row of clerestory windows that were, then as now, the glory of Sedbergh Church. The tall green grass of the churchyard was already trampled down by the feet of hundreds of spell-bound listeners.

Who was this unexpected Stranger who dared to interrupt even the noisy business of the Fair with the earnestness and insistence of his appeal? He was a young and handsome man, with regular features and hair that hung in short curls under his hat-brim, contrary to the Puritan fashion; big-boned in body, and of a commanding presence. The boys of the grammar school, determined



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to make the most of their holiday, thought it good sport at first to mock at the Stranger's garb. As he stood there, lifted up above them on the rough bench, they could see every detail of the queer leather breeches that he wore underneath his long coat. His girdle with its alchemy buttons showed off grandly too, while the fine linen bands he wore at his neck gleamed out with dazzling whiteness against the dark branches of Sedbergh's majestic old yew-tree.

The preacher's words and tones and his piercing eyes quickly overawed his audience, and made them forget his outlandish appearance. Even the boys could understand what he was saying, for he seemed to be speaking to each one of them, as much as to any of the grown-up people. And what was this he was telling them? With outstretched hand he pointed upwards, insisting that that church, the beautiful building, the pride of Sedbergh, was not a church at all. It was only a steeple-house; they themselves were the true church, their own souls and bodies were the temples chosen by the Spirit of God for His habitation. No wonder the schoolboys, and many older people too, became awed and silent at the bare idea of such a Guest. None of the eight-and-forty sects of Sedbergh town had ever heard doctrine like this before. Possibly there might not have been eight-and-forty of them if they had.

Once during the discourse a Captain got up and interrupted the Stranger: 'Why do you preach out here under the yew-tree? Why do you not go inside the church and preach there?'

'But,' says George Fox, 'I said unto him that I denied their church.'

'Then stood up Francis Howgill, a separate preacher, that had not seen me before, and so he began to dispute with the Captain, but he held his peace. Then said Francis Howgill, "This man speaks with authority, and not as the Scribes."

'And so,' continues George Fox, 'I opened to the people that that ground and house was no holier than another place, and that house was not the Church, but the people which Christ is head of. And so, after a while that I had made a stand among the people, the priests came up to me and I warned them to repent. And one of them said I was mad, and so they turned away. But many people were glad at the hearing of the Truth declared unto them that day, which they received gladly.'

'And there came one Edward Ward, and he said my very eyes pierced through him, and he was convinced of God's everlasting truth and lived and died in it, and many more was convinced there at that time.'

Convinced they were indeed, as they had never been convinced in all their former lives; and now that they had found the teacher they wanted, the hungry, thirsty Seekers were not going to let him go again. Almost overturning the booths of the Fair, these solemn, sad-eyed men jostled each other like children in their endeavours to reach their new friend.

There at the back of the crowd solid John Camm, the prosperous 'statesman' farmer of Cammsgill, near Preston Patrick, could be seen waving his staff like a schoolboy to attract the preacher's



attention as soon as the sermon stopped. 'Come home, young Sir! Come home with me,' John Camm called out lustily.

But ruddy-cheeked John Audland, the linen-draper of Crosslands, had been quicker than the elderly farmer. He was a happy bridegroom that summer, and bringing his wife with him for the first time to Sedbergh Fair. She—a Seeker like himself—had been known in her maiden days as gentle Anne Newby of Kendal town: yet the ways of the dalesmen and of the country people were in a measure strange to her, seeing all her girlhood had been spent at her aunt's house in London town, where she had received her education. Possibly she had looked forward not without dread to the rough merry-making of the Fair; but she too had kindled at the Stranger's message. Her shyness fled from her as, with her hand locked fast in her husband's, the two pressed forward. The crowd seemed to melt away at sight of their radiant faces, and almost before the sermon was ended the young couple found themselves face to face with the preacher. The same longing was in both their hearts: the same words rose unbidden to their lips: 'Come back with us to Crosslands, Sir! Come back and be the first guest to bless our home.'

George Fox smiled as he met the eager gaze of the young folk, and stretched out a friendly hand. But an old slow man with a long white beard had forestalled even the impetuous rush of the youthful bride and bridegroom.

'Nay; now, good friends,' said Farmer Thomas Blaykling of Drawwell, 'my home is nigh at hand. For the next three days the Stranger is mine. He must stay with me and I will bring him to Firbank Chapel on Sunday. Come ye also thither and hear him again, and bring every seeking man and woman and child in all these dales to hear him too; and thereafter ye shall have him in your turn and entertain him where ye will.'

II

The first three peaceful days after the Fair were spent by the young preacher at Drawwell Farm, knitting up a friendship with its inmates that neither time nor suffering was able thereafter to unravel.

'The house inhabited by the Blayklings may still be seen. Its thick walls, small windows and rooms, with the clear well behind, must be almost in the same condition as in the week we are remembering.'³¹

In later days many a 'mighty Meeting' was to be held in the big barn that adjoins the small whitewashed house with its grey flagged roof. Drawwell is situated about two miles away from Sedbergh, on the sunny slope of a hill overlooking the River Lune, that here forms the boundary between the two counties of Westmorland and Yorkshire.

There, under the shadow of the great fells, George Fox had time for many a quiet talk with his hosts, in the days that followed the Whitsuntide Fair. John Blaykling, the farmer's son, was a man of strong character. He was afterwards to become himself a powerful preacher of the Truth and to suffer for it when

31. Ernest E. Taylor, A GREAT PEOPLE TO BE GATHERED.



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persecution came. Moreover, 'he was a great supporter of them that were in low circumstances in the world, often assisting them in difficult cases to the exposing of himself to great hazards of loss.'

He had also an especial care for the feelings of others. On the Sunday after the Fair he was anxious to take his guest to Firbank Chapel, where the Seekers' service was to be held, high up on the hill opposite Drawwell. Yet he seems to have had some misgivings that his guest might be too full of his own powerful message to remember to behave courteously to others, who, although in a humbler way, were still trying to declare the Truth as far as they had a knowledge of it. Fox writes in his Journal: 'And the next First day I came to Firbank Chapel, where Francis Howgill and John Audland were preaching in the morning, and John Blaykling and others came to me and desired me not to reprove them publicly, for they was not parish teachers but pretty sober men, but I would not tell them whether I would or no, though I had little in me to declare publicly against them, but told them they must leave me to the Lord's movings. The chapel was full of people and many could not get in. Francis Howgill (who was preaching) said he thought I looked into the Chapel, but I did not. And he said that I might have killed him with a crab-apple, the Lord's power had so surprised him.

'So they had quickly done with their preaching to the people at that time, and they and the people went to their dinners, but abundance stayed till they came again. And I went to a brook and got me a little water, and so I came and sat me down atop of a rock, (for the word of the Lord came to me that I must go and sit upon the rock in the mountain, even as Christ had done before).

'And in the afternoon the people gathered about me with several separate teachers, where it was judged there was above a thousand people. And all those several separate teachers were convinced of God's everlasting truth that day, amongst whom I declared freely and largely God's everlasting truth and word of life about three hours. And there was many old people went into the chapel and looked out of the windows and thought it a strange thing to see a man to preach on a hill or mountain, and not in their church as they called it. So I was made to open to the people that the steeple-house and the ground whereon it stood was no more holier than that mountain ... but Christ was come who ended the temple and the priests and the tithes, and Christ said, "Learn of me," and God said, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye Him."

'For the Lord had sent me with His everlasting gospel to preach, and His word of life so that they all might come to know Christ their Teacher, their Counsellor, their Shepherd to feed them, and their Bishop to oversee them, and their Prophet to open to them, and to know their bodies to be temples of God and Christ for them to dwell in.... And so, turning the people to the Spirit of God, and from the darkness to the light, that they might



believe in it and become children of light.'

III

'Now, it is our turn,' insisted ruddy-faced John Audland, 'George Fox must come home with me. My house at Crosslands will be the most convenient resting-place for him, seeing it lies mid-way between here and Preston Patrick; and to Preston Patrick and the General Meeting of our Seeking People he must certainly come, since it is to be held in three days' time. There are many folk, still seeking, on the other side of the dales, who have not yet heard the good news, but who will rejoice mightily when they find him there. Besides, he has promised my wife that he will be the first guest to come and bless our home.'

'Yes in truth, he shall return with thee,' echoed Audland's friend, John Camm of Cammsgill, 'since Preston Patrick is too far a step for him to-day. He shall lodge with thee and thy good wife Anne, and bless your home. But on Wednesday, betimes, thou must bring him to me at Cammsgill right early in the day—and I will take him as my guest to Preston Patrick and our Seekers' Meeting.'

John Audland readily assented to this proposal. He and his wife would have the wonderful Stranger all to themselves until Wednesday. As the two men wandered back over the hills in a satisfied silence, his mind was full of all the questions he meant to ask. For had not he himself, though only a youth of twenty-two, been one of the appointed preachers at Firbank Chapel? Truly he had done his best there, as at other times, to feed the people; yet in spite of his words they had seemed ever hungry, until the Stranger came among them, breaking the True Bread of Life for all to share.

John Audland was 'a young man of a comely countenance, and very lovely qualities.'³² Never a thought of jealousy or envy crossed his mind; only he was filled with a longing to know more, to learn, to be fed himself, that he, in his turn, might feed others. Still, being but human, it was with slight irritation that he heard himself hailed with a loud 'halloo!' from behind. Looking round, he beheld a long-legged figure ambling after them along the dusty road, and recognised a certain tactless youth, John Story by name, famous throughout the district for his knack of thrusting himself in where he was least wanted. Without so much as a 'by your leave' John Story caught up the other two men and began a lively conversation as they walked along.

Self-invited, he followed them into John Audland's home; where the young bride, Anne, was too well bred to betray her disappointment at this unexpected visitor. Elbowing his way rudely past the master of the house and the invited guest, John Story stalked ahead into the bridal parlour and sat himself down deliberately in the best chair. 'I'm your first guest now, Mistress Anne,' he said with a chuckle. Then lighting his pipe he threw his head back and made himself comfortable—evidently intending to stay the evening. But his chief care and intention was to patronise George Fox. He had been at Firbank also, and

32. Sewel's HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS.



he had remembered enough of the sermon there to repeat some of the preacher's words jestingly to his face. He handed his lighted pipe to George Fox, saying, 'Come, will you take a pipe of tobacco?'—and added, mockingly, seeing his hesitation, 'Come, all is ours!'

'But,' says George Fox, 'I looked upon him to be a forward bold lad; and tobacco I did not take. But it came into my mind that the lad might think I had not unity with the creation: for I saw he had a flashy, empty notion of religion. So I took his pipe and put it to my mouth, and gave it to him again to stop him lest his rude tongue should say I had not unity with the creation.'

And soon after this, let us hope, John Story, with his tobacco and his rude tongue, saw fit to take his leave, and remove his unwelcome presence.

IV

Two more days of the 'wonderful fortnight' were passed in the linen-draper's home at Crosslands before, on the Wednesday forenoon, John Audland and his guest descended the dales of Westmorland and climbed the steep, wooded glen that leads to Cammsgill Farm. There, at the door, with hands outstretched in welcome, stood good John Camm and his loving wife Mabel. Peeping behind them curiously at the Stranger was their twelve-year-old son, Tom. At the windows of the farm were to be seen the faces of the men-servants and maid-servants, for great was the curiosity to see the Stranger of whom such great tidings had been told. Among the serving-maids were two sisters, Jane and Dorothy Waugh. Little did the eager girls imagine that the Stranger whom they eyed so keenly was to alter the whole course of their lives by his words that day; that, for both of them, the pleasant, easy, farm life at Cammsgill was over, and that they were hereafter to go forth to preach in their turn, to suffer beatings and cruel imprisonments, and even to cross the seas, in order to publish the same Truth that he had come to proclaim.

Tom Camm also, boy as he was, was never to forget that eventful morning. Long years afterwards he remembered every detail of it. 'On the 4th day morning,' he writes, 'John Audland came with George Fox to the house of John Camm at Cammsgill in Preston Patrick, who with his wife and familie gladly received G.F.' And now, while they are 'gladly receiving' their guest and waiting till it is time to go down the steep hill to Preston Patrick, let us look back at the farm-house of Cammsgill where they are sitting, and learn something of its history and that of its owners.

It was to Cammsgill that Farmer John Camm had brought home his bride on a late day of summer, thirteen years before the eventful year 1652 of which these stories tell. A wise, prosperous man was good John Camm, one of the most successful 'statesmen' in all the fertile dales round about. So busy had he been developing his farm, and attending to the numerous flocks and herds, that were ever increasing under his skilful management, that time for



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love-making seemed to have been left out of his life. But at last, when he was well over forty, he found the one woman he had been unconsciously needing through all his prosperous years to make his life round and complete. It was a mellow day of Indian summer when John and Mabel Camm walked up the winding road to Cammsgill for the first time as man and wife. But the golden sunshine that lay on all the burnished riches of the well-filled farm-yard was dim compared with the inward sunshine that gladdened the farmer's heart.

Farmer John had made a wise choice, and he knew it. In his eyes nothing was good enough for his wife, not even the home where he had been born, and where his ancestors for generations had lived and died; so Cammsgill had been entirely rebuilt before that golden September day when John and Mabel Camm came home to begin their new life together. The re-building had been done in such solid fashion that part of the farm-house still stands, well-proportioned and serviceable, after nearly three centuries have passed to test it, showing that he who builds for love builds truly and well.

Mabel Camm was a proud woman as she stood at the door of her hillside home and watched the autumn sunlight lighting up her husband's face as he walked across his fields in the valley, or strode, almost with the energetic step of a young man, up the crab-apple bordered track to the farm.

Close at his heels followed his collie, looking up into his master's face with adoring affection. Not only every animal on the farm loved the master, the men-servants and maid-servants also would do anything to please him, for was he not ever mindful of their interests as if they had been his own? In those days each labourer had three or four acres of land as of right. This fostered an independent spirit and made their affection a tribute worth the winning.³³ Later on that same year, when winter came, earlier than its wont, the fells were knee-deep in snow and all the beasts were brought for shelter round the farm to protect them from the snow-drifts and bitter weather on the upland pastures.

Then it was that at nights in the snug farm-house kitchen, after the day's work was done, John Camm and his young wife together carved their initials on the 'brideswain,' a tall oak chest that held the goodly stock of homespun linen and flax brought by Mabel Camm to her new home. John Camm was something of an artist. His was the design of the interlaced initials. All his life he had been a skilful carver with his tools on the winter evenings, and now he took pleasure in showing his bride the right way to use them and how to fashion her strokes aright. Night after night the two heads bent over their task, but to this day it may still be seen at Cammsgill that one of the two artists was less skilful than the other, for Mabel's curves are more angular and without the careless ease of her husband's. What, however, did unskilful fingers matter when the firelight shone upon two happy faces bending over the work close together, aglow with the inner radiance of two thankful hearts?

33. E.E. Taylor, FAITHFUL SERVANTS OF GOD.



There were other uses for the brideswain the following summer. The fair white sheets and pillow-cases were moved to an under-shelf. The upper half of the chest was filled to overflowing with tiny garments fashioned by Mabel's own fingers, skilful indeed at this dainty work. No more woodcarving now, but endless rows of stitchery, tiny tucks and delicate dotting, all ready to welcome the little son who arrived before the summer's close, and completed his parents' joy.

Since that day, a dozen years had slipped away. Now young Thomas Camm was leaving childhood, as he had long left babyhood, behind him. He was a big boy, quick, strong for his age, and bidding fair to be as good a farmer as his father some day.

'Cammgill was a favourite house with both men and women servants, for Mistress Camm took care that all had their fill of bread, butter, milk, eggs or bacon, and each their three meals. Of the maid-servants, Jane and Dorothy Waugh especially looked on their master as a father, he was so kind and thoughtful of their needs. Indeed no one could walk up the winding gill without meeting with a warm welcome from the owners of the farmhouse, and on winter evenings there was many a large "sitting," by aid of the rushlights, in which the neighbours joined, all hands being busy the while with the knitting of caps and jerseys for the Kendal trade.... He and his wife greatly loved to entertain visitors from a distance, especially those who were like-minded with themselves, also looking for "the coming of the day of the Lord,"³⁴ for all the household at Cammgill were of the company of the "Seekers" who met every month at the Chapel of Preston Patrick in the valley below.

Now at last it is time for the Meeting.

Thomas Camm's account continues: 'And it having been then a common practice among the said seeking and religiously inclined people to raise a General Meeting at Preston Patrick Chapel once a month, upon the fourth day of the week, thither George Fox went, being accompanied with John Audland and John Camm. John Audland would have had George Fox go into the place or pew where usually he and the preacher did sit, but he refused and took a back seat near the door, and John Camm sat down by him, where he sat silent, waiting upon God for about half an hour, in which time of silence Francis Howgill seemed uneasy, and pulled out his Bible and opened it, and stood up several times, sitting down again and closing his book, and dread and fear being on him that he durst not begin to preach. After the said silence and waiting George Fox stood up in the mighty power of God, and in the demonstration thereof was his mouth opened to preach Christ Jesus, the Light of Life, and the way to God, and Saviour of all that believe and obey Him, which was delivered in that power and that authority that most of the auditory, which were several hundreds, were effectually reached to the heart, and convinced of the truth that very day, for it was the day of God's power. A notable day indeed, never to be forgotten by me Thomas Camm.... I, being then present at that Meeting, a school-boy but about twelve years of age, yet, I bless the Lord for His mercy, then

34. E.E. Taylor, FAITHFUL SERVANTS OF GOD.



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religiously inclined, do still remember that blessed and glorious day, in which my soul, by that living testimony then borne in the demonstration of God's power, was effectually opened, reached and convinced, with many more who are seals of that powerful ministry that attended this faithful minister of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by which we were convinced, and turned from darkness to light and from Satan's power to the power of God. After which Meeting at Preston Chapel, G.F. came to the house of John Camm at Cammsgill. Next day travelled to Kendal where he had a meeting, where many were convinced and received his testimony with joy.'

The 'wonderful fortnight' was drawing to a close. The vision on Pendle Hill, when George Fox beheld a people 'as thick as motes in the sun that should in time be brought home to the Lord,' had already begun to form around it a Society of Friends who were pledged to carry it out.

Remember always, it was not the Society that beheld the vision; it was the vision that created and creates the Society.

The vision is the important thing; for it is still unfulfilled.



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HISTORICAL NOTES

Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

'A WONDERFUL FORTNIGHT.'

Historical. Taken from various sources, chiefly George Fox's JOURNAL, vol. i. pp. 40-44, and two unpublished papers by Ernest E. Taylor, describing the lives and homes of the Westmorland Seekers: 'A Great People to be Gathered' and 'Faithful Servants of God.' See also his 'CAMEOS FROM THE LIFE OF GEORGE FOX,' Sewel's 'HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS,' and 'BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM,' by W.C. Braithwaite.



THE VICTORY OF AMOR STODDART³⁵

'From the heart of the Puritan sects sprang the religion of the Quakers, in which many a war-worn soldier of the Commonwealth closed his visionary eyes.'—G.M. TREVELYAN.

'To be a man of war means to live no longer than the life of the world, which is perishing; but to be a man of the Holy Spirit, a man born of God, a man that wars not after the flesh, a man of the Kingdom of God, as well as of England—that means to live beyond time and age and men and the world, to be gathered into that life which is Eternal.'—JOHN SALTMARSH, 1647.

'Keep out of all jangling, for all that are in the transgression are out from the law of love; but all that are in the law of love come to the Lamb's power.'—G. FOX.

'He changed his weapons, warfare, and Captain ... when he 'listed himself under the banner of Christ.'—W. PENN, about J. Whitehead.

A prayer for the soldier spirit.

'Teach us, good Lord, to serve Thee as Thou deservest: to give and not to count the cost; to fight and not to heed the wounds; to toil and not to seek for rest; to labour and not to ask for any reward, save that of knowing that we do Thy will: through Jesus Christ our Lord.'—IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

35. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. *A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS*. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



THE VICTORY OF AMOR STODDART

'Christ disarmed Peter, and in so doing He unbuckled the sword of every soldier.' TERTULLIAN.

A dauntless fighter in his day was Captain Amor Stoddart, seeing he had served in the Parliamentary Army throughout the Civil Wars. In truth, it was no child's play to command a body of men as tough as Oliver's famous Ironsides. Therefore Captain Stoddart had doubtless come through many a bloody struggle, and fought in many a hardly fought contest during those long wars, before the final victory was won.

But now, not a single memory remains of his small individual share in those

'Old unhappy, far-off things,
And battles long ago.'

His story has come down to us as a staunch comrade and a valiant fighter, in a different kind of warfare. His victory was won in a struggle in which all the visible weapons were on the other side; when, through long years, he had only the armour of meekness and of love wherewith to oppose hardship and violence and wrong.

Wherefore, of this fight and of this victory, his own name remains as a symbol and a sign. Not in vain was he called at his birth 'Amor,' which, in the Latin tongue signifies 'Love,' as all men know.

The first meeting between Captain Amor Stoddart and him who was to be thereafter his spirit's earthly captain in the new strange warfare that lay before him, happened on this wise.

In the year 1648, when the long Civil Wars were at last nearing their close, George Fox visited Mansfield in Nottinghamshire and held a meeting with the professors (that is to say the Puritans) there. It was in that same year of 1648, when every day the shadow was drawing nearer of the fatal scaffold that should be erected within the Palace at Whitehall the following January. But although that shadow crept daily nearer, men, for the most part, as yet perceived it not. Fox himself was at this time still young, as years are counted, being only twenty-four years of age. Four other summers were yet to pass before that memorable day when he should climb to the summit of old Pendle Hill, and, after seeing there the vision of a 'great people to be gathered,' should begin himself to gather them at Firbank and Swarthmoor and many another place.

George, though still young in years, was already possessed not only of a strange and wonderful presence, but also of a gift to perceive and to draw the souls of other men, and to knit them to his own.

'I went again to Mansfield,' he says in his Journal, 'where was a Great Meeting of professors and people, where I was moved to pray; and the Lord's power was so great that the house seemed to be shaken. When I had done, one of the professors said, "It



was now as in the days of the Apostles, when the house was shaken where they were."'

After Fox had finished praying, with this vehemence that seemed to shake the house, one of the professors began to pray in his turn, but in such a dead and formal way that even the other professors were grieved thereat and rebuked him. Whereupon this praying professor came in all humility to Fox, beseeching him that he would pray again. 'But,' says Fox, 'I could not pray in any man's will.' Still, though he could not make a prayer to order, he agreed to meet with these same professors another day. This second meeting was another 'Great Meeting.' From far and wide the professors and people gathered to see the man who had learnt to pray. But the professors did not truly seem to care to learn the secret. They went on talking and arguing together. They were 'jangling,' as Fox calls it (that is to say, using endless strings of words to talk about sacred things, without really feeling the truth of them in their hearts), jangling all together, when suddenly the door opened and a grave young officer walked in. 'Tis Captain Amor Stoddart, of Noll's Army,' the professors said one to another, as, hardly stopping for a moment at the stranger's entrance, they continued to 'jangle' among themselves. They went on, speaking of the most holy things, talking even about the blood of Christ, without any feeling of solemnity, till Fox could bear it no longer.

'As they were discoursing of it,' he says, 'I saw through the immediate opening of the invisible Spirit, the blood of Christ; and cried out among them saying, "Do you not see the blood of Christ? See it in your hearts, to sprinkle your hearts and consciences from dead works to serve the living God?" For I saw the blood of the New Covenant how it came into the heart. This startled the professors who would have the blood only without them, and not in them. But Captain Stoddart was reached, and said, "Let the youth speak, hear the youth speak," when he saw that they endeavoured to bear me down with many words.'

'Captain Stoddart was reached.' He, the soldier, accustomed to the terrible realities of a battlefield, knew the sight of blood for himself only too well. George Fox's words may seem perhaps mysterious to us now, but they came home to Amor and made him able to see something of the same vision that Fox saw. We may not be able to see that vision ourselves, but at least we can feel the difference between having the Blood of Christ, that is the Life of Christ, within our hearts, and only talking and 'jangling' about it, as the professors were doing. 'Captain Stoddart was reached.' Having been 'reached,' having seen, if only for one moment, something of what the Cross had meant to Christ, and having felt His Life within, Amor became a different man. To take the lives of his fellowmen, to shed their blood for whom that Blood had been shed, was henceforth for him impossible. He unbuckled his sword, and resigning his captaincy in Oliver's conquering army, just when victory was at hand after the stern struggle, he followed his despised Quaker teacher into obscurity.

For seven long years we hear nothing more of him. Then he appears



again at George Fox's side, no longer Captain Stoddart the Officer, but plain Amor Stoddart, a comrade and helper of the first Publishers of Truth.

In the year 1655, Fox's Journal records: 'On the sixth day I had a large meeting near Colchester³⁶ to which many professors and the Independent teachers came. After I had done speaking and was stepped down from the place on which I stood, one of the Independent teachers began to make a "jangling" [it seems they still went on jangling, even after seven long years!], which Amor Stoddart perceiving said, "Stand up again, George!" for I was going away and did not at the first hear them.'

If Amor Stoddart had unbuckled his sword, evidently he had not lost the power of grappling with difficulties, of swiftly seeing the right thing to do, and of giving his orders with soldier-like precision.

'Stand up again, George!'—a quick, military command, in the fewest possible words. George Fox was more in the habit of commanding other people than of being commanded himself; but he knew his comrade and obeyed without a word.

'I stood up again,' he says, 'when I heard the Independent [the man who had been jangling], and after a while the Lord's power came over him and all his company, who were confounded, and the Lord's truth was over all. A great flock of sheep hath the Lord in that country that feed in His pastures of life.'

Nevertheless, without Amor Stoddart the sheep would have gone away hungry, and would not have been fed at that meeting.

Again we hear of Amor a little later in the same year, still at George Fox's side, but this time not as a passive spectator, nor even merely as a resourceful comrade. He was now himself to be a sufferer for the Truth. He still lives for us through his share in a strange but wonderful scene of George Fox's life. A few months after the meeting at Colchester, the two friends visited Cambridge, and 'there,' says Fox in his Journal, 'the scholars, hearing of me, were up and were exceeding rude. I kept on my horse's back and rode through them in the Lord's power. "Oh," said they, "HE SHINES, HE GLISTERS," but they unhorsed Amor Stoddart before we could get to the inn. When we were in the inn they were so rude in the courts and the streets, so that the miners, colliers, and carters could never be ruder. And the people of the inn asked us 'what we would have for supper' as is the way of inns. "Supper," said I, "were it not that the Lord's power is over them, these rude scholars look as if they would pluck us in pieces and make a supper of us!"'

After this treatment, the two friends might have been expected to keep away from Cambridge in the future; but that was not their way. Where the fight was hottest, there these two faithful soldiers of the Cross were sure to be found. The very next year saw Fox back in Cambridgeshire once more; and again Amor Stoddart was with him, standing by his side and sharing all dangers like a valiant and faithful friend.

'I passed into Cambridgeshire,' the Journal continues, 'and into the fen country, where I had many meetings, and the Lord's truth

36. It was on this visit to Colchester that George Fox had his farewell interview with James Parnell, imprisoned in the Castle.



spread. Robert Craven, who had been Sheriff of Lincoln, was with me [it would be interesting to know more about Robert Craven, and where and how he was "reached"], and Amor Stoddart and Alexander Parker. We went to Crowland, a very rude place; for the townspeople were got together at the inn we went to, and were half drunk, both priest and people. I reproved them for their drunkenness and warned them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all the wicked; exhorting them to leave their wickedness and to turn to the Lord in time. While I was thus speaking to them the priest and the clerk broke out into a rage, and got up the tongs and fire-shovel at us, so that had not the Lord's power preserved us we might have been murdered amongst them. Yet, for all their rudeness and violence, some received the truth then, and have stood in it ever since.'

George Fox was not the only man to find a faithful and staunch supporter in Amor Stoddart. There is another glimpse of him, again standing at a comrade's side in time of danger, but the comrade in this case is not Fox but 'dear William Dewsbury,' one of the best loved of all the early Friends.

Amor Stoddart was Dewsbury's companion that sore day at Bristol when the tidings came from New England overseas, that the first two Quaker Martyrs, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, had been hanged for their faith on Boston Common. Heavy at heart were the Bristol Friends at the news, and not they only, for assembled with them were some New England Friends who had been banished from their families and from their homes, under pain of the same death that the martyrs had suffered.

'We were bowed down unto our God,' Dewsbury writes, 'and prayer was made unto Him when there came a knocking at the door. It came upon my spirit that it was the rude people, and the life of God did mightily arise, and they had no power to come in until we were clear before our God. Then they came in, setting the house about with muskets and lighted matches. So after a season of this they came into the room, where I was and Amor Stoddart with me. I looked upon them when they came into the room, and they cried as fast as they could well speak, "We will be civil! We will be civil!"

'I spoke these words, "See that you be so." They ran forth out of the room and came no more into it, but ran up and down in the house with their weapons in their hands, and the Lord God caused their hearts to fail and they passed away, and not any harm done to any of us.'

Eleven years after this pass in almost complete silence, as far as Amor is concerned. Occasionally we hear the bare mention of his name among the London Friends. One short entry in Fox's Journal speaks of him as having 'buried his wife.' Then the veil lifts again and shows one more glimpse of him. It is the last. In 1670, twenty-two years after that first meeting at Mansfield, when Captain Stoddart came into the room, and said, 'Let the youth speak,' George Fox, now a man worn with his sufferings and service, came into another room to bid farewell to his old comrade as he lay a-dying. Fox himself had been brought near to death not long before, but he knew that his work was not yet



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wholly finished, he was not yet 'fully clear' in his Master's sight.

'Under great sufferings, sorrows, and oppressions I lay several weeks,' he writes in his Journal, 'whereby I was brought so low that few thought I could live. When those about me had given me up to die, I spoke to them to get me a coach to carry me to Gerard Roberts, about twelve miles off, for I found it was my place to go thither. So I went down a pair of stairs to the coach, and when I came to the coach I was like to have fallen down, I was so weak and feeble, but I got up into the coach, and some friends with me. When I came to Gerard's, after I had stayed about three weeks there, it was with me to go to Enfield. Friends were afraid of my removing, but I told them that I might safely go. When I had taken my leave of Gerard and had come to Enfield, I went first to visit Amor Stoddart, who lay very weak and almost speechless. I was moved to tell him "that he had been faithful as a man and faithful to God, and the immortal Seed of Life was his crown." Many more words I was moved to speak to him, though I was then so weak, I could scarcely stand, and within a few days after, Amor died.'

That is all. Very simply he passes out of sight, having heard his comrade's 'well done':--this valiant soldier who renounced his sword.

His name, AMOR, still holds the secret of his power, his silent patience, and of his victory, for

'OMNIA VINCIT AMOR.'



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HISTORICAL NOTES

Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

'THE VICTORY OF AMOR STODDART.'

See George Fox's JOURNAL, i. 185, 190, 261, 431; ii. 167. Sewel's HISTORY, i. 29. 'BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM,' p. 365.

4th day of 10th month: In a pamphlet entitled *THE RESURRECTION OF JOHN LILBURNE, NOW A PRISONER IN DOVER-CASTLE*, the leveller John Lilburne announced his conversion to [Quakerism](#).

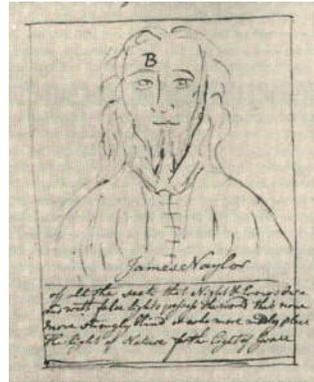


October: John ap-John, a member of the congregation of Morgan Llywd (Lloyd) the mystical Independent minister of Wrexham, had become the leader of the first Welsh [Quaker](#) group. At this point he was prosecuted by Swansea magistrates and put in prison. Converts in Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire included two Justices, Walter Jenkins of Pontypool and Peter Price of Presteign.

Friend [James Nayler](#), a close colleague of Friend [George Fox](#)'s, was arrested on a charge of extreme blasphemy at Bristol, England. Thomas Carlyle has described the incident, in which Nayler allowed some adoring female supporters to give him a Triumphal Entry into Bristol as if he were the [Second Coming](#) of Christ in the flesh: "In the month of October, 1655, there was seen a strange sight at Bristol in the West. A procession of eight persons: one a man on horseback, riding single; the others, men and women, partly riding double, partly on foot, in the muddiest highway, in the wettest weather; singing, all but the single-rider, at whose bridle splash and walk two women: 'Hosannah! Holy, holy! Lord God of Sabaoth!' ... The single-rider is a raw-boned male figure, 'with lank hair reaching below his cheeks'; hat drawn close over his brows; of abstruse 'down look' and large, dangerous jaws, strictly closed; he sings not; sits there covered, and is sung to by the others, bare. Amid pouring deluges and mud knee-deep: 'so that the rain ran in at their necks, and they vented it at their hose and breeches,' a spectacle to the west of England and posterity! Singing as above; answering no questions except in song. At the High Cross, they are laid hold of by the Authorities; turn out to be James Nayler and Company."

Although, as a Puritan entirely hostile toward Quakers and Quakerism, Major-General William Goffe would insist that Friend James be executed, his intransigent attitude would not prevail. On December 16, 1656, the Parliament would resist the ultimate penalty by a vote of 96 over 82 and, instead of being killed, Friend James would be pilloried for two hours, then whipped by the hangman through the streets from Westminster to the Old Exchange in the city, then after two days pilloried for another two hours, then have his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron and be branded in the forehead with the letter B, then in that condition be again flogged through the streets of Bristol, and then be placed in solitary confinement at hard labor during the pleasure of Parliament. Here is Nayler as an early English reader presumed he would have appeared

subsequent to the branding:



Death from his injuries and from exposure would come not long after Friend James's release in September 1659, and according to JAMES NAYLER'S ANSWER TO THE FANATICK HISTORY AS FAR AS IT RELATES TO HIM, just before giving up the ghost he would write the following immortal words: **"There is a spirit which I feel, which delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong; but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations; as it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other. If it be betrayed, it bears it; for its ground and spring is the mercy and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness; its life is everlasting love unfeigned. It takes its kingdom**



with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth, but through sufferings; for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone; being forsaken. I have fellowship therein, with those who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth; who through death obtained this resurrection, and eternal, holy life!"

Friend [George Fox](#) described the situation in his [JOURNAL](#):

[W]e came to Exeter, where many Friends were in prison; and amongst the rest James Nayler. For a little before we were set at liberty, James had run out into imaginations, and a company with him, who raised a great darkness in the nation. He came to Bristol, and made a disturbance there. From thence he was coming to Launceston to see me; but was stopped by the way, and imprisoned at Exeter; as were several others, one of whom, an honest, tender man, died in prison there. His blood lieth on the heads of his persecutors.

The night that we came to Exeter I spoke with James Nayler: for I saw he was out, and wrong, and so was his company. The next day, being First-day, we went to visit the prisoners, and had a meeting with them in the prison; but James Nayler, and some of them, could not stay the meeting. There came a corporal of horse into the meeting, who was convinced, and remained a very good Friend.

The next day I spoke to James Nayler again; and he slighted what I said, was dark, and much out; yet he would have come and kissed me. But I said that since he had turned against the power of God, I could not receive his show of kindness. The Lord moved me to slight him, and to set the power of God over him. So after I had been warring with the world, there was now a wicked spirit risen amongst Friends to war against. I admonished him and his company.

When he was come to London, his resisting the power of God in me, and the Truth that was declared to him by me, became one of his greatest burdens. But he came to see his out-going, and to condemn it; and after some time he returned to Truth again; as in the printed relation of his repentance, condemnation, and recovery may be more fully seen.

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1656

A map of Paumanok Long Island (*Lange Eylandt*, or *Matouwacs*) was prepared by Nicholaes Visscher. We can see new Dutch and English settlements such as “S. Holt” on the North Fork (Southold) and “Garner’s Eylant,” the island owned by Englishman Lion Gardiner. Long Island is recognized as one land mass rather than a series of islands divided by channels as on the Blaeu map of 1635. The Hempstead Plains are labeled as *Gebroken Landt*, broken land:



Friend Richard Smith of Southampton, Long Island and other [Quakers](#) who were visiting Boston got locked up by the Puritans pending their deportation to England.



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William Marston, Sr. needed to pay a fine of £10 to the county court after being discovered to be in possession of “two [Quaker](#) books and a paper of the Quakers.”



During this year and the following year, because of the penalties being exacted at American ports, commercial shippers would begin refusing to carry passengers to the New World. [Friend George Fox](#) and his leadership, having volunteers in London ready to sail, realized that they would need to provide their own ship. Hearing that Friend Robert Fowler was building a boat in Bridlington on the North Sea, they approached him. He had intended this small boat, the *Woodhouse*, for use along the coastline, but was persuaded to make it available to Friends for a deep-sea voyage.

A
Quaker's Sea-Journal
Being a True
RELATION
of a Voyage to
NEW ENGLAND
Performed by Robert Fowler of the Town of
Burlington in Yorkshire in the
Year 1658

London Printed for Francis Coffenet at
the Anchor & Mariner in
Tower-Street Anno 1659

During this year and the next Friend [George Fox](#) would be planting the seed in Wales, and one of the [Quaker](#) idioms which evidently he created during this period was the idiom “that of God in everyone”: Friend

In the power of life and wisdom, and dread of the Lord God of life, and heaven, and earth, dwell, that in the wisdom of God, over all ye may be preserved, and be a terror to all the adversaries of God, and a dread, answering that of God in them all, spreading the Truth abroad, awakening the witness, confounding deceit, gathering up out of transgression into the life, the covenant of light and peace with God. Let all nations hear the word by sound or writing. Spare no place, spare not tongue nor pen; but be obedient to the Lord God and go through the work (sic) and be valiant for the Truth upon earth; tread and trample all that is contrary under... Keep in the wisdom of God that spreads over all the earth, the wisdom of the creation, that is pure. Live in it; that is the word of the Lord God to you all, do not abuse it; and keep down and low; and take heed of false joys that will change. Bring all into the worship of God. Plough up the fallow ground... And noe are ploughed up but he who comes to the principle of God in him which he hath transgressed. Then he doth service to God; then the planting and the watering and the increase from God cometh. So the ministers of the Spirit must minister to the spirit that is transgressed and in prison, which hath been in captivity in every one; whereby with the same spirit people must be led out of captivity up to God, the Father of spirits, and do service to him and have unity with him, with the Scriptures and one with another. And this is the word of the Lord God to you all, and a charge to you all in the presence of the living God, be patterns, be examples in all countries, places, islands, nations, wherever you come; that your carriage and life may preach among all sorts of people, and to them. Then you will come to walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in every one; whereby in them ye may be a blessing, and make a witness of God in them to bless you. Then to the Lord God you will be a sweet savour and a blessing. Spare no deceit. Lay the sword upon it; go over it; keep yourselves clear of the blood of all men, either by word, or writing, or speaking. And keep yourselves clean,...that nothing may rule nor reign but power and life itself, and that in the wisdom of God ye may be preserved in it.

FOX'S JOURNAL:



[George Fox](#)'s epistle entitled “Men In the Fall Are in Wars and Strife”:

Dear Friends, - My love is to you all in the everlasting seed of God, that never changes nor falls, nor gives itself to that which doth change, which is not of this world, but is over it,



and was before the world was; in which is the steadfastness, and stayedness, and life eternal. Which reigns over all the airy spirits, (and that which doth change,) and remains, and is as the winter fruit, and stands when all the untimely figs are gone. Mark, and the seed is not as the corn that grows upon the housetop, that withers; for the leaves that this seed brings forth, never fade nor fall; for the leaves thereof heal the nations which are wounded. The second Adam goes over Adam in the fall, and his quarrelling sons and daughters, who war one with another with their carnal weapons, who remain in their carnal worships, carnal fellowships, carnal teachings. But who are in the noble and royal seed, are all in peace, and in love, and in life, and in unity, and are in the spiritual worship, and spiritual fellowship, and spiritual teaching, being in the seed, Christ, that never fell, nor never will fall, nor never changed nor never will change. In this seed, Christ, is peace and rest, out of all troubles, out of all whimsies, foolish dreams, imaginations, fancies, false visions, false revelations. For the seed, in which the blessing is, is felt, and the life, and the light, and the righteousness, and the truth, that answers the witness of God in all men and women whether they will hear or forbear. And so, all that are in the fall, both men and women, and there remaining in the fall, they never are in rest nor peace, but are in travails, wars, strife, fightings; the lusts being the grounds of all this. And whimsies and imaginations, fancies, false visions, false dreams, arrogancy, pride, ambition, swellings, puffed-upness, that brings shame and covers them with shame; which they possess that are in the fall, our of Christ, the second Adam that never fell, the quickener, who awakens old Adam's children in the fall out of their sleep of sin, and brings them out of his ways up unto himself, the way, Christ that never fell nor changed, and out of and from his teachers, priests, and shepherd, etc., that change and fall, to the priest, shepherd, and prophet, that never fell nor ever changed, nor will ever fall or change, nor leave the flock in the cold weather, nor in the winter, nor storms, nor tempests; nor doth the voice of the wolf frighten him from his flock. For the light, the power, the truth, the righteousness, did it ever leave you in any weather, or in any storms or tempests? And so his sheep know his voice and follow him, who gives them life eternal abundantly; who saith to all that are dead in Adam, "I am come," mark, I am come, "that ye (dead in Adam) might have life." Christ, the second Adam is come, that the dead in the first Adam might have life, and might be quickened, and might be awakened to righteousness, who are asleep in unrighteousness. And so he doth invite all Adams's posterity to come to him, that all through him might believe, and come to light, and come to life, and come up into peace and rest; for in the second Adam ye have peace, ye have rest. So they have no peace nor rest in the old Adam in the fall, but in the second Adam, Christ, that never fell, are the rest, and the peace, and the life. But in Adam in the fall is neither rest, nor peace, nor life; but darkness, and trouble and sorrow, and burdenings, and changings.



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And this Adam's sons and daughters in the fall do inherit and possess in the world. Therefore all come out of Adam in the fall, and haste to him that never fell, nor ever changed; in whom ye have all both rest, and peace, and life, that was with the Father before the world began. And so, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, that never fell, keep your meetings, ye who are gathered in his name; and then ye will see over all the gatherings of old Adam's sons and daughters, that are in the fall and out of his name. But ye being gathered into his name, that never fell, Christ Jesus, feel the seed of God set over all that that makes to suffer; which was before that was, and will stand and remain when that is all gone. So farewell.

G.F.

His epistle entitled “Live In Peace, All My Dear Babes of God” dates to this year:



Live in peace, all my dear babes of God, one with another, for patience obtains the crown, and hath the victory. And in pureness live over the deceit, and answer the witness of the Lord God in every one. And keep in the seed and life of the Lord God, that ye may feel the blessing of the Lord God amongst you and upon you. And that which doth let you see your sins, in that stand, and ye will see your saviour, who was before the world was, him by whom the world was made, "glorified with the father before the world began;" he will be your rest and stay. Dear friends, dwell in the seed of God, and know it in you all, that ye may know it to reign, which is the heir of power; and in that live and dwell, and in it keep your meetings. And we must have the patience to bear all manner of evil done or spoken against us for Christ's sake, and rejoice at it.

G.F.

February 8: [John Smith](#) and [Friend](#) Deborah Howland Smith of Plymouth had a son they named Hezekiah Smith.

[Friend John Smith](#) of Plymouth was fined for holding [Quaker](#) worship at his home, and for “entertaining” foreign Quakers.



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April: Two of Friend [George Fox](#)'s "Valiant Sixty," Thomas and Elizabeth Holme, together with Alice Birkett, succeeded in establishing ten or eleven centres of [Quaker](#) meetings around Cardiff and began to extend this progress into Pembrokeshire around Tenby, Pembroke and Haverfordwest.

Being released from our imprisonment, we got horses, rode towards Humphrey Lower's, and met him upon the road. He told us he was much troubled in his mind concerning us, and could not rest at home, but was going to Colonel Bennet to seek our liberty. When we told him we were set at liberty, and were going to his house, he was exceeding glad. To his house we went, and had a fine, precious meeting; many were convinced, and turned by the Spirit of the Lord to the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching.

** Soon after we came to Exeter, where many Friends were in prison; and amongst the rest James Nayler. For a little before we were set at liberty, James had run out into imaginations, and a company with him, who raised a great darkness in the nation. He came to Bristol, and made a disturbance there. [Thomas Carlyle has described the incident, in which Friend James Nayler allowed some persons to give him a Triumphal Entry into Bristol as if he were Christ returning in the flesh, in the following manner: "In the month of October, 1655, there was seen a strange sight at Bristol in the West. A procession of eight persons: one a man on horseback, riding single; the others, men and women, partly riding double, partly on foot, in the muddiest highway, in the wettest weather; singing, all but the single-rider, at whose bridle splash and walk two women: 'Hosannah! Holy, holy! Lord God of Sabaoth!' ... The single-rider is a raw-boned male figure, 'with lank hair reaching below his cheeks'; hat drawn close over his brows; of abstruse 'down look' and large, dangerous jaws, strictly closed; he sings not; sits there covered, and is sung to by the others, bare. Amid pouring deluges and mud knee-deep: 'so that the rain ran in at their necks, and they vented it at their hose and breeches,' a spectacle to the west of England and posterity! Singing as above; answering no questions except in song. At the High Cross, they are laid hold of by the Authorities; turn out to be James Nayler and Company." On December 16th, 1656, the Parliament missed assigning the death penalty by a vote of 96 over 82. He was sentenced instead to be pilloried for two hours, then to be whipped by the hangman through the streets from Westminster to the Old Exchange in the city, then after two days to be pilloried for another two hours, then to have his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron and to be branded in the forehead with the letter B, then in that condition to be again flogged through the streets of Bristol, and then to be placed in solitary confinement at hard labor during the pleasure of Parliament.] From thence he was coming to Launceston to see me; but was stopped by the way, and imprisoned at Exeter; as were several others, one of whom, an honest, tender man, died in prison there. His blood lieth on the heads of his persecutors.*

The night that we came to Exeter I spoke with James Nayler: for I saw he was out, and wrong, and so was his company. The next day, being First-day, we went to visit the prisoners, and had a meeting with them in the prison; but James Nayler, and some of them, could not stay the meeting. There came a corporal of horse into the meeting, who was convinced, and remained a very good Friend.

FOX'S JOURNAL:

The next day I spoke to James Nayler again; and he slighted what I said, was dark, and much out; yet he would have come and kissed me. But I said that since he had turned against the power of God, I could not receive his show of kindness. The Lord moved me to slight him, and to set the power of God over him. So after I had been warring with the world, there was now a wicked spirit risen amongst Friends to war against. I admonished him and his company.

When he was come to London, his resisting the power of God in me, and the Truth that was declared to him by me, became one of his greatest burdens. But he came to see his out-going, and to condemn it; and after some time he returned to Truth again; as in the printed relation of his repentance, condemnation, and recovery may be more fully seen. [Death from his injuries and from exposure came not long after his release, and according to JAMES NAYLER'S ANSWER TO THE FANATICK HISTORY AS FAR AS IT RELATES TO HIM, just before giving up the ghost he wrote these immortal words: **"There is a spirit which I feel, which delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong; but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations; as it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other. If it be betrayed, it bears it; for its ground and spring is the mercy and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness; its life is everlasting love unfeigned. It takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth, but through sufferings; for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone; being forsaken. I have fellowship therein, with those who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth; who through death obtained this resurrection, and eternal, holy life!"**]

On First-day morning I went to the meeting in Broadmead at Bristol, which was large and quiet. Notice was given of a meeting to be in the afternoon in the orchard.

There was at Bristol a rude Baptist, named Paul Gwin, who had before made great disturbance in our meetings, being encouraged and set on by the mayor, who, it was reported, would sometimes give him his dinner to encourage him. Such multitudes of rude people he gathered after him, that it was thought there had been sometimes ten thousand people at our meeting in the orchard. As I was going into the orchard, the people told me that Paul Gwin was going to the meeting. I bade them never heed, for it was nothing to me who went to it.

When I was come into the orchard, I stood upon the stone that Friends used to stand on when they spoke; and I was moved of the Lord to put off my hat, and to stand a while, and let the people look at me; for some thousands of people were there. While I thus stood silent, this rude Baptist began to find fault with my hair; but I said nothing to him. Then he ran on into words; and at last, "Ye wise men of Bristol," said he, "I marvel at you, that you will stand here, and hear a man speak and affirm that which he cannot make good."



Then the Lord opened my mouth (for as yet I had not spoken a word), and I asked the people whether they had ever heard me speak, or had ever seen me before; and I bade them take notice what kind of man this was amongst them that should so impudently say that I spoke and affirmed that which I could not make good; and yet neither he nor they had ever heard me or seen me before. Therefore that was a lying, envious, malicious spirit that spoke in him; and it was of the devil, and not of God. I charged him in the dread and power of the Lord to be silent: and the mighty power of God came over him, and all his company.

Then a glorious, peaceable meeting we had, and the Word of life was divided amongst them; and they were turned from darkness to the Light, – to Jesus their Saviour. The Scriptures were largely opened to them; and the traditions, rudiments, ways, and doctrines of men were laid open before the people; and they were turned to the Light of Christ, that with it they might see these things, and see Him to lead them out of them.

I opened also to them the types, figures, and shadows of Christ in the time of the law; and showed them that Christ was come, and had ended the types, shadows, tithes, and oaths, and put down swearing; and had set up yea and nay instead of it, and a free ministry. For He was now come to teach the people Himself, and His heavenly day was springing from on high.

For many hours did I declare the Word of life amongst them in the eternal power of God, that by Him they might come up into the beginning, and be reconciled to Him. And having turned them to the Spirit of God in themselves, that would lead into all Truth, I was moved to pray in the mighty power of God; and the Lord's power came over all. When I had done, this fellow began to babble again; and John Audland was moved to bid him repent, and fear God. So his own people and followers being ashamed of him, he passed away, and never came again to disturb the meeting. The meeting broke up quietly, and the Lord's power and glory shone over all: a blessed day it was, and the Lord had the praise. After a while this Paul Gwin went beyond the seas; and many years after I met him in Barbadoes.

Soon after we rode to London. When we came near Hyde Park we saw a great concourse of people, and, looking towards them, espied the Protector coming in his coach. Whereupon I rode to his coach side. Some of his life-guard would have put me away; but he forbade them. So I rode by his coach side with him, declaring what the Lord gave me to say to him, of his condition, and of the sufferings of Friends in the nation, showing him how contrary this persecution was to the words of Christ and His apostles, and to Christianity.

When we were come to James's Park Gate, I left him; and at parting he desired me to come to his house. The next day one of his wife's maids, whose name was Mary Sanders, came to me at my lodging, and told me that her master came to her, and said he would tell her some good news. When she asked him what it was, he told her, "George Fox is come to town." She replied "That is good news indeed" (for she had received Truth), but she said she could hardly believe him till he told her how I met him, and rode from Hyde Park to James's Park with him.



After a little time Edward Pyot and I went to Whitehall to see Oliver Cromwell; and when we came before him, Dr. Owen, vice-chancellor of Oxford, was with him. We were moved to speak to him concerning the sufferings of Friends, and laid them before him: and we directed him to the Light of Christ, who had enlightened every man that cometh into the world. He said it was a natural light; but we showed him the contrary; and proved that it was divine and spiritual, proceeding from Christ the spiritual and heavenly man; and that that which was called the life in Christ the Word, was called the Light in us.

The power of the Lord God arose in me, and I was moved in it to bid him lay down his crown at the feet of Jesus. Several times I spoke to him to the same effect. I was standing by the table, and he came and sat upon the table's side by me, saying he would be as high as I was. So he continued speaking against the Light of Christ Jesus; and went his way in a light manner. But the Lord's power came over him so that when he came to his wife and other company, he said, "I never parted so from them before"; for he was judged in himself.

After this I travelled into Yorkshire, and returned out of Holderness, over Humber, visiting Friends; and then returning into Leicestershire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire, among Friends, I had a meeting at Edge-Hill. There came to it Ranters, Baptists, and several sorts of rude people; for I had sent word about three weeks before to have a meeting there, so that hundreds of people were gathered thither, and many Friends came to it from afar. The Lord's everlasting Truth and Word of life reached over all; the rude and unruly spirits were chained down; and many that day were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, by His power and Spirit, and came to sit under His blessed, free teaching, and to be fed with His eternal, heavenly food. All was peaceable; the people passed quietly away, and some of them said it was a mighty, powerful meeting; for the presence of the Lord was felt, and His power and Spirit was amongst them.

Thence I passed to Warwick and to Bagley, having precious meetings; and then into Gloucestershire, and so to Oxford, where the scholars were very rude; but the Lord's power came over them. Great meetings we had as we travelled up and down.

Thus having travelled over most of the nation, I returned to London again, having cleared myself of that which lay upon me from the Lord. For after I was released out of Launceston jail, I was moved of the Lord to travel over the nation, the Truth being now spread in most places, that I might answer, and remove out of the minds of the people, some objections which the envious priests and professors had raised and spread abroad concerning us.

In this year the Lord's Truth was finely planted over the nation, and many thousands were turned to the Lord; insomuch that there were seldom fewer than one thousand in prison in this nation for Truth's testimony; some for tithes, some for going to the steeple-houses, some for contempts (as they called them), some for not swearing, and others for not putting off their hats.



Having stayed some time in London, and visited the meetings of Friends in and about the city, and cleared myself of what services the Lord had at that time laid upon me there, I left the town and travelled into Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, visiting Friends. I had great meetings, and often met with opposition from Baptists and other jangling professors; but the Lord's power went over them.

We lay one night at Farnham, where we had a little meeting. The people were exceeding rude; but at last the Lord's power came over them. After meeting we went to our inn, and gave notice that any who feared God might come to our inn to us. There came abundance of rude people, the magistrates of the town, and some professors. I declared the Truth to them; and those people that behaved themselves rudely, the magistrates put out of the room.

When they were gone, another rude company of professors came up, and some of the chief of the town. They called for faggots and drink, though we forbade them, and were as rude a people as ever I met. The Lord's power chained them, that they had not power to do us any mischief; but when they went away they left all the faggots and beer, for which they had called, in the room, for us to pay for in the morning. We showed the innkeeper what an unworthy thing it was; but he told us we must pay it; and pay it we did.

Before we left the town I wrote to the magistrates and heads of the town, and to the priest, showing them how he had taught his people, and laying before them their rude and uncivil carriage to strangers that sought their good.

Leaving that place we came to Basingstoke, a very rude town; where they had formerly very much abused Friends. There I had a meeting in the evening, which was quiet; for the Lord's power chained the unruly. At the close of the meeting I was moved to put off my hat and to pray to the Lord to open their understandings; upon which they raised a report that I put off my hat to them and bade them good night, which was never in my heart.

After the meeting, when we came to our inn, I sent for the innkeeper, as I was used to do; and he came into the room to us, and showed himself a very rude man. I admonished him to be sober, and fear the Lord; but he called for faggots and a pint of wine, and drank it off himself; then called for another, and called up half a dozen men into our chamber. Thereupon I bade him go out of the chamber, and told him he should not drink there; for we called him up to speak to him concerning his eternal good.

He was exceeding mad, rude, and drunk. When he continued his rudeness and would not be gone, I told him that the chamber was mine for the time I lodged in it; and called for the key. Then he went away in a rage. In the morning he would not be seen; but I told his wife of his unchristian carriage towards us.



We then travelled to Exeter; and at the sign of the Seven Stars, an inn at the bridge foot, had a general meeting of Friends out of Cornwall and Devonshire; to which came Humphrey Lower, Thomas Lower, and John Ellis from the Land's End; Henry Pollexfen, and Friends from Plymouth; Elizabeth Trelawny, and diverse other Friends. A blessed heavenly meeting we had, and the Lord's everlasting power came over all, in which I saw and said that the Lord's power had surrounded this nation round about as with a wall and bulwark, and His seed reached from sea to sea. Friends were established in the everlasting Seed of life, Christ Jesus, their Life, Rock, Teacher, and Shepherd.

Next morning Major Blackmore sent soldiers to apprehend me; but I was gone before they came. As I was riding up the street I saw the officers going down; so the Lord crossed them in their design, and Friends passed away peaceably and quietly. The soldiers examined some Friends after I was gone, asking them what they did there; but when they told them that they were in their inn, and had business in the city, they went away without meddling any further with them.

We passed through the countries [the counties of Wales], having meetings, and gathering people in the name of Christ, their heavenly teacher, till we came to Brecknock, where we put up our horses at an inn. There went with me Thomas Holmes and John ap-John, who was moved of the Lord to speak in the streets. I walked out but a little into the fields; and when I returned the town was in an uproar. When I came into the chamber in the inn, it was full of people, and they were speaking in Welsh. I desired them to speak in English, which they did; and much discourse we had. After a while they went away.

Towards night the magistrates gathered in the streets with a multitude of people, and they bade them shout, and gathered up the town; so that, for about two hours together, there was a noise the like of which we had not heard; and the magistrates set them on to shout again when they had given over. We thought it looked like the uproar amongst Diana's craftsmen. This tumult continued till night, and if the Lord's power had not limited them, they would likely have pulled down the house, and torn us to pieces.

At night the woman of the house would have had us go to supper in another room; but we, discerning her plot, refused. Then she would have had half a dozen men come into the room to us, under the pretence of discoursing with us. We told her, "No person shall come into our room this night, neither will we go to them." Then she said we should sup in another room; but we told her we would have no supper if we had it not in our own room. At length, when she saw she could not get us out, she brought up our supper.

So she and they were crossed in their design; for they had an intent to do us mischief, but the Lord prevented them. Next morning I wrote a paper to the town concerning their unchristian carriage, showing the fruits of their priests and magistrates; and as I passed out of town I spoke to the people, and told them they were a shame to Christianity and religion.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

After this we returned to England, and came to Shrewsbury, where we had a great meeting, and visited Friends all over the countries [counties] in their meetings, till we came to William Gandy's, in Cheshire, where we had a meeting of between two and three thousand people, as it was thought; and the everlasting Word of life was held forth, and received that day. A blessed meeting it was, for Friends were settled by the power of God upon Christ Jesus, the Rock and Foundation.

At this time there was a great drought; and after this general meeting was ended, there fell so great a rain that Friends said they thought we could not travel, the waters would be so risen. But I believed the rain had not extended as far as they had come that day to the meeting. Next day, in the afternoon, when we turned back into some parts of Wales again, the roads were dusty, and no rain had fallen there.

When Oliver Cromwell sent forth a proclamation for a fast throughout the nation, for rain, when there was a very great drought, it was observed that as far as Truth had spread in the north, there were pleasant showers and rain enough, while in the south, in many places, the fields were almost spoiled for want of rain. At that time I was moved to write an answer to the Protector's proclamation, wherein I told him that if he had come to own God's Truth, he should have had rain; and that the drought was a sign unto them of their barrenness, and their want of the water of life.

We passed through Montgomeryshire into Wales, and so into Radnorshire, where there was a meeting like a leaguer [like a besieging army], for multitudes. I walked a little aside whilst the people were gathering: and there came to me John ap-John, a Welshman, whom I asked to go to the people; and if he had anything upon him from the Lord to them, he might speak in Welsh, and thereby gather more together. Then came Morgan Watkins to me, who was become loving to Friends, and said, "The people lie like a leaguer, and the gentry of the country are come in." I bade him go up also, and leave me; for I had a great travail upon me for the salvation of the people.

When they were well gathered, I went into the meeting, and stood upon a chair about three hours. I stood a pretty while before I began to speak. After some time I felt the power of the Lord over the whole assembly: and His everlasting life and Truth shone over all. The Scriptures were opened to them, and the objections they had in their minds answered. They were directed to the Light of Christ, the heavenly man; that by it they might see their sins, and Christ Jesus to be their Saviour, their Redeemer, their Mediator; and come to feed upon Him, the bread of life from heaven.

Many were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to His free teaching that day; and all were bowed down under the power of God; so that though the multitude was so great that many sat on horseback to hear, there was no opposition. A priest sat with his wife on horseback, heard attentively, and made no objection.

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The people parted peaceably, with great satisfaction; many of them saying they had never heard such a sermon before, nor the Scriptures so opened. For the new covenant was opened, and the old, and the nature and terms of each; and the parables were explained. The state of the Church in the apostles' days was set forth, and the apostasy since was laid open; the free teaching of Christ and the apostles was set atop of all the hireling teachers; and the Lord had the praise of all, for many were turned to Him that day.

I went thence to Leominster, where was a great meeting in a close, many hundreds of people being gathered together. There were about six congregational preachers and priests amongst the people; and Thomas Taylor, who had been a priest, but was now become a minister of Christ Jesus, was with me. I stood up and declared about three hours; and none of the priests were able to open their mouths in opposition; the Lord's power and Truth so reached and bound them.

At length one priest went off about a bow-shot from me, drew several of the people after him, and began to preach to them. So I kept our meeting, and he kept his. After awhile Thomas Taylor was moved to go and speak to him, upon which he gave over: and he, with the people he had drawn off, came to us again; and the Lord's power went over all.

From this place I travelled on in Wales, having several meetings, till I came to Tenby, where, as I rode up the street, a justice of the peace came out to me, asked me to alight, and desired that I would stay at his house, which I did. On First-day the mayor, with his wife, and several others of the chief people of the town, came in about the tenth hour, and stayed all the time of the meeting. A glorious meeting it was.

John ap-John being then with me, left the meeting, and went to the steeple-house; and the governor cast him into prison. On Second-day morning the governor sent one of his officers to the justice's to fetch me; which grieved the mayor and the justice; for they were both with me in the justice's house when the officer came. The mayor and the justice went to the governor before me; and awhile after I went with the officer. When I came in I said, "Peace be unto this house," and before the governor could examine me I asked him why he cast my friend into prison. He said, "For standing with his hat on in the church."

I said, "Had not the priest two caps on his head, a black one and a white one? Cut off the brims of the hat, and then my friend would have but one: and the brims of the hat were but to defend him from weather."

"These are frivolous things," said the governor.

"Why, then," said I, "dost thou cast my friend into prison for such frivolous things?"

He asked me whether I owned election and reprobation. "Yes," said I, "and thou art in the reprobation."

At that he was in a rage and said he would send me to prison till I proved it. I told him I would prove that quickly if he would confess Truth. I asked him whether wrath, fury, rage and persecution were not marks of reprobation; for he that was born of the flesh persecuted him that was born of the Spirit; but Christ and His disciples never persecuted nor imprisoned any.



He fairly confessed that he had too much wrath, haste and passion in him. I told him that Esau was up in him, the first birth; not Jacob, the second birth. The Lord's power so reached the man and came over him that he confessed to Truth; and the other justice came and shook me kindly by the hand.

As I was passing away I was moved to speak to the governor again; and he invited me to dinner with him, and set my friend at liberty. I went back to the other justice's house; and after some time the mayor and his wife, and the justice and his wife, and diverse other Friends of the town, went about half a mile out of town with us, to the water-side, when we went away; and there, when we parted from them, I was moved of the Lord to kneel down with them, and pray to the Lord to preserve them. So, after I had recommended them to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour and free Teacher, we passed away in the Lord's power; and He had the glory.

We travelled to Pembrokeshire, and in Pembroke had some service for the Lord. Thence we passed to Haverford West, where we had a great meeting, and all was quiet. The Lord's power came over all, and many were settled in the new covenant, Christ Jesus, and built upon Him, their Rock and Foundation; and they stand a precious meeting to this day. Next day, being their fair-day, we passed through it, and sounded the day of the Lord, and His everlasting Truth, amongst them.

After this we passed into another county, and at noon came into a great market-town, and went into several inns before we could get any meat for our horses. At last we came to one where we got some. Then John ap-John being with me, went and spoke through the town, declaring the Truth to the people; and when he came to me again, he said he thought all the town were as people asleep. After awhile he was moved to go and declare Truth in the streets again; then the town was all in an uproar, and they cast him into prison.

Presently after several of the chief people of the town came, with others, to the inn where I was, and said, "They have cast your man into prison."

"For what?" said I.

"He preached in our streets," said they.

Then I asked them, "What did he say? Had he reproved some of the drunkards and swearers, and warned them to repent, and leave off their evil doings, and turn to the Lord?" I asked them who cast him into prison. They said, the high-sheriff and justices, and the mayor. I asked their names, and whether they understood themselves; and whether that was their conduct to travellers that passed through their town, and strangers that admonished and exhorted them to fear the Lord, and reproved sin in their gates.

These went back, and told the officers what I had said; and after awhile they brought down John ap-John, guarded with halberts, in order to put him out of the town. Being at the inn door, I bade the officers take their hands off him. They said that the mayor and justices had commanded them to put him out of town. I told them I would talk with their mayor and justices concerning their uncivil and unchristian carriage towards him.



So I spoke to John to go look after the horses, and get them ready, and charged the officers not to touch him. After I had declared the Truth to them, and showed them the fruits of their priests, and their incivility and unchristian carriage, they left us. They were a kind of Independents; a very wicked town, and false. We bade the innkeeper give our horses a peck of oats; and no sooner had we turned our backs than the oats were stolen from our horses.

After we had refreshed ourselves a little, and were ready, we took horse, and rode up to the inn, where the mayor, sheriff, and justices were. I called to speak with them, and asked them why they had imprisoned John ap-John, and kept him in prison two or three hours. But they would not answer me a word; they only looked out at the windows upon me. So I showed them how unchristian was their carriage to strangers and travellers, and how it manifested the fruits of their teachers; and I declared the truth unto them, and warned them of the day of the Lord, that was coming upon all evil-doers; and the Lord's power came over them, that they looked ashamed; but not a word could I get from them in answer.

So when I had warned them to repent, and turn to the Lord, we passed away. At night we came to a little inn, very poor, but very cheap; for our own provision and that for our two horses cost but eight pence; but the horses would not eat their oats. We declared the Truth to the people of the place, and sounded the day of the Lord through the countries [counties].

Passing thence we came to a great town, and went to an inn. Edward Edwards went into the market, and declared the Truth amongst the people; and they followed him to the inn, and filled the yard, and were exceedingly rude. Yet good service we had for the Lord amongst them; for the life of Christianity and the power of it tormented their chaffy spirits, and came over them, so that some were reached and convinced; and the Lord's power came over all. The magistrates were bound; they had no power to meddle with us.

After this we came to another great town on a market-day; and John ap-John declared the everlasting Truth through the streets, and proclaimed the day of the Lord amongst them. In the evening many people gathered about the inn; and some of them, being drunk, would fain have had us come into the street again. But seeing their design, I told them that if there were any that feared God and desired to hear the Truth, they might come into our inn; or else we might have a meeting with them next morning.

Some service for the Lord we had amongst them, both over night and in the morning; and though the people were slow to receive the Truth, yet the seed was sown; and thereabouts the Lord hath a people gathered to Himself.

In that inn, also, I but turned my back to the man that was giving oats to my horse, and, looking round again, I observed he was filling his pockets with the provender. A wicked, thievish people, to rob the poor, dumb creature of his food. I would rather they had robbed me.



Thence we went to Beaumaris, a town wherein John ap-John had formerly been a preacher. After we had put up our horses at an inn, John went and spoke through the street; and there being a garrison in the town, they took him and put him into prison. The innkeeper's wife came and told me that the governor and magistrates were sending for me, to commit me to prison also. I told her that they had done more than they could answer already; and had acted contrary to Christianity in imprisoning him for reprovng sin in their streets and gates, and for declaring the Truth. Soon after came other friendly people, and told me that if I went into the street, the governor and magistrates would imprison me also; therefore they desired me to keep within the inn.

Upon this I was moved to go and walk up and down in the streets. And I told the people what an uncivil, unchristian thing they had done in casting my friend into prison. And they being high professors, I asked them if this was the entertainment they had for strangers; if they would willingly be so served themselves; and whether they, who looked upon the Scriptures to be their rule, had any example in the Scriptures from Christ or His apostles for what they had done. So after awhile they set John ap-John at liberty.

Next day, being market-day, we were to cross a great water [from Anglesey across Beaumaris Bay to the mainland]; and not far from the place where we were to take boat, many of the market-people drew to us. Amongst these we had good service for the Lord, declaring the Word of Life and everlasting Truth unto them, proclaiming amongst them the day of the Lord, which was coming upon all wickedness; and directing them to the Light of Christ, with which He, the heavenly man, had enlightened them, by which they might see all their sins, and all their false ways, religions, worships and teachers; and by the same Light might see Christ Jesus, who was come to save them, and lead them to God

After the Truth had been declared to them in the power of God, and Christ the free teacher set over all the hireling teachers, I made John ap-John get his horse into the boat, which was then ready. But there being a company of wild "gentlemen," as they were called, gotten into it (whom we found very rude, and far from gentleness), they, with others kept his horse out of the boat. I rode to the boat's side, and spoke to them, showing them what an unmanly and unchristian carriage it was; and told them that they showed an unworthy spirit, below Christianity or humanity.

As I spoke, I leaped my horse into the boat amongst them, thinking John's horse would follow when he had seen mine go in before him. But the water being pretty deep, John could not get his horse into the boat. Therefore I leaped out again on horseback into the water, and stayed with John on that side till the boat returned.

There we tarried, from the eleventh hour of the forenoon to the second in the afternoon, before the boat came to fetch us; and then had forty-two miles to ride that evening; and by the time we had paid for our passage, we had but one groat left between us in money.



We rode about sixteen miles, and then got a little hay for our horses. Setting forward again, we came in the night to a little ale-house, where we thought to have stayed and baited. But, finding we could have neither oats nor hay there, we travelled all night; and about the fifth hour in the morning got to a place within six miles of Wrexham, where that day we met with many Friends, and had a glorious meeting. The Lord's everlasting power and Truth was over all; and a meeting is continued there to this day. Next day we passed thence into Flintshire, sounding the day of the Lord through the towns; and came into Wrexham at night. Here many of Floyd's people came to us; but very rude, wild, and airy they were, and little sense of truth they had; yet some were convinced in that town. Next morning one called a lady sent for me, who kept a preacher in her house. I went, but found both her and her preacher very light and airy; too light to receive the weighty things of God. In her lightness she came and asked me if she should cut my hair; but I was moved to reprove her, and bade her cut down the corruptions in herself with the sword of the Spirit of God. So after I had admonished her to be more grave and sober, we passed away; and afterwards, in her frothy mind, she made her boast that she came behind me and cut off the curl of my hair; but she spoke falsely.

From Wrexham we came to Chester; and it being the fair time, we stayed a while, and visited Friends. For I had travelled through every county in Wales, preaching the everlasting gospel of Christ; and a brave people there is now, who have received it, and sit under Christ's teaching. But before I left Wales I wrote to the magistrates of Beaumaris concerning the imprisoning of John ap-John; letting them see their conditions, and the fruits of their Christianity, and of their teachers. Afterwards I met with some of them near London; but, oh, how ashamed they were of their action! Soon we came to Manchester, and the sessions being there that day many rude people were come out of the country. In the meeting they threw at me coals, clods, stones, and water; yet the Lord's power bore me up over them that they could not strike me down. At last, when they saw they could not prevail by throwing water, stones, and dirt at me, they went and informed the justices in the sessions, who thereupon sent officers to fetch me before them.

The officers came in while I was declaring the Word of life to the people, plucked me down, and haled me into their court. When I came there all the court was in a disorder and a noise. I asked, "Where are the magistrates that they do not keep the people civil?" Some of the justices said that they were magistrates. I asked them why, then, they did not appease the people, and keep them sober, for one cried, "I'll swear," and another cried, "I'll swear."

I declared to the justices how we were abused in our meeting by the rude people, who threw stones, clods, dirt, and water; and how I was haled out of the meeting and brought thither, contrary to the instrument of government, which said that none should be molested in their meetings that professed God, and owned the Lord Jesus Christ; which I did. The Truth so came over them that when one of the rude followers cried, "I'll swear," one of the justices checked him, saying "What will you swear? hold your tongue."



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

At last they bade the constable take me to my lodging, and there secure me till they sent for me again to-morrow morning. So the constable took me to my lodging.

As we went the people were exceedingly rude; but I let them see the fruits of their teachers, how they shamed Christianity, and dishonored the name of Jesus which they professed.

At night we went to see a justice in the town who was pretty moderate, and I had a great deal of discourse with him. Next morning we sent to the constable to know if he had anything more to say to us. He sent us word that he had nothing to say to us; we might go whither we would.

The Lord hath since raised up a people to stand for His name and Truth in that town over those chaffy professors.

We passed from Manchester, having many precious meetings in several places, till we came to Preston. Between Preston and Lancaster I had a general meeting, from which I went to Lancaster. There at our inn I met with Colonel West, who was very glad to see me, and meeting with Judge Fell he told him that I was mightily grown in the Truth; when, indeed, he was come nearer to the Truth, and so could better discern it.

We came from Lancaster to Robert Widders's. On the First-day after I had a general meeting of Friends of Westmoreland and Lancashire near Sandside, when the Lord's everlasting power was over all. In this meeting the Word of eternal life was declared, and Friends were settled upon the foundation Christ Jesus, under His free teaching; and many were convinced, and turned to the Lord.

Next day I came over the Sands to Swarthmore, where Friends were glad to see me. I stayed there two First-days, visiting Friends in their meetings thereabouts. They rejoiced with me in the goodness of the Lord, who by His eternal power had carried me through and over many difficulties and dangers in His service; to Him be the praise for ever!

FOX'S JOURNAL:

Early June: The first two English [Quakers](#) arrived in Boston harbor aboard the *Swallow* out of Barbados — Friend Mary Fisher from Yorkshire, then a single woman in her early 30s (yes, the one who then went to the Near East and was granted an audience with the Sultan; and the one who eventually settled in South Carolina with her 2nd husband), and Friend Anne Austin of London, an older woman with five children. They had been on Barbados since 1655, and had already convinced a wealthy sugar planter and his son there. They were discovered to have with them some books: “a few harmless Books, which like their Masters neither fight, strike, nor quarrel.” At first they were confined to the ship, while these books and all their papers were being burned in the marketplace by the official executioner of the Commonwealth. Then they were brought ashore to the jail and placed in a cell without writing materials. To make it utterly impossible to read or write, and to ensure that these women had no opportunity to molest the decent citizens of Boston, the windows of the jail were boarded up. They were stripped and their bodies were inspected for any signs of witchcraft. While imprisoned for these five weeks they were not permitted to have any food and a notice was posted that any

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Bostonian who attempted to have intercourse with them would be fined £5. However, there was one “aged inhabitant” of Boston, very likely the innkeeper Nicholas Upsall who later was recognized as the colony’s first convert to the [Religious Society of Friends](#) (1595?-1666), who had offered to purchase their books before they were burned, and who attempted to pay the £5 fine in order to talk to the women and bring them food, who bribed the jailer five shillings per week to be allowed to bring food and drink for them.

To understand the severity of this reaction to a woman who would have the indecency to speak in public, perhaps we ought to take into consideration an anti-Quaker painting made by Egbert van Heemskerk (1645-1704), called “Woman Preaching on a Tub.” You will note that this speaker is appropriately attired in a witch’s hat:





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August 17: According to the Concord Town Record, “John Haward & Rebake Atkison were married 17th agust. 1656.” A fuller record³⁷ is that on this day, John Heywood of Concord got married with Rebecca Atkinson, daughter of Thomas Atkinson, who would bear for him a daughter Rebecca Heywood born on September 9, 1657 who would die as an infant; another daughter again named Rebecca Heywood, who was born on May 13, 1660; a son John Heywood, who was born on April 5, 1662; and a son Benoni Heywood, who was born on July 31, 1665 but would die in few days. Rebecca Atkinson Heywood would die on August 5, 1665 and before the end of the year John Heywood would remarry, with Sarah Symonds, who would bear for him several more daughters and a son William Heywood, who would be born during 1674. John Heywood would become a freeman during 1670 and would die on January 11, 1707. (We may well note that this fuller record rather elides not only the fact that John Heywood’s remarriage to a second wife occurred immediately subsequent to the death of the previous wife, but also that the second wife at the time of her marriage already was nursing a 3-month infant daughter, named after her. —What ends well was begun well, but there’s a story to be told here that for damn sure nobody’s ever going to let us know about!) This was presumably one of the three marriages listed in 1835 by Dr. Lemuel Shattuck in a Concord Demographics chart:

	Marriages	Births	Deaths
1656	3	11	—
1657	3	11	3
1658	3	6	3
1659	2	10	4
1660	6	11	3
1661	2	12	6
1662	4	14	4
1663	5	14	4
1664	4	11	2
1665	7	13	6
1666	2	22	6
1667	8	15	6

37.  James Savage. A GENEALOGICAL DICTIONARY OF THE FIRST SETTLERS OF NEW ENGLAND, SHOWING THREE GENERATIONS OF THOSE WHO CAME BEFORE MAY, 1692, ON THE BASIS OF FARMER’S REGISTER. WITH TWO SUPPLEMENTS IN FOUR VOLUMES. Boston, 1860-1862

[WARNING: Although the files of genealogy in the Kouroo database began with the text of James Savage, it has proven to be necessary to extensively modify and supplement these records — and they no longer can be relied upon to read exactly as found in the abbreviated notations of Savage’s 1860-1862 volumes. For the original text, please consult the Internet version of the Savage files.]



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Marriages Births Deaths

	Marriages	Births	Deaths
1668	4	21	5
1669	4	24	5
1670	2	21	2
1671	6	22	7
1672	5	20	3
1673	6	29	6
1674	3	20	5
1675	5	21	11
1676	4	13	13
1677	11	22	6



October: War with Spain (until 1659).

A letter from [George Fox](#) in Launceston Jail:

*To Friends in the Ministry,
Friends,
Dwell in the power of life and wisdom, and dread of the Lord of life,
and of heaven and earth, that you may be preserved in the wisdom of God
over all, and be a terror and a dread to all the adversaries of God,
answering that of God in them all, spreading the truth abroad, awakening
the witness, confounding the deceit, gathering up out of transgression
into the life, into the covenant of light and peace with God. Let all
nations heard the sound by word or by writing. Spare no place, spare no
tongue, nor pen; but be obedient to the Lord God. Go through the work,
and be valiant for the truth upon earth; tread and trample down all that
is contrary. You have the power, do not abuse it. You have the strength,
presence, and wisdom of the Lord. Eye it, that with it you may all be
ordered to the glory of the Lord God. Keep in the dominion, keep in the
power over deceit. tread over deceit in that which lets you see to the
world's end and to the utmost parts of the earth, Reign and rule with
Christ, whose scepter and throne in now set up, whose dominion is over
all the ends of the earth. His dominion is an everlasting dominion,
his throne an everlasting throne, his kingdom an everlasting kingdom,
his power above all powers. Therefore this is the word of the Lord God
to you all: Keep in the wisdom of God, which spreads over all the earth
and is pure from above, this wisdom of the creation, which is not
destructive. For now shall salvation go out of Zion to judge the Mount
of Esau, Now shall the Law go forth from Jerusalem to answer
the principle of God in all, to hew down all inventions and inventions.
For all the princes of the earth are but as air to the power of the Lord
God, which you are in, and have tasted of. Therefore live in it and do
not abuse it. That is the word of the Lord God to you all. Keep down the
low and take heed of false joys that will change.
Bring all into the worship of God: plow up the fallow ground, thresh and
get out the corn, that all people may come to the Beginning, to Christ,
who was before the world was made, For the chaff has come upon the wheat
by transgression. He who treads out the chaff is out of transgression
and fathoms transgression. He sees the difference between the precious
and the vile and can pick out the wheat from the tares and gather it
into the garner, Thus he brings the immortal soul to God, from whom
it came, No one worships God but he who comes to the principle of God,
which he had transgressed; no one is plowed up but he who comes to the
principle of God in him, that he has transgressed. Then he does service
to God, then the planting and the watering take place, and the increase
comes from God. So the ministers of the spirit must minister
to the spirit that has been in captivity in every one, so that with
the spirit of Christ people may be led out of captivity up to God,
the Father of Spirits, and do service to him, and have unity with him,
with the Scriptures, and with one another. This is the word of Lord God
to you all, and a charge to you all in the presence of the living God:*



Be patterns, be examples in all countries, places, islands, nations, wherever you go, so that your carriage and life may preach among all sorts of people, and to them. Then you will come to walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in every one. thereby you can be a blessing in them and make the witness of God in them bless you. Then you will be a sweet savor and a blessing to the Lord God.

Spare no deceit; lay the sword upon it; go over it. Keep yourselves clear of the blood of all men, either by word or writing or speaking. Keep yourselves clean, so that you can abide in your throne, and everyone have his lot, and abide in that lot in the Ancient of Days. And so the blessing of the Lord be with you and keep you over all idolatrous worships and worshippers. Let them know the living God. for teachings, churches, and worships that have been set up by man's earthly understanding, knowledge, and will must be thrown down with the power of the Lord God. For all this must be thrown down with that power that gave forth Scripture. Whoever is in that power reigns over it all. This is the word of the Lord God to you all: God is worshipped in that which declares his will and brings the ground and pillar of truth to the Church in God. For now the mighty day of the Lord has appeared, and the arrows of the Almighty, which shall stick in the hearts of the wicked, have gone forth. Now will I arise, says the Lord God Almighty, to trample and thunder down deceit, which has long reigned and stained the earth. Now will I have my glory out of every one. The Lord God Almighty who is over all in his strength and power keep you to his glory, that you may come to answer that of God in everyone one in the world. Proclaim the mighty day of fire and sword, when the Lord will be worshipped in spirit and in truth. Keep in the life and power of the Lord God so that the inhabitants of the earth may tremble before you, that the Lord God's power and majesty may be admired among the hypocrites and heathen, and that in his wisdom, dread, life terror, and dominion you may be preserved to his glory, and that nothing may rule or reign but power and life itself, and that you may be preserved in the wisdom of God. This is the word of the Lord God to you all: The call is to come out of transgression now. The spirit bids, come! The call is away from all false worships and Gods and from all inventions and dead words to serve the living God now. the call is to repentance and to the amendment of life, whereby righteousness may be brought forth to go throughout the earth. Therefore you who are chosen and faithful, who are with the Lamb, go about your work faithfully, and in the strength and power of the Lord. Be obedient to the power, for that will save you out of the hands of unreasonable men and preserve you over the world to himself, Hereby you can live in the kingdom that stand in power and has no end, where there is glory and life.

George Fox

Launceston Jail

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

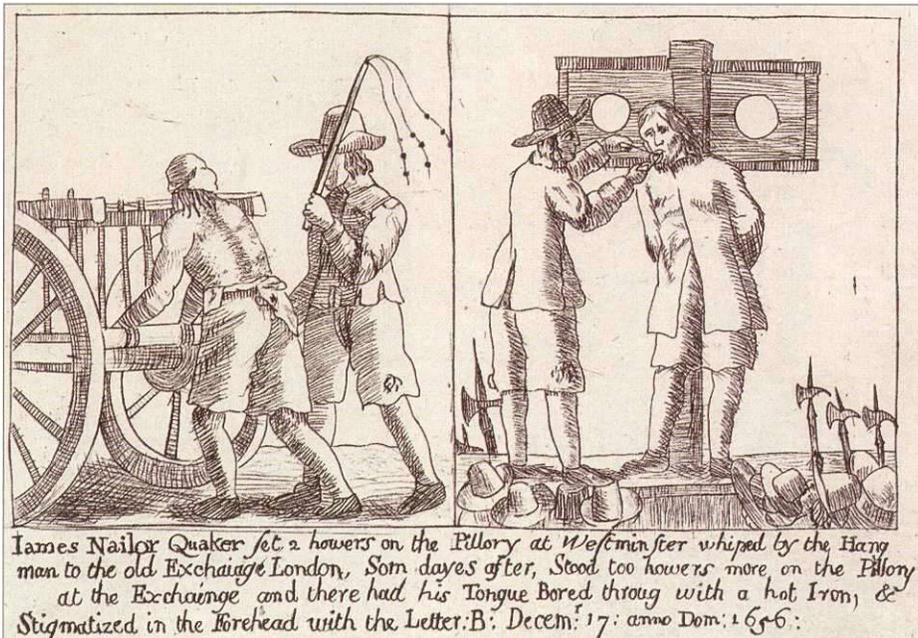
October 14: The Massachusetts General Court declared that any shipmaster who brought a Friend into the colony was to forfeit 100 pounds. And as for the [Quakers](#), male or female adult or child they were to be “committed to the house of correction, and, at their entrance, be severely whipped ...[and] kept constantly at work.” And as to the inhabitants of the Commonwealth, they were forbidden to “converse or speak with them.” This proclamation was read in the streets “with beat of drum,” and in particular it was read outside the Red Lyon Inn at the northwest corner of North Street and Richmond Street in Boston, where Nicholas Upsall did business.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

End of October: After 11 weeks of close confinement at Boston, the eight [Quakers](#) were returned to the custody of the captain of the *Speedwell* and he was required to carry them back to England. During the incarceration [Samuell Gorton](#) had exchanged letters with Friend Christopher Holder to suggest that they could give the slip to their jailer (which they were of course reluctant to do) or, if they could get word of their sailing date to him, he could meet their ship at sea and take them to [Rhode Island](#) where they would find refuge among his Gortonist cult followers at [Warwick](#). These Quaker ministers were aware, however, that the ship’s master had posted a £500 bond to guarantee their secure return to London — and perhaps also they were wary of becoming entangled with these people after such a recruitment.

To ensure that Friend Richard Smith had no opportunity to spread his heresies by land, when the Puritans sent him back to his home in Southampton on Long Island they ensured that the journey would be entirely by boat.

December 17: [Friend James Nayler](#) received his punishment for blasphemy.



1657

Friend John Perrot went to the [Italian](#) peninsula to convert [Catholics](#) to [Quakerism](#). Eventually he would seek an audience with the Pope in the Vatican in [Rome](#) and be imprisoned.

In this year [Friend George Fox](#) is said to have written in reproach to an aged and failing [Oliver Cromwell](#): “O Oliver, hadst thou been faithful and thundered down the deceit, the Hollander had been thy subject and tributary, Germany had given up to have done thy will, and the Spaniard had quivered like a dry leaf wanting the virtue of God, the King of France should have bowed his neck under thee, the Pope should have withered as in winter, the Turk in all of his fatness should have smoked, thou shouldst not have stood trifling about small things, but minded the work of the Lord as He began with thee at first.”



Some Quakers have taken this to mean that Friend George was rebuking Cromwell for not having had English soldiers adorn their armor with the big red cross of the Crusader, and gone off on a 5th Crusade against Islam, and have offered this as a limitation on the early understanding of [the Quaker Peace Testimony](#): that the testimony was at this early point entirely compatible with the use of war as an instrument of the monarch. My own contention would be, however, that when Friend George wrote “O Oliver, hadst thou been faithful and thundered down the deceit,” he was writing a phrase that is to us at the very least indefinite, or ambiguous. Precisely what would it be for a person to be faithful as Friend George proposed? Being faithful does not, of course, intrinsically, involve armies and shedding the blood of others, for one can on occasion be faithful even when one has no army at one’s disposal and even when one is refusing to shed the blood of others. Exactly what is it for a person to thunder down deceit as Friend George proposed? Thundering down deceit does not, of course, intrinsically, involve the use of cannon and gunpowder, for one can on occasion thunder down deceit, even if one is out of gunpowder and all one’s cannon have become Quaker cannon, fallen entirely silent. So if one is going to insist that when Friend George told the Lord Protector that “the Turk in all of his fatness should have smoked” what he meant was that that Cromwell should have sent the English army off on a 5th Crusade to kill so many of them that the ones still alive would fear the Lord Protector and do his will,³⁸ one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, “the Hollander had been thy subject and tributary” would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Hollanders that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will, and one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, “Germany had given up to have done thy will” would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Germans that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will, and one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, “the Spaniard had quivered like a dry leaf wanting the virtue of God” would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Spaniards that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will, and one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, “the King of France should have bowed his neck under thee” would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Frenchmen that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will, and

38. Note that Friend Mary Fisher’s missionary voyage to the court of the Great Turk was at this point an entirely unknown and unimagined, because future, event.

one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, “the Pope should have withered as in winter” would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Roman Catholics that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will. What a spasm of 17th-Century conquest and bloodshed and terror this Quaker of today seems to suppose Friend George to have been imagining! But this is preposterous. Friend George certainly was not suggesting to Lord Protector Cromwell that he should have played Alexander the Great and conquered the known world. Had he meant that he would have said that. Where might any Quaker scholar have acquired such a conceit? And why would a Quaker now be furthering such a conceit?

Please notice once and for all that the phrase “O Oliver, hadst thou been faithful and thundered down the deceit” is consistent also with an attitude that if Lord Protector Cromwell had studied to make himself a man of the spirit of God rather than a man of violence, he would have had a greater and more lasting influence upon his fellows, rather than experiencing, as he was, in his declining years, that for all the blood he had caused to be shed his life had produced no lasting benefit.



John Washington jumped ship in Virginia, and purchased land. The first [Quakers](#) appeared in Virginia. Some of them, such as Friend Robert Pleasants at Curles, Virginia, would come to own plantations and considerable numbers of [slaves](#) — until they became convinced that they needed to disentangle themselves from this as a “seed of war.”

At some point during this or the following year, Lieutenant [John Ellis, Sr.](#), an officer of the Sandwich militia (!), appeared before the Plymouth court on a charge of “tumultuous carriage.” Whatever incident this had been, it had involved other men, who were also [Quakers](#).



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Early in the year: [Mary Dyer](#) and Ann Burden arrived in Boston by ship from England, Mary as a former Bostonian relocated to [Rhode Island](#) who was returning after a trip to England (begun in 1650), and Ann as a Boston widow who was returning home to settle her dead husband's estate. However, it was learned that while in England the two women had been converted to Quakerism.³⁹ Unexpectedly, instead of a warm homecoming, they were carted off to jail. This would be the year in which:

“Christopher Holder and John Copeland, Quakers, were whipped through town with knotted cords, with all the strength the hangman could command. The prisoners were gagged with a stick in the mouth, to prevent their outcries.”

What had happened with Friend Christopher Holder was that he had caused a disruption by attempting to speak in church in Salem after the Sunday sermon (it was during this year, incidentally, that [Quaker](#) meetings for worship were beginning locally). A guard there had brought him to the floor and stuffed his glove and handkerchief into Holder's mouth. When a member of the Puritan congregation, [Samuel Shattuck](#), got the glove and handkerchief out of Holder's mouth, and resuscitated him, Shattuck was taken to the Boston lockup and had to pay a 20-shilling fine to get released. (Shattuck would become a Quaker and be exiled.) Holder was given 30 lashes and then had to spend the next three days and nights in jail without any food or bedding. All told, he and two other Quaker ministers would be held in this jail for the next three and a half months.

During this year Friend [George Fox](#) would be sending out a number of epistles, including one entitled “To Friends, To Dwell in that which Keeps Peace”:



*Number CXXXVI, Volume VII, page 132. Dear Friends, - Dwell in that which keeps your peace, and comprehends the deceit, and answers that of God in everyone. And let Friends keep their meetings, and never hearken to tales, nor things without; but keep their peace, and know the life and power, union and fellowship, which stands in God, in and with which ye may stand over the world in the one power, life, and wisdom, and therein be kept to the glory of the Lord God. So, in that which is pure, the Lord God Almighty preserve you!
G.F.*

His epistle entitled “To The Prisoners” dates to this year:



Number CXXXVIII, Volume VII, page 133. Friends, - Ye that are the prisoners of the Lord Jesus Christ in outward bonds, who witness him by whom the world was made, who is the King of saints, and who are his, and come under his dominion and government, ye are not your own; but purchased with his blood, which washes and makes you clean, and justifies, whose bodies are his temple. Though he suffers you to be imprisoned, yet in his power your bodies are kept, and your spirits also; ye standing witnesses for your master, for your king, for your prophet, for your covenant of light, for your wisdom of God, (him by whom all things were made,) for the word and power, by which all things were made and upheld, against the powers of

39. In the quite numerous Dyer family, only [Mary Dyer](#) and her son William, Jr. (Will) would ever be converts to Quakerism.



darkness, who are out of the light, out of the truth, who cannot bind, stop, nor limit the unlimited power, which is over it, and comprehends it. They who are born of the world, and in the power which upholds all things, over that, (and the power of the evil one,) have victory, and sing over the false prophet. For the devil was the deceiver, who abode not in the truth; and there is the false prophet, who speaks of his own, and not from the Lord; and there is the beast, that makes the war against the lamb and his saints, who witness the testimony of Jesus, and the word of God. Therefore mind the word of God, ye children of the light, who are in the light, that comes from the word; mind the word of the Lord, which is a hammer, and as a fire, and sharper than a two-edged sword. And ye who are the Lord's, are not your own; but they who are in their own time, see not the time which is in the Father's hand; their time is always, and they do their own works, and not the works of God, which the son of God did.
G.F.

Friend [George](#)'s epistle entitled "Know The Praying in the Spirit" also dates to this year:



Friends, - Know the praying in the spirit, and with the understanding; then ye will come to know the sighs and groans than cannot be uttered. For such as have not the spirit that gave forth the scriptures to guide them, are as the Pharisees were, in the long prayers, and in the wrath, and in the doubting, and do not lift up holy hands. This makes a difference between praying in the spirit, and the Pharisees' long prayers, that devoured widows' houses. And none owns the light as it is Jesus, but he that owns the light that Christ lighteth him withal. And none owns the truth, but who owns the light that cometh from Christ, the truth. And none cometh to the Father, but such who owns the light that cometh from Christ, which leads to him. Nor none owns the son, except he owns the light that cometh from him. For all dwelling in the light that comes from Jesus, it leads out of wars, leads out of strife, leads out of the occasion of wars, and leads out of the earth up to God, out of earthly-mindedness to heavenly-mindedness, and bringeth your minds to heaven.
G.F.

His epistle entitled "Dwell in Unity and Love in the Power of God." also dates to this year:



GF, To Friends, to live in love and unity together, in the power of God. Friends all every where, in the life and power of God live and dwell, and spread the truth abroad. Quench not the spirit, but live in love and unity one with another; that with



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

*the wisdom of God ye may all be ordered to God's glory. And live all in patience one with another, and in the truth, that ye may feel and see to the beginning, before the world and its foundation was, in the faith which gives the victory; that nothing may reign but the life and power amongst you. And live all as the family of God in love, in life, in truth, in power, having your house established atop of all the mountains and hills; that ye may answer that of God in every man, and the word of the Lord ye may witness to go forth among you and be among you. So in this the Lord God Almighty preserve you and keep you. And in the son of God's power live, for all power in heaven and earth is given him; who is to subdue all the powers of darkness, and to make the kingdoms of the world his kingdom. And none go beyond the measure of the Spirit of God, nor quench it; for where it is quenched it cannot try things. So if any have any thing upon them to speak, in the life of God stand up and speak it, if it be but two or three words, and sit down again; and keep in the life, that ye may answer that of God in every man upon the earth. To you this is the word of the Lord God.
G.F.*

George Fox

His epistle entitled "To Friends Beyond the Sea, That Have Blacks and Indian Slaves" also dates to this year. He did not implore slave-holding Quakers to free their captives, but merely to treat them well. The slaves of Quakers should be allowed to hear the Gospel, so they would know of the equality of all men in the eyes of God. Later, he would find it necessary to salve the fear, among the planter class of the New World islands, that with such appeals the Quakers had been creating a dangerous situation:



Dear Friends, - I was moved to write these things to you in all those plantations. God, that made the world, and all things therein, giveth life and breath to all, and they all have their life and moving, and their being in him, he is the God of the spirits of the flesh, and is no respecter of persons; but "whosoever fearth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him." And he hath made all nations of one blood to dwell upon the face of the earth, and his eyes are over all the works of his hands, and seeth every thing that is done under the whole of heaven; and "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof." And he causeth the rain to fall upon the just and the unjust, and also he causeth the sine to shine upon the just and the unjust; and he commands to "love all men," for Christ loved all, so that he "died for sinners." And this is God's love for the world, in giving his son into the world; that "whosoever believeth in him should not perish." And he doth "enlighten every man that cometh into the world," that they might believe in the son. And the gospel is preached to every creature under heaven; which is the power that giveth liberty and freedom, and is glad tidings to every captivated creature under the whole heavens. And the word of God is in the heart and mouth, to obey and do it, and not for them to ascend or descend for it; and



this is the word of faith which was and is preached. For Christ is given for a covenant to the people, and a light to the Gentiles, and to enlighten them, who is the glory of Israel, and God's "salvation to the ends of the earth." And so lye are to have the mind of Christ, and to be merciful, as you heavenly Father is merciful.
G.F.

George Fox

Friend [George](#)'s epistle entitled "Concerning the Light" also dates to this year:



Friends, - Ye that be turned to the light in it wait, in it meet together, that with it your hearts may be joined together up to Christ, the head, from whence the light doth come; with which ye may see all the world and all the gatherings that are out of the light, which are in the vanities of their minds, and in the rebelliousness of their hearts, and stubbornness of it from the light. But ye believing in the light and receiving it, he receive and come into the covenant with God, and peace with God; and into that which gives the knowledge of his glory and of his image, And this belief giveth the victory over the world, and brings unto God, and into his likeness, and separates you from the world, and its likeness, and image, and its fashion, which or out of the light; and its knowledge, and its wisdom, and its honour, and its fear, and its love, and its rejoicing, which are out of the light in the flesh, and it the iniquity, where the soul is in death. But in the light rejoicing and walking, ye receive the love of God shed abroad into your hearts, which love rejoiceth in the truth, (mark,) in that which the devil abode not in. With that ye know and will know the increase of God, and know God and his law put in your minds, and in your hearts written, where the fear is placed, where the secrets of the Lord are revealed, and the light, which is the truth, comes to be walked in. Here is a joy in the Lord where no flesh glories, In this waiting, (in the light,) the world where there is not end it gives you to see and the power of the world which is to come, ye will come to see and be partakers of. Which power ye receiving (who are in the light,) it brings you to become the sons of God and to be heirs of the world where there is no end, and of the everlasting inheritance which fadeth not away, and the riches which are durable, where no their can come, nor nothing to rust or canker; for that is out of the light that doth thieve, rust, or canker, ad in the transgression. Therefore, ye saints in the light of the most high God, whose name is dreadful amongst you, and his power made manifest in measure, and his glory appearing, walk worthy of the high calling! Keep your dominion, keep you place of rest in the power and strength of the Almighty, and meet together in the love, unity, and peace, and know one another in this love that changes not; which being received, ye walk in that which condemns that which is changeable. This love rejoiceth in the truth, and hath dominion over him that abode



not in the truth, but rejoiceth in that which the devil abode not in. And here the spirit is received in which God is worshipped, that Father of spirits, He that believeth here believes in the Lord, and shall never be confounded, for he believes in that which doth confound and condemn those who are out of the light, and gone from the word of God in the heart, and from the power of God, and from the light of the glorious gospel, which is the power of God. The God of the world hath blinded their eyes that abide not in the truth, they are gone from the light which is the truth; and all that are blinded by the god of the world, these are out of the light and out of the truth. Therefore ye being in the light, and to it turned, (the light of the glorious gospel,) the image of God is seen, and the glorious gospel received, Therefore walk in the light as the children of the light, and know the wisdom that is of her children justified; that ye may answer the light in every one (that comes into the world) that hateth it. And keep you habitations, that ye may every one feel you spring in the light which comes from the Lord, and feel your nourishment and refreshment; which waters the plants and causeth them to grow up in the Lord, from whom the pure, living springs come. And here is the water which is the witness in the earth, which doth wash, and here come the spirit to be known, the witness that doth baptize. and the witness the blood, which doth cleanse, which agrees with the witness in heaven. So, he that believe hath the witness in himself. (Mark and take notice.) And so, ye being in the light, every one in particular feed upon the bread of life which comes from above, which nourisheth up to eternal life; wherein as every one grows up, here every one gives glory to the Father, and to the son, and knows the light which is the way, the truth, and the life. Every one of you that are turned to it, ye are in the one way, truth, light, and life, feeding upon the one bread which comes from above; which whosoever doth eat of lives for ever, and shall never die. Let this be read among all Friends everywhere, in this nation and elsewhere, that to the light are turned and in it are kept, that in the unity they may all be kept. And in it God Almighty preserve and keep you, that ye may feel his promises, which are to the seed; and know the seed to which the blessing is, and know the flesh of Christ, that ye may be flesh of his flesh. And friends, live at peace among yourselves, waiting upon the Lord; and the Lord God of life and peace be with you. Let no Friends be discouraged; but walk in the truth and the love of it, and to it bend. G.F.

George Fox



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

During this year, also, Friends William Brend and John Copeland were on their way from Scituate MA to [Rhode Island](#), on a missionary journey, when intercepted by officials of the Plymouth Colony who demanded that they pledge to be out of the colony within 48 hours. Well, it was one thing for these [Quakers](#) to be on their way directly out of the colony, and quite another for government types to come around and make such a demand — the two missionaries instantly scrupled against obedience and would need to be hauled before a judge. The judge would classify their attitude problem, accurately it would seem, as “contemptuous perverseness.” (And, we may add to the historical record as an inference, the response of these Quakers to that judge would likely have been something on the order of “Hey, dude, deal with it!”)

During this year, also, the [Quakers](#) were establishing a meeting house at [Aquidneck Island](#) in Rhode Island, and [William Dyer](#) came up to Boston and obtained his wife’s release upon condition that he not allow [Friend Mary Dyer](#) to speak with anyone until they were beyond the frontiers of the Bay Colony. Friend Ann was not allowed to settle her estate, and eventually the captain of the vessel was forced to take her back to England — at his own expense.

At about this period, many married [Quakers](#) were beginning to take vows of celibacy, and refrain from sexual intercourse with their spouses. This would go on for like two, three years. There is a suggestion that Friend [Mary Dyer](#), although her husband was not and never would be a Quaker, joined in this movement for some time prior to her execution.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

June/July: Friend [George Fox](#) visited every county in Wales, accompanied by [Friend](#) John ap-John of Wrexham and Edward Edwards of Denbighshire and, for some of the time, Thomas Holme and Richard Hubberthorne.

After I had tarried two First-days at Swarthmore, and had visited Friends in their meetings thereabouts, I passed into Westmoreland, in the same work, till I came to John Audland's, where there was a general meeting.

The night before I had had a vision of a desperate creature that was coming to destroy me, but I got victory over it. And next day in meeting-time came one Otway, with some rude fellows. He rode round about the meeting with his sword or rapier, and would fain have got in through the Friends to me; but the meeting being great, the Friends stood close, so that he could not easily come at me. When he had ridden about several times raging, and found he could not get in, being limited by the Lord's power, he went away.

It was a glorious meeting, ended peaceably, and the Lord's everlasting power came over all. This wild man went home, became distracted, and not long after died. I sent a paper to John Blakelin to read to him, while he lay ill, showing him his wickedness, and he acknowledged something of it.

I had for some time felt drawings on my spirit to go into Scotland, and had sent to Colonel William Osburn of Scotland, desiring him to meet me; and he, with some others, came out of Scotland to this meeting. After it was over (which, he said, was the most glorious meeting that ever he saw in his life), I passed with him and his company into Scotland, having with me Robert Widders, a thundering man against hypocrisy, deceit, and the rottenness of the priests.

FOX'S JOURNAL



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

From Wales, Friend [George](#) went into Scotland, and one of the towns in which he would successfully preach in the [Quaker](#) way was the ancestral home of [Henry Thoreau](#)'s mother's family, and John Muir's family, on the east coast of Scotland where the Firth of Forth verges into the North Sea, the town of Dunbar:

[DUNBAR FAMILY](#)

The first night we came into Scotland we lodged at an inn. The innkeeper told us an earl lived about a quarter of a mile off, who had a desire to see me; and had left word at the inn that if ever I came into Scotland, he should be told of it. The innkeeper told us there were three drawbridges to the earl's house; and that it would be nine o'clock before the third bridge was drawn.

Finding we had time in the evening, we walked to his house. He received us very lovingly, and said he would have gone with us on our journey, but that he was before engaged to go to a funeral. After we had spent some time with him, we parted very friendly, and returned to our inn. Next morning we travelled on, and passing through Dumfries, came to Douglas, where we met with some Friends. Thence we passed to the Heads, where we had a blessed meeting in the name of Jesus, and felt Him in the midst.

Leaving Heads, we went to Badcow, and had a meeting there, to which abundance of people came, and many were convinced. Amongst them was one called a lady. From thence we passed towards the Highlands to William Osburn's, where we gathered up the sufferings of Friends, and the principles of the Scotch priests, which may be seen in a book called "The Scotch Priests' Principles."

Afterwards we returned to Heads, Badcow, and Garshore, where the said lady, Margaret Hambleton, was convinced; who afterwards went to warn Oliver Cromwell and Charles Fleetwood of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them.

On First-day we had a great meeting, and several professors came to it. Now, the priests had frightened the people with the doctrine of election and reprobation, telling them that God had ordained the greatest part of men and women for hell; and that, let them pray, or preach, or sing, or do what they would, it was all to no purpose, if they were ordained for hell. Also that God had a certain number elected for heaven, let them do what they would; as David was an adulterer, and Paul a persecutor, yet still they were elected vessels for heaven. So the priests said the fault was not at all in the creature, less or more, but that God had ordained it so.

I was led to open to the people the falseness and folly of their priests' doctrines, and showed how they, the priests, had abused those Scriptures they quoted. Now all that believe in the Light of Christ, as He commands, are in the election, and sit under the teaching of the grace of God, which brings their salvation. But such as turn this grace into wantonness, are in the reprobation; and such as hate the Light, are in the condemnation. So I exhorted all the people to believe in the Light, as Christ commands, and to own the grace of God, their free teacher; and it would assuredly bring them their salvation; for it is sufficient. Many Scriptures were opened concerning reprobation, and the eyes of the people were opened; and a spring of life rose up among them.

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** These things soon came to the priest's ears; for the people that sat under their dark teachings began to see light, and to come into the covenant of light. The noise was spread over Scotland, amongst the priests, that I was come thither; and a great cry went up among them that all would be spoiled; for, they said, I had spoiled all the honest men and women in England already; so, according to their own account, the worst were left to them.*

Upon this they gathered great assemblies of priests together, and drew up a number of curses to be read in their several steeple-houses, that all the people might say "Amen" to them. Some few of these I will here set down; the rest may be read in the book before mentioned, of "The Scotch Priests' Principles."

*The first was, "Cursed is he that saith,
Every man hath a light within him sufficient
to lead him to salvation; and let all the people say,
Amen."*

*The second, "Cursed is he that saith,
Faith is without sin; and let all the people say,
Amen."*

*The third, "Cursed is he that denieth the Sabbath-day;
and let all the people say,
Amen."*

In this last they make the people curse themselves; for on the Sabbath-day (which is the seventh day of the week, which the Jews kept by the command of God to them) they kept markets and fairs, and so brought the curse upon their own heads.

Now were the priests in such a rage that they posted to Edinburgh to Oliver Cromwell's Council there, with petitions against me. The noise was that "all was gone"; for several Friends were come out of England and spread over Scotland, sounding the day of the Lord, preaching the everlasting gospel of salvation, and turning people to Christ Jesus, who died for them, that they might receive His free teaching.

After I had gathered the principles of the Scotch priests, and the sufferings of Friends, and had seen the Friends in that part of Scotland settled by the Lord's power, upon Christ their foundation, I went to Edinburgh, and in the way came to Linlithgow, where lodging at an inn, the innkeeper's wife, who was blind, received the Word of life, and came under the teaching of Christ Jesus, her Saviour.



At night there came in abundance of soldiers and some officers, with whom we had much discourse; and some were rude. One of the officers said he would obey the Turk's or Pilate's command, if they should command him to guard Christ to crucify Him. So far was he from all tenderness, or sense of the Spirit of Christ, that he would rather crucify the just than suffer for or with them; whereas many officers and magistrates have lost their places before they would turn against the Lord and His Just One.

When I had stayed a while at Edinburgh, I went to Leith, where many officers of the army came in with their wives, and many were convinced. Among these Edward Billings's wife was one. She brought a great deal of coral in her hand, and threw it on the table before me, to see whether I would speak against it or not. I took no notice of it, but declared the Truth to her, and she was reached. There came in many Baptists, who were very rude; but the Lord's power came over them, so that they went away confounded.

Then there came in another sort, and one of them said he would dispute with me; and for argument's sake would deny there was a God. I told him he might be one of those fools that said in his heart, "There is no God," but he would know Him in the day of His judgment. So he went his way.

** A precious time we had afterwards with several people of account; and the Lord's power came over all. William Osburn was with me. Colonel Lidcot's wife, and William Welch's wife, and several of the officers themselves, were convinced. Edward Billings and his wife at that time lived apart; and she being reached by Truth, and become loving to Friends, we sent for her husband, who came. The Lord's power reached unto them both, and they joined in it, and agreed to live together in love and unity as man and wife.*

After this we returned to Edinburgh where many thousands were gathered together, with abundance of priests among them, about burning a witch, and I was moved to declare the day of the Lord amongst them. When I had done, I went thence to our meeting, whither came many rude people and Baptists.

The Baptists began to vaunt with their logic and syllogisms; but I was moved in the Lord's power to thresh their chaffy, light minds. I showed the people that, after that fallacious way of discoursing, they might make white seem black, and black seem white; as, that because a cock had two legs, and each of them had two legs, therefore they were all cocks. Thus they might turn anything into lightness and vanity; but it was not the way of Christ, or His apostles, to teach, speak, or reason after that manner.

Hereupon those Baptists went their way; and after they were gone we had a blessed meeting in the Lord's power, which was over all.



I mentioned before that many of the Scotch priests, being greatly disturbed at the spreading of Truth, and the loss of their hearers thereby, were gone to Edinburgh to petition the Council against me. When I came from the meeting to the inn where I lodged, an officer belonging to the Council brought me the following order:

*Thursday, the 8th of October, 1657, at his Highness' Council in Scotland:
Ordered, That George Fox do appear before the Council on Tuesday, the 13th of October next, in the forenoon.
— E. DOWNING, Clerk of the Council*

When he had delivered me the order, he asked me whether I would appear or not. I did not tell him; but asked him if he had not forged the order. He said "No"; that it was a real order from the Council, and he was sent as their messenger with it.

When the time came I appeared, and was taken into a great room, where many persons came and looked at me. After awhile the doorkeeper took me into the council-chamber; and as I was going he took off my hat. I asked him why he did so, and who was there that I might not go in with my hat on. I told him I had been before the Protector with my hat on. But he hung up my hat and took me in before them.

When I had stood awhile, and they said nothing to me, I was moved of the Lord to say, "Peace be amongst you. Wait in the fear of God, that ye may receive His wisdom from above, by which all things were made and created; that by it ye may all be ordered, and may order all things under your hands to God's glory."

They asked me what was the occasion of my coming into that nation. I told them I came to visit the Seed of God, which had long lain in bondage under corruption, so that all in the nation who professed the Scriptures, the words of Christ, of the prophets and apostles, might come to the Light, Spirit and power, which they were in who gave them forth. I told them that in and by the Spirit they might understand the Scriptures, and know Christ and God aright, and might have fellowship with them, and one with another. They asked me whether I had any outward business there. I said, "Nay." Then they asked me how long I intended to stay in that country. I told them I should say little to that; my time was not to be long; yet in my freedom in the Lord I stood, in the will of Him that sent me.

Then they bade me withdraw, and the doorkeeper took me by the hand and led me forth. In a little time they sent for me again, and told me that I must depart the nation of Scotland by that day sevensnight. I asked them, "Why? What have I done? What is my transgression that you pass such a sentence upon me to depart out of the nation?" They told me they would not dispute with me. I desired them to hear what I had to say to them. They said they would not hear me. I told them, "Pharaoh heard Moses and Aaron, yet he was an heathen; and Herod heard John the Baptist; and you should not be worse than these." But they cried, "Withdraw, withdraw."



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Thereupon the doorkeeper took me again by the hand and led me out. I returned to my inn, and continued still in Edinburgh; visiting Friends there and thereabouts, and strengthening them in the Lord. After a little time I wrote a letter to the Council to lay before them their unchristian dealings in banishing me, an innocent man, that sought their salvation and eternal good. After I had spent some time among Friends at Edinburgh and thereabouts, I passed thence to Heads again, where Friends had been in great sufferings. For the Presbyterian priests had excommunicated them, and given charge that none should buy or sell or eat or drink with them. So they could neither sell their commodities nor buy what they wanted; which made it go very hard with some of them; for if they had bought bread or other victuals of any of their neighbors, the priests threatened them so with curses that they would run and fetch it from them again. But Colonel Ashfield, being a justice of the peace in that country, put a stop to the priests' proceedings. This Colonel Ashfield was afterwards convinced himself, had a meeting settled at his house, declared the Truth, and lived and died in it.

After I had visited Friends at and about Heads, and encouraged them in the Lord, I went to Glasgow, where a meeting was appointed; but not one of the town came to it. As I went into the city, the guard at the gates took me before the governor, who was a moderate man. A great deal of discourse I had with him. He was too light to receive the Truth; yet he set me at liberty; so I passed to the meeting.

Seeing none of the town's people came to the meeting, we declared Truth through the town; then passed away, visited Friends' meetings thereabouts, and returned towards Badcow. Several Friends declared Truth in the steeple-houses and the Lord's power was with them.

Once as I was going with William Osburn to his house there lay a company of rude fellows by the wayside, hid under the hedges and in bushes. Seeing them, I asked him what they were. "Oh," said he "they are thieves." Robert Widders, being moved to go and speak to a priest, was left behind, intending to come after. So I said to William Osburn, "I will stay here in this valley, and do thou go and look after Robert Widders"; but he was unwilling to go, being afraid to leave me there alone, because of those fellows, till I told him I feared them not.

Then I called to them, asking them what they lay lurking there for, and I bade them come to me; but they were loath to come. I charged them to come up to me, or else it might be worse with them; then they came trembling, for the dread of the Lord had struck them. I admonished them to be honest, and directed them to the Light of Christ in their hearts that by it they might see what an evil it was to follow after theft and robbery; and the power of the Lord came over them.

I stayed there till William Osburn and Robert Widders came up, then we passed on together. But it is likely that, if we two had gone away before, they would have robbed Robert Widders when he had come after alone, there being three or four of them.

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We went to William Osburn's house, where we had a good opportunity to declare the Truth to several people that came in. Then we went among the Highlanders, who were so devilish they were like to have spoiled us and our horses; for they ran at us with pitchforks. But through the Lord's goodness we escaped them, being preserved by His power.

** Thence we passed to Stirling, where the soldiers took us up, and had us to the main guard. After a few words with the officers, the Lord's power coming over them, we were set at liberty; but no meeting could we get amongst them in the town, they were so closed up in darkness. Next morning there came a man with a horse that was to run a race, and most of the townspeople and officers went to see it. As they came back from the race, I had a brave opportunity to declare the day of the Lord and His Word of life amongst them. Some confessed to it, and some opposed; but the Lord's truth and power came over them all.*

Leaving Stirling, we came to Burntisland, where I had two meetings at one Captain Pool's house; one in the morning, the other in the afternoon. Whilst they went to dine I walked to the seaside, not having freedom to eat with them. Both he and his wife were convinced, and became good Friends afterward; and several officers of the army came in and received the Truth. We passed thence through several other places, till we came to Johnstons, where were several Baptists that were very bitter, and came in a rage to dispute with us. Vain janglers and disputers indeed they were. When they could not prevail by disputing they went and informed the governor against us; and next morning he raised a whole company of foot, and banished me and Alexander Parker, also James Lancaster and Robert Widders, out of the town.

As they guarded us through the town, James Lancaster was moved to sing with a melodious sound in the power of God; and I was moved to proclaim the day of the Lord, and preach the everlasting gospel to the people. For the people generally came forth, so that the streets were filled with them, and the soldiers were so ashamed that they said they would rather have gone to Jamaica than guarded us so.

But we were put into a boat with our horses, carried over the water, and there left. The Baptists who were the cause of our being thus put out of this town, were themselves, not long after, turned out of the army; and he that was then governor was discarded also when the king came in.

Being thus thrust out of Johnstons, we went to another market-town, where Edward Billings and many soldiers were quartered. We went to an inn, and desired to have a meeting in the town, that we might preach the everlasting gospel amongst them. The officers and soldiers said we should have it in the town-hall; but the Scotch magistrates in spite appointed a meeting there that day for the business of the town.

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When the officers of the soldiery understood this, and perceived that it was done in malice, they would have had us go into the town-hall nevertheless. But we told them, "No; by no means; for then the magistrates might inform the governor against us and say, 'They took the town-hall from us by force, when we were to do our town-business therein.'" We told them we would go to the market-place. They said it was market-day. We replied, "It is so much the better; for we would have all people to hear the Truth and know our principles."

Alexander Parker went and stood upon the market-cross, with a Bible in his hand, and declared the Truth amongst the soldiers and market-people; but the Scots, being a dark, carnal people, gave little heed, and hardly took notice what was said. After awhile I was moved of the Lord to stand up at the cross, and to declare with a loud voice the everlasting Truth, and the day of the Lord that was coming upon all sin and wickedness. Thereupon the people came running out of the town-hall and gathered so together that at last we had a large meeting; for they only sat in the court for a colour to hinder us from having the hall to meet in.

When the people were come away the magistrates followed them. Some walked by, but some stayed and heard; and the Lord's power came over all and kept all quiet. The people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, who died for them, and had enlightened them, that with His Light they might see their evil deeds, be saved from their sins by Him, and might come to know Him to be their teacher. But if they would not receive Christ, and own Him, it was told them that this Light which came from Him would be their condemnation.

We travelled from this town to Leith, warning and exhorting people, as we went, to turn to the Lord. At Leith the innkeeper told me that the Council had granted warrants to apprehend me, because I was not gone out of the nation after the seven days were expired that they had ordered me to depart in. Several friendly people also came and told me the same; to whom I said, "Why do ye tell me of their warrants against me? If there were a cart-load of them I would not heed them, for the Lord's power is over them all."

I went from Leith to Edinburgh again, where they said the warrants from the Council were out against me. I went to the inn where I had lodged before, and no man offered to meddle with me. After I had visited Friends in the city, I desired those that travelled with me to get ready their horses in the morning, and we rode out of town together. There were with me at that time Thomas Rawlinson, Alexander Parker, and Robert Widders.

When we were out of town they asked me whither I would go. I told them it was upon me from the Lord to go back again to Johnstons (the town out of which we had been lately thrust), to set the power of God and His Truth over them also. Alexander Parker said he would go along with me; and I wished the other two to stay at a town about three miles from Edinburgh till we returned.

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Then Alexander and I got over the water, about three miles across, and rode through the country; but in the afternoon, his horse being weak and not able to hold up with mine, I rode on ahead and got into Johnstons just as they were drawing up the bridges, the officers and soldiers never questioning me. I rode up the street to Captain Davenport's house, from which we had been banished. There were many officers with him; and when I came amongst them they lifted up their hands, wondering that I should come again. But I told them the Lord God had sent me amongst them again; so they went their way.

The Baptists sent me a letter, by way of challenge, to discourse with me next day. I sent them word that I would meet them at such a house, about half a mile out of the town, at such an hour. For I considered that if I should stay in town to discourse with them they might, under pretence of discoursing with me, raise men to put me out of the town again, as they had done before.

At the time appointed I went to the place, Captain Davenport and his son accompanying me. There I stayed some hours, but not one of them came. While I stayed there waiting for them, I saw Alexander Parker coming. Not being able to reach the town, he had lain out the night before; and I was exceedingly glad that we were met again.

This Captain Davenport was then loving to Friends; and afterwards, coming more into obedience to Truth, he was turned out of his place for not putting off his hat, and for saying Thou and Thee to them.

When we had waited beyond reasonable ground to expect any of them coming, we departed; and Alexander Parker being moved to go again to the town, where we had the meeting at the market-cross, I passed alone to Lieutenant Foster's quarters, where I found several officers that were convinced. Thence I went up to the town, where I had left the other two Friends, and we went back to Edinburgh together.

When we were come to the city, I bade Robert Widders follow me; and in the dread and power of the Lord we came up to the two first sentries. The Lord's power came so over them that we passed by them without any examination. Then we rode up the street to the market-place and by the main-guard, out at the gate by the third sentry, and so clear out into the suburbs; and there we came to an inn and put up our horses, it being Seventh-day. I saw and felt that we had ridden as it were against the cannon's mouth or the sword's point; but the Lord's power and immediate hand carried us over the heads of them all.

Next day I went to the meeting in the city, Friends having had notice that I would attend it. There came many officers and soldiers to it, and a glorious meeting it was; the everlasting power of God was set over the nation, and His Son reigned in His glorious power. All was quiet, and no man offered to meddle with me.

When the meeting was ended, and I had visited Friends, I came out of the city to my inn again. The next day, being Second-day, we set forward towards the borders of England.



As we travelled along the country I espied a steeple-house, and it struck at my life. I asked what steeple-house it was, and was told that it was Dunbar. When I came thither, and had put up at an inn, I walked to the steeple-house, having a Friend or two with me.

When we came to the steeple-house yard, one of the chief men of the town was walking there. I asked one of the Friends that was with me to go to him and tell him that about the ninth hour next morning there would be a meeting there of the people of God called Quakers; of which we desired he would give notice to the people of the town. He sent me word that they were to have a lecture there by the ninth hour; but that we might have our meeting there by the eighth hour, if we would. We concluded to do so, and desired him to give notice of it.

Accordingly, in the morning both poor and rich came; and there being a captain of horse quartered in the town, he and his troopers came also, so that we had a large concourse; and a glorious meeting it was, the Lord's power being over all. After some time the priest came, and went into the steeple-house; but we being in the yard, most of the people stayed with us. Friends were so full and their voices so high in the power of God, that the priest could do little in the house, but quickly came out again, stood awhile, and then went his way.

I opened to the people where they might find Christ Jesus, and turned them to the Light with which He had enlightened them, that in the Light they might see Christ who died for them, turn to Him, and know him to be their Saviour and Teacher. I let them see that the teachers they had hitherto followed were hirelings, who made the gospel chargeable; showed them the wrong ways they had walked in the night of apostasy; directed them to Christ, the new and living way to God, and manifested unto them how they had lost the religion and worship which Christ set up in spirit and truth, and had hitherto been in the religions and worships of men's making and setting up.

After I had turned the people to the Spirit of God which led the holy men of God to give forth the Scriptures, and showed them that they must also come to receive and be led by the same Spirit in themselves (a measure of which was given unto every one of them) if ever they would come to know God and Christ and the Scriptures aright, perceiving the other Friends to be full of power and the Word of the Lord, I stepped down, giving way for them to declare what they had from the Lord to the people.

Towards the latter end of the meeting some professors began to jangle, whereupon I stood up again, and answered their questions, so that they seemed to be satisfied, and our meeting ended in the Lord's power quiet and peaceable.

This was the last meeting I had in Scotland; the Truth and the power of God was set over that nation and many, by the power and Spirit of God, were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour and Teacher, whose blood was shed for them; and there is since a great increase and great there will be in Scotland. For when first I set my horse's feet upon Scottish ground I felt the Seed of God to sparkle about me, like innumerable sparks of fire.



Not but that there is abundance of the thick, cloddy earth of hypocrisy and falseness above, and a briery, brambly nature, which is to be burnt up with God's Word, and ploughed up with His spiritual plough, before God's Seed brings forth heavenly and spiritual fruit to His glory. But the husbandman is to wait in patience.

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June 11: The *Woodhouse* left for Boston harbor with Robert Fowler as captain. Warned by experienced seamen against attempting to cross the ocean in such a dinky boat, some of the crew had backed out. Even Fowler had had second thoughts, but Friend [George Fox](#) had encouraged him to go for it. Six of the passengers, William Brend, 41; John Copeland, 29; Sarah Gibbons, 22; Christopher Holder, 26; Dorothy Waugh, 21; and Mary Wetherhead, 27, had crossed the Atlantic the previous summer on the *Speedwell*. First-time members of this mission, not yet banned in Boston, were: Robert Hodgson (in his 30s); Mary Clark (middle-aged); Richard Doudney; Humphrey Norton; and William Robinson (“young”). Almost miraculously, they would make it — they would reach New Amsterdam, after 8 weeks at sea, during the first week of August. Almost at once, using [Rhode Island](#) as their base, they would proceed to spread the [Quaker](#) message through the American colonies.

A
Quaker's Sea-Journal
Being a True
RELATION
of a Voyage to
NEW ENGLAND
Performed by Robert Fowler of the Town of
Burlington in Yorkshire in the
Year 1658

London Printed for Francis Coffenet at
the Anchor & Mariner in
Tower-Street Anno 1659



THE MARVELLOUS VOYAGE OF THE GOOD SHIP 'WOODHOUSE'⁴¹

'In the 17th Century England was peculiarly rich, if not in great mystics, at any rate in mystically minded men. Mysticism, it seems, was in the air; broke out under many disguises and affected many forms of life.'—E. UNDERHILL, 'Mysticism.'

'He who says "Yes," responds, obeys, co-operates, and allows this resident seed of God, or Christ Light, to have full sway in him, becomes transformed thereby and recreated into likeness to Christ by whom the inner seed was planted, and of whose nature it is.'—RUFUS M. JONES.

'Through winds and tides, one compass guides.'—A.H. CLOUGH.

'Have mercy upon me, O God, for Thine ocean is so great, and my little bark is so small.'—Breton Fisherman's Prayer.

'Be faithful and still, till the winds cease and the storm be over.' ... 'Friends' fellowship must be in the Spirit, and all Friends must know one another in the Spirit and power of God.'—G. FOX.

'Christopher Holder and I are going ... in obedience to the will of our God, whose will is our joy.'—JOHN COPELAND. 1657.

'The log of the little "Woodhouse" has become a sacred classic.'—WILLIAM LITTLEBOY, Swarthmoor Lecture, 1917.

41. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



THE MARVELLOUS VOYAGE OF THE GOOD SHIP 'WOODHOUSE'

Master Robert Fowler of Burlington was a well-known figure in all the fishing towns and villages along the Yorkshire coast in the year of grace 1657. A man of substance was he, a master mariner, well skilled in his craft; building his own ships and sailing them withal, and never to be turned back from an adventurous voyage. Many fine vessels he had, sailing over the broad waters, taking the Yorkshire cargoes of wool and hides to distant lands, and bringing back foreign goods in exchange, to be sold again at a profit on his return to old England's shores. Thus up and down the Yorkshire coast men spoke and thought highly of Master Robert Fowler's judgment in all matters pertaining to the sea. On land, too, he seemed prudent and skilful, though some folks looked at him askance of late years, since he had joined himself to that strange and perverse people known as the Quakers.

Yet, in spite of what his neighbours considered his new-fangled religion, Master Robert Fowler was prospering in all his worldly affairs. Even now on the sunny day when our story opens, he was hard at work putting the last touches to a new boat of graceful proportions and gallant curves, that bade fair to be a yet more notable seafarer than any of her distant sisters.

Why then did Master Robert Fowler pause more than once in his work to heave a deep sigh, and throw down his tools almost pettishly? Why did he suddenly put his fingers in his ears as if to shut out an unwelcome sound, resuming his work thereafter with double speed? No one was speaking to him. The mid-day air was very still. The haze that often broods over the north-east coast veiled the horizon. Sea and sky melted into one another till it was impossible to say where earth ended and heaven began. An unwonted silence reigned even on Burlington Quay. No sound was to be heard save for the tap, tap, tap of Master Robert Fowler's hammer.

Again he dropped his tools. Again he looked up to the sky, as if he were listening to an unseen voice.

Someone was truly speaking to him, though no faintest sound vibrated on the air. His inward ear heard clearly these words—

'THOU HAST HER NOT FOR NOTHING.'

His eyes travelled proudly over the nearly completed vessel. Every one of her swelling curves he knew by heart; had learned to know and love through long months of toil. How still she lay, the beauty, still as a bird, poising on the sea. Ah! but the day was coming when she would spread her wings and skim over the ocean, buoyant and dainty as one of the terns, those sea-swallows that with their sharp white wings even now were hovering round her. Built for use she was too, not merely to take the eye. Although small of size more bales of goods could be stowed away under her shapely decks than in many another larger clumsier vessel. Who should know this better than Robert,



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her maker, who had planned it all?

For what had he planned her?

Was it for the voyage to the Eastern Mediterranean that had been the desire of his heart for many years? How well he knew it, that voyage he had never made! Down the Channel he would go, past Ushant and safely across the Bay. Then, when Finisterre had dropped to leeward, it would be but a few days' sail along the pleasant coasts of Portugal till Gibraltar was reached. And then, heigh ho! for a fair voyage in the summer season, week after week over a calm blue sea to the land-locked harbour where flat-roofed, white-walled houses, stately palm-trees, rosy domes and minarets, mirrored in the still water, gazed down at their own reflections.

Was the Woodhouse for this?

He had planned her for this dream voyage.

Why then came that other Voice in his heart directly he began to build: 'FASHION THEE A SHIP FOR THE SERVICE OF TRUTH!' And now that she was nearly completed, why did the Voice grow daily more insistent, giving ever clearer directions?

What a bird she was! His own bird of the sea, his beautiful Woodhouse! So thought Master Robert Fowler. But then again came the insistent Voice within, speaking yet more clearly and distinctly than ever before: 'THOU HAST HER NOT FOR NOTHING.' The vision of his sea-swallow, her white wings gleaming in the sun as she dropped anchor in that still harbour; the vision of the white and rose-coloured city stretched like an encircling arm around the turquoise waters, these dreams faded relentlessly from his sight. Instead he saw the Woodhouse beating up wearily against a bleak and rugged shore on which grey waves were breaking. Angry, white teeth those giant breakers showed; teeth that would grind a dainty boat to pieces with no more compunction than a dog who snaps at a fly. Must he take her there? A vision of that inhospitable shore was constantly with him as he worked. 'New England was presented before him.' Day after day he drove the thought from him. Night after night it returned.

'Thou hast her not for nothing. She is needed for the service of Truth.' Master Robert Fowler grew lean and wan with inward struggle, but yield his will he could not, yet disobey the Voice he did not dare. When his wife and children asked what ailed him he answered not, or gave a surly reply. Truth to tell, he avoided their company all he could,—and yet a look was in his eyes when they did not notice as if he had never before felt them half so dear. At length the long-expected day arrived when the completed vessel sailed graciously out to sea. But there was no gaiety on board, as there had been when her sister ships had departed. No cargo had she. No farewells were said. Master Robert Fowler stole aboard when all beside were sleeping. The Woodhouse slipped from the grey harbour into the grey sea, noiselessly as a bird. None of the crew knew what ailed the master, nor why his door was locked for long hours thereafter, until the Yorkshire coast first drew dim, and then faded from the horizon. He would not even tell them whither the vessel was bound. 'Keep a straight course; come back at four bells, and then I will direct you,'



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was all his answer, when the mate knocked at his door for orders. But within the cabin a man was wrestling with himself upon his knees; till at last in agony he cried: 'E'en take the boat, Lord, an so Thou wilt, for I have no power to give her Thee. Yet truly she is Thine.'

At that same hour in London an anxious little company was gathered in a house at the back side of Thomas Apostles Church, over the door of which swung the well-known sign of the Fleur-de-luce.

The master of the house, Friend Gerard Roberts, a merchant of Watling Street, sat at the top of the table in a small upper room. The anxiety on his countenance was reflected in the faces round his board. Seven men and four women were there, all soberly clad as befitted ministering Friends. They were not eating or drinking, but solemnly seeking for guidance.

'Can no ship then be found to carry us to the other side? For truly the Lord's word is as a fire and hammer in me, though in the outward appearance there is no likelihood of getting passage,' one Friend was saying.

'Ships in plenty there are bound for New England, but ne'er a one that is willing to carry even one Quaker, let alone eleven,' Friend Roberts answered. 'The colonists' new laws are strict, and their punishments are savage. I know, Friends, ye are all ready, aye and willing, to suffer in the service of Truth. It is not merely the threatened cropping of the ears of every Quaker who sets foot ashore that is the difficulty. It is the one hundred pounds fine for every Quaker landed, not levied on the Friends themselves, mind you—that were simple—but on the owner of the boat in which they shall have voyaged. This it is that hinders your departure. It were not fair to ask a man to run such risk. It is not fair. Yet already I have asked many in vain. Way doth not open. We must needs leave it, and see if the concern abides.'

Clear as a bell rose the silvery tones of a young woman Friend, one who had been formerly a serving-maid at Cammsgill Farm: 'Commit thy way unto the Lord, trust also in Him, and He shall bring it to pass. Shall not He who setteth a bound to the sea that it shall not pass over, and taketh up the isles as a very little thing—shall not He be trusted to find a ship for His servants who trust in Him, to enable them to perform His will?' As the clear bell-like tones died away the little company, impelled by a united instinct, sank into a silence in which time passed unnoticed. Suddenly, at the same moment, a weight seemed to be removed from the hearts of all. They clasped hands and separated. And at that very moment, although they knew it not, far away on the broad seas, a man, wrestling on his knees in the cabin of his vessel, was saying with bitter tears, 'E'en take, Lord, an so Thou wilt, though I have no power to give her to Thee. Yet truly she is Thine.' When four bells were sounded on the good ship Woodhouse, and a knock came to the door of the cabin as the mate asked for directions, it was in a steady voice that Master Robert Fowler replied from within, 'Mark a straight course for London; and after—whithersoever the Lord may direct.'



Blithely and gaily henceforward the Woodhouse skimmed her way to the mouth of the Thames and dropped anchor at the port of London. But as yet Master Robert Fowler knew nothing of the anxious group of Friends waiting to be taken to New England on the service of Truth (five of them having already been deported thence for the offence of being Quakers, yet anxious to return and take six others with them). Neither did these Friends know anything of Master Robert Fowler, nor of his good ship Woodhouse.

Yet, though unknown to each other, he and they alike were well known to One Heart, were guided by One Hand, were listening to the directions of One Voice. Therefore, though it may seem a strange chance, it was not wonderful really that within a few hours of the arrival of the Woodhouse in the Thames Master Robert Fowler and Friend Gerard Roberts met each other face to face in London City. Nor was it strange that the ship's captain should be moved to tell the merchant of the exercise of his spirit about his ship. In truth all Friends who visited London in those days were wont to unburden themselves of their perplexities to the master of that hospitable house over whose doorway swung the sign of the Fleur-de-luce. Lightly he told it—almost as a jest—the folly of the notion that a vessel of such small tonnage could be needed to face the terrors of the terrible Atlantic. Surely a prudent merchant like Friend Roberts would tell him to pay no heed to visions and inner voices, and such like idle notions? But Gerard Roberts did not scoff. He listened silently. A look almost of awe stole over his face. The first words he uttered were, 'It is the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in our eyes.' And at these words Master Robert Fowler's heart sank down, down like lead.

Long afterwards, describing the scene, he says: 'Also when (the vessel) was finished and freighted, and made to sea, contrary to my will, was brought to London, where, speaking touching this matter to Gerard Roberts and others, they confirmed the matter in behalf of the Lord, that it must be so.'

'It must be so.' This is the secret of Guidance from that day to this. The Inner Voice alone is not always enough for action; the outer need or claim of service alone is not necessarily a call. But when the Inner Voice and the outer need come together, then truly the will of the Lord is plain, and 'It must be so.' Master Robert Fowler was not yet willing or ready to sacrifice his own wishes. A decisive victory is not to be won in one battle, however severe, but only throughout the stress of a long campaign. The struggle in his cabin, when he allowed the ship's head to be turned towards London, must needs be fought out again. The unreasonableness of such a voyage in such a vessel, the risk, the thought of the dangers and misery it would bring, took possession of his mind once more, as he himself confesses: 'Yet entering into reasoning and letting in temptation and hardships, and the loss of my life, wife, and children, with the enjoyment of all earthly things, it brought me as low as the grave, and laid me as one dead to the things of God.'

'Let the sacrifice be made, if it must be made,' he said to



himself, 'but it is too much to expect any man to make it willingly.' For days he went about, in his own words, 'as one dead.'

The eagerness of the Friends to depart, their plans for the voyage, their happy cares, only loaded his spirit the more. It was a dark, sad, miserable time; and a dark, sad, miserable man was the owner of the Woodhouse.

Till on a certain day, the Friends coming as usual to visit his ship brought another with them, a Stranger; taller, stronger, sturdier than them all; a man with a long drooping nose and piercing eyes—yes, and leather breeches! It was, it could be no other than George Fox!

What did he say to Robert Fowler? What words did he use? Did he argue or command? That was unnecessary. The mere presence of the strong faithful servant of the Lord drew out a like faithfulness in the other more timid soul.

Robert Fowler's narrative continues:

'But by His instrument, George Fox, was I refreshed and raised up again, which before was much contrary to myself that I could have as willingly have died as gone; but by the strength of God I was now made willing to do His will; yea even the customs and fashions of the customs house could not stop me.'

'Made willing to do His will.' There is the secret of this 'wonderful voyage.' For it was absurdly dangerous to think of sailing across the Atlantic in such a vessel as the Woodhouse: or it would have been, had it been a mere human plan. But if the all-powerful, almighty Will of God really commanded them to go, then it was no longer dangerous but the only safe thing they could do.

'Our trembling hands held in Thy strong and loving grasp, what shall even the weakest of us fear?'

Perhaps Master Robert expected when once he was ready to obey cheerfully, that all his difficulties would vanish. Instead, fresh difficulties arose; and the next difficulty was truly a great one. The press-gang came by, and took Robert Fowler's servants off by force to help to man the British fleet that was being fitted out to fight in the Baltic; took them, whether they would or no, as Richard Sellar was to be captured in the same way, seven years later.

So now the long voyage to America must be undertaken not only in too small a boat, but with too few sailors to work her. Besides Robert Fowler, only two men and three boys were left on board to sail the ship on this long, difficult voyage.

Presently the Friends began to come on board; and if the captain's heart sank anew as he saw the long string of passengers making for his tiny boat—who shall wonder or blame him? It was a very solemn procession of weighty Friends.

In front came the five, who had been in America before, and who were going back to face persecution, knowing what it meant. Their names were: first that 'ancient and venerable man' William Brend; then young Christopher Holder of Winterbourne in Gloucestershire, a well-educated man of good estate; John Copeland of Holderness in Yorkshire; Mary Weatherhead of



Bristol; and Dorothy⁴² Waugh, the serving-maid of Preston Patrick, who had been 'convinced and called to the ministry' as she went about her daily work in the family of Friend John Camm, at Cammsgill.

After them followed the other five who had not crossed the Atlantic before, but who were no less eager to face unknown difficulties and dangers. Their names were: William Robinson the London merchant; Robert Hodgson; Humphrey Norton (remember Humphrey Norton, he will be heard of again); Richard Doudney, 'an innocent man who served the Lord in sincerity'; and Mary Clark, the wife of John Clark, a London Friend, who, like most of the others, had already undergone much suffering for her faith. On board the Woodhouse they all came, stepping on deck one after the other solemnly and sedately, while the anxious captain watched them and wondered how many more were to come, and where they were all to be lodged. Once they were on board, however, things changed and felt quite different. It was as if an Unseen Passenger had come with them.

This is Robert Fowler's own account: 'Upon the 1st day of Fourth Month called June received I the Lord's servants aboard, Who came with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm with them; so that with courage we set sail and came to the Downs the second day, where our dearly beloved William Dewsbury with Michael Thompson came aboard, and in them we were much refreshed; and, recommending us to the grace of God, we launched forth.'

After this his narrative has a different ring: Master Fowler was no longer going about his ship with eyes cast down and hanging head and a heart full of fear. He had straightened his back and was a stalwart mariner again. Perhaps this was partly owing to the great pleasure that came to him before they actually set sail, when, as he tells, William Dewsbury came on board to visit the travellers. 'Dear William Dewsbury' was the one Friend of all others Robert Fowler must have wished to see once more before leaving England, for it was William Dewsbury's preaching that had 'convinced' Robert Fowler and made him become a Friend a few years before. It was William Dewsbury's teaching about the blessedness of following the inner Voice, the inner guidance, that had led him to offer himself and the Woodhouse for the service of Truth.

Perhaps he said, half in joke, half in earnest, 'O William Dewsbury! O William Dewsbury! thou hast much to answer for! If I had never met thee I should never have undertaken this voyage in my little boat!' If he said this, I think a very tender, thankful light came into William Dewsbury's face, as he answered, 'Let us give thanks then together, brother, that the message did reach thee through me; since without this voyage thou could'st not fully have known the power and the wonder of the Lord.'

Quakers do not have priests to baptize them, or bishops to confirm or ordain them, as Church people do. Yet God's actual presence in the heart is often revealed first through the message of one of His messengers. Therefore there is a special

42. She sometimes spelled her name Dorithy, which is not the way to spell Dorothy now, but spelling was much less fixed in those days.



bond of tender fellowship and friendship between those who are truly fathers and children in God, even in a Society where all are friends. In this relation William Dewsbury stood to Robert Fowler.

Reason and fear raised their heads once again, even after William Dewsbury's visit. Robert Fowler thought of going to the Admiral in the Downs to complain of the loss of his servants, and to ask that a convoy might be sent with them. But he did not go, because, as he says, 'From which thing I was withholden by that Hand which was my Helper.'

The south wind began to blow, and they were obliged to put in at Portsmouth, and there there were plenty of men waiting to be engaged, but when they heard that this tiny vessel was actually venturing to cross the Atlantic, not one would sail in her, and this happened again at South Yarmouth, where they put in a few days later.

At Portsmouth, however, the Friends were not idle. They went ashore and held a meeting, or, as Robert Fowler puts it, 'They went forth and gathered sticks and kindled a fire, and left it burning.' Not real sticks for a real fire, of course, but a fire of love and service in people's hearts, that would help to keep the cold world warm in after days.

This was their last task in England. A few hours later they had quitted her shores. The coast-line that followed them faithfully at first, dropped behind gradually, growing fainter and paler, then resting like a thought upon the sea, till it finally disappeared. Only a vast expanse of heaving waters surrounded the travellers.

At first it seemed as if their courage was not to be too severely tested. 'Three pretty large ships which were for the Newfoundland' appeared, and bore the Woodhouse company for some fifty leagues. In their vicinity the smaller vessel might have made the voyage, perilous at best, with a certain amount of confidence. But the Dutch warships were known to be not far distant, and in order to escape them the three 'pretty large ships made off to the northward, and left us without hope or help as to the outward.'

The manner of the departure of the ships was on this wise. Early in the morning it was shown to Humphrey Norton—who seems to have been especially sensitive to messages from the invisible world—that those were nigh unto us who sought our lives.' He called Robert Fowler, and gave him this warning, and added, 'Thus saith the Lord, ye shall be carried away as in a mist.' 'Presently,' says Robert Fowler, 'we espied a great ship making up to us, and the three great ships were much afraid, and tacked about with what speed they could; in the very interim the Lord fulfilled His promise, and struck our enemies in the face with a contrary wind, wonderfully to our refreshment. Then upon our parting from these three ships we were brought to ask counsel of the Lord, and the word was from Him, "Cut through and steer your straight course and mind nothing but Me."'

'Cut through and steer your straight course, and mind nothing but Me!' Alone upon the broad Atlantic in this cockle-shell of



a boat! Only a cockle-shell truly, yet it held a bit of heaven within it—the heaven of obedience. Every day the little company of Friends met in that ship's hold together, and 'He Himself met with us and manifested himself largely unto us,' words that have been proved true by many another company of the Master's servants afloat upon the broad waters from that day to this. There they sat on the wooden benches, with spray breaking over them, the faithful men and women who were daring all for the Truth. Only three times in the whole voyage was the weather so bad that storms prevented their assembling together. Much of the actual navigation of the vessel seems to have been left to the strange passengers to determine. The Captain's narrative continues: 'Thus it was all the voyage with the faithful, who were carried far above storms and tempests, that when the ship went either to the right hand or to the left, their hands joined all as one, and did direct her way; so that we have seen and said, "We see the Lord leading our vessel even as it were a man leading a horse by the head; we regarding neither latitude nor longitude, but kept to our line, which was and is our Leader, Guide, and Rule."'

Besides the guidance vouchsafed to the Friends as a group, some of them had special intimations given to them.

'The sea was my figure,' says Robert Fowler, 'for if anything got up within, the sea without rose up against me, and then the floods clapped their hands, of which in time I took notice and told Humphrey Norton.'⁴³

In this account Humphrey Norton always seems to hear voices directing their course, while Robert Fowler generally 'sees figures'—sights that teach him what to do. Guidance may come in different ways to different people, but it does come surely to those who seek for it.

The inward Voice spoke to Robert Fowler also when they were in mid Atlantic after they had been at sea some two weeks:

'We saw another great ship making up to us which did appear far off to be a frigate, and made her sign for us to come to them, which was to me a great cross, we being to windward of them; and it was said "GO SPEAK TO HIM, THE CROSS IS SURE; DID I EVER FAIL THEE THEREIN?" And unto others there appeared no danger in it, so that we did, and it proved a tradesman of London, by whom we writ back.'

The hardest test of their faith came some three weeks later, when after five weeks at sea they had still accomplished only 300 leagues, scarcely a third part of their voyage, and their destination still seemed hopelessly distant. The strong faith of Humphrey Norton carried them all over this trial. 'He (Humphrey Norton) falling into communion with God, told me that he had received a comfortable answer, and also that about such a day we should land in America, which was even so fulfilled. Upon the last day of the fifth month (July) 1657, we made land.' This land turned out to be the very part to which the Friends had most desired to come. The pilot⁴⁴ had expected to reach quite

43. The meaning seems to be that whenever fear or misgiving came to Fowler's heart, the sea also became stormy; while his spirit remained trustful, the sea was likewise calm.

44. As the navigating officer of the ship was then called.



a different point, but the invisible guidance of his strange passengers was clear and unwavering. 'Our drawing had been all the passage to keep to the southward, until the evening before we made land, and then the word was, "There is a lion in the way"; unto which we gave obedience, and said, "Let them steer northwards until the day following."' ⁴⁵

That must have been an anxious day on board the Woodhouse. Think of the two different clues that were being followed within that one small boat: the Friends with their clasped hands, seeking and finding guidance; up on deck the pilot, with his nautical knowledge, scoffing very likely at any other method of progress than the reckoning to which he was accustomed. As the slow hours passed, and no land appeared to break the changeless circle of the sea, the Friends felt a 'drawing' to meet together long before their usual time. 'And it was said that we may look abroad in the evening; and as we sat waiting upon the Lord, we discovered the land, and our mouths were opened in prayer and thanksgiving.'

The words are simple as any words could be. But in spite of the 260 years that separate that day from this, its gladness is still fresh. All voyagers know the thrill caused by the first sight of land, even in these days of steamships, when all arrangements can be made and carried out with almost clock-like precision. But in the old time of sailing ships, when a contrary wind or a sudden calm might upset the reckoning for days together, and when there was the added danger that food or water might give out, to see the longed-for land in sight at last must have been even more of an event.

To all the Friends on board the Woodhouse this first sight of America meant a yet deeper blessedness. It was the outer assurance that the invisible guidance they were following was reliable. The Friends rejoiced and were wholly at rest and thankful. But the pilot, instead of being, as might have been expected, convinced at last that there was a wisdom wiser than his own, still resisted. Where some people see life with a thread of guidance running through it unmistakably, others are always to be found who will say these things are nothing but chance and what is called 'coincidence.'

Such an one was the pilot of the Woodhouse. As the land drew nearer, a creek was seen to open out in it. The Friends were sure that their vessel was meant to enter there, but again the pilot resisted. By this time the Friends had learned to expect objections from him, and had learned, too, that it was best not to argue with him, but to leave him to find out for himself that their guidance was right. So they told him to do as he chose, that 'both sides were safe, but going that way would be more trouble to him.' When morning dawned 'he saw, after he had laid by all the night, the thing fulfilled.'

Into the creek, therefore, in the bright morning sunlight the Woodhouse came gaily sailing; not knowing where she was, nor whither the creek would lead. 'Now to lay before you the largeness of the wisdom, will, and power of God, this creek led

45. It is not quite easy at this distance of time to understand why 'a lion in the way' should mean 'go north,' unless it was because the 'drawing' had been strongly south hitherto, and now that path was blocked.



us in between the Dutch Plantation and Long Island:—the very place that some of the Friends had felt that they ought to visit, but which it would have been most difficult to reach had they landed in any other spot. Thus 'the Lord God that moved them brought them to the place appointed, and led us into our way according to the word which came unto Christopher Holder: "You are in the road to Rhode Island." In that creek came a shallop to guide us, taking us to be strangers, we making our way with our boat, and they spoke English, and informed us, and guided us along. The power of the Lord fell much upon us, and an irresistible word came unto us, that the seed in America shall be as the sand of the sea; it was published in the ears of the brethren, which caused tears to break forth with fulness of joy; so that presently for these places some prepared themselves, who were Robert Hodgson, Richard Doudney, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Weatherhead, and Dorothy Waugh, who the next day were put safely ashore into the Dutch plantation, called New Amsterdam.'

'New Amsterdam, on an unnamed creek in the Dutch Plantation,' sounds an unfamiliar place to modern ears. Yet when that same Dutch Plantation changed hands and became English territory its new masters altered the name of its chief town. New Amsterdam was re-christened in honour of the king's brother, James, Duke of York, and became known as New York, the largest city of the future United States of America.

As to the unnamed 'creek' into which the Woodhouse was led, that was probably the estuary of the mighty river Hudson. 'Here,' continues Robert Fowler, 'we came, and it being the First Day of the week several came aboard to us and we began our work. I was caused to go to the Governor, and Robert Hodgson with me—he (the Governor) was moderate both in words and actions.'

This moderation on the Governor's part must have been no small comfort to the new arrivals. Also the laws of the New Netherland Colonies, where they had unexpectedly landed, were much more tolerant than those of New England, whither they were bound. Even yet the perils of the gallant Woodhouse were not over. The remaining Friends had now to be taken on to hospitable Rhode Island, the home of religious liberty, from whence they could pursue their mission to the persecuting Colonists on the mainland.

A few days before their arrival at New Amsterdam, the two Roberts (Robert Hodgson and Robert Fowler) had both had a vision in which they had seen the Woodhouse in great danger. The day following their interview with the Governor, when they were once more on the sea, 'it was fulfilled, there being a passage between the two lands which is called by the name of Hell-Gate; we lay very conveniently for a pilot, and into that place we came, and into it were forced, and over it were carried, which I never heard of any before that were; there were rocks many on both sides of us, so that I believe one yard's length would have endangered both vessel and goods.'

Here for the last time the little group of Friends gathered to give thanks for their safe arrival after their most wonderful voyage. If any of them were tempted to think they owed any of



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their protection and guidance to their own merits and faithfulness, a last vision that came to Robert Fowler must have chased this thought out of their minds once for all.

'There was a shoal of fish,' he says, 'which pursued our vessel and followed her strangely, and along close by our rudder.' The master mariner's eye had evidently been following the movements of the fish throughout the day, as he asked himself: 'What are those fish? I never saw fish act in that way before. Why do they follow the vessel so steadily?' Then, in the time of silent waiting upon God, light streamed upon this puzzle in his mind. 'In our meeting it was shewn to me, these fish are to thee a figure. "Thus doth the prayers of the churches proceed to the Lord for thee and the rest."' That was the explanation of the wonderful voyage. The Woodhouse and her little company had not been solitary and unprotected, even when the three 'pretty great ships' drew off for fear of the Dutch men of war and left them alone.

The prayers of their friends in England were following them across the vast Atlantic, though unseen by human eyes, even as those hosts of shining fish, which surrounded the vessel as she drove her prow through the clear water, would be unseen to a spectator above its surface. George Fox was praying for the travellers. William Dewsbury was sure to be praying for them. Friend Gerard Roberts would be also much in prayer, since the responsibility of the voyage was largely on his shoulders. Besides these, there were the husbands, wives, and little children of some of the Friends, the brothers and sisters of others, all longing for them to arrive safely and do their Master's work. Now here came the fish to assure Robert Fowler that the faith he believed was true. Real as the things we can see or touch or feel seem to us to be, the unseen things are more real still. Ever after, to those who had crossed the Atlantic in the good ship Woodhouse, the assurance of God's clear guidance and the answered prayers of His people must have been the most real of all.

Robert Fowler's story of the marvellous voyage ends with these words: 'Surely in our meeting did the thing run through me as oil and bid me much rejoice.'



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HISTORICAL NOTES

Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

‘THE MARVELLOUS VOYAGE OF THE GOOD SHIP “WOODHOUSE.”’

Taken from Robert Fowler's own account: 'A TRUE RELATION OF THE VOYAGE UNDERTAKEN BY ME ROBERT FOWLER WITH MY SMALL VESSEL CALLED THE "WOODHOUSE" BUT PERFORMED BY THE LORD LIKE AS HE DID NOAH'S ARK, WHEREIN HE SHUT UP A FEW RIGHTEOUS PERSONS AND LANDED THEM SAFE, EVEN AT THE HILL ARARAT,' published in the 'HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN AMERICA.'

The scenes on Bridlington Quay and in London are not strictly historical, but may be inferred from the above account.



July 21: When [Friend](#) Christopher Holder began to speak at the First Church of Salem, an official attempted to shove a gag into his mouth. Samuel Shattuck intervened. This act, apparently, would be inscribed upon Shattuck's tombstone, although we cannot now verify this because the tombstone in question and its inscription have sunk into the ground.

A

Chronological TABLE

*Of the most remarkable passages in that part of
America, known to us by the name of NEW-
ENGLAND.*

Anno Dom.

1657. The *Quakers* arrived in *New-England*, at *Plymouth*.



July 31: The 11 [Quaker](#) missionaries of the *Woodhouse* disembarked in the New World, and were joined there by three more Friends from Barbados. Within the next two years 12 of these 14 missionaries would make their way overland into Boston.

A
Quaker's Sea-Journal
Being a True
RELATION
of a Voyage to
NEW ENGLAND
Performed by Robert Fowler of the Town of
Burlington in Yorkshire in the
Year 1658

London Printed for Francis Coffenet at
the Anchor & Mariner in
Tower-Street Anno 1659



SILVER SLIPPERS:

OR A QUAKERESS AMONG THE TURKS⁴⁶

'If romance, like laughter, is the child of sudden glory, the figure of Mary Fisher is the most romantic in the early Quaker annals.'—MABEL BRAILSFORD.

'Truly Mary Fisher is a precious heart, and hath been very serviceable here.'—HENRY FELL to Margt. Fell. (Barbadoes, 1656.)

'My dear Father ... Let me not be forgotten of thee, but let thy prayers be for me that I may continue faithful to the end. If any of your Friends be free to come over, they may be serviceable; here are many convinced, and many desire to know the way, so I rest.'—MARY FISHER to George Fox. (Barbadoes, 1655.)

'This English maiden would not be at rest before she went in purpose to the great Emperor of the Turks, and informed him concerning the errors of his religion and the truth of hers.'—GERARD CROESE.

'Henceforth, my daughter, do manfully and without hesitation those things which by the ordering of providence will be put into thy hands; for being now armed with the fortitude of the faith, thou wilt happily overcome all thy adversaries.'—CATHERINE OF SIENA.

46. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



SILVER SLIPPERS: OR A QUAKERESS AMONG THE TURKS

I

The Grand Turk had removed his Court from Constantinople. His beautiful capital city by the Golden Horn was in disgrace, on account of the growing disaffection of its populace and the frequent mutinies of its garrison. For the wars of Sultan Mahomet against the Republic of Venice were increasingly unpopular in his capital, whose treasuries were being drained to furnish constant relays of fresh troops for further campaigns. Therefore, before its citizens became even more bankrupt in their allegiance than they already were in their purses, the ancient Grand Vizier advised his young master to withdraw, for a while, the radiance of his imperial countenance from the now sullen city beside the Golden Horn. Thus it came about that in the late autumn of 1657, Sultan Mahomet, accompanied by his aged minister, suddenly departed with his whole Court, and took up his residence close outside the still loyal city of Adrianople. His state entry into that town was of surpassing splendour, since both the Sultan and his Minister were desirous to impress the citizens, in order to persuade them to open their purse-strings and reveal their hidden hoards. Moreover, they were ever more wishful to dazzle and overawe the Venetian Ambassador, Ballerino, who was still kept by them, unrighteously, a prisoner in the said town.

A full hour or more was the long cavalcade in passing over the narrow stone bridge that spans the turbid Maritza outside the walls of Adrianople. In at the great gate, and down the one, long, meandering street of the city, the imperial procession wound, moving steadily and easily along, since, an hour or two previously, hundreds of slaves had filled up the cavernous holes in the roadway with innumerable barrel loads of sawdust, in honour of the Sultan's arrival. Surrounded by multitudes of welcoming citizens, the procession wound its way at length out on the far side of the city. There, amid a semicircle of low hills, clothed with chestnut woods, the imperial encampment of hundreds and thousands of silken tents shone glistening in the sun.⁴⁷

47. A certain Englishman, Paul Rycout by name, has left a description of this encampment as he saw it on his visit a short time afterwards. 'The tents were raised on a small hill, and about 2000 in number, ranged at that time without order, only the Grand Signior's seemed to be in the midst to overtop all the rest, well worthy observation, costing (as was reported) 180,000 dollars, richly embroidered in the inside with gold. Within the walls of this tent (as I may so call them) were all sorts of offices belonging to the Seraglio, apartments for the pages, chiosks or summer-houses for pleasure, and though I could not get admittance to view the innermost rooms and chambers, yet by the outward and more common places of resort I could make a guess at the richness of the rest, being sumptuous beyond comparison of any in use among Christian princes. On the right hereof was pitched the Grand Vizier's tent, exceeding rich and lofty, and had I not seen that of the Sultan before it, I should have judged it the best that mine eyes had seen. The ostentation and richness of this empire being evidenced in nothing more than the richness of their pavilions, sumptuous beyond the fixed palaces of princes, erected with marble and mortar.'



In one of the most splendid apartments of the Sultan's own most magnificent pavilion, the two chief personages who presided over this marvellous silken city might have been seen, deep in conversation, one sultry evening in June 1658, a few months after the Court had taken up its residence outside the walls of Adrianople. They formed a strange contrast: the boy Sultan and his aged Grand Vizier, Kuprülü the Albanian. Sultan Mahomet, the 'Grand Seignior' of the whole Turkish Empire, was no strong, powerful man, but a mere stripling who had been scarred and branded for life, some say even deformed, by an attack made upon him in earliest infancy by his own unnatural father, the Sultan Ibrahim. This cruel maniac (whose only excuse was that he was not in possession of more than half his wits at the time) had been seized with a fit of ungovernable rage against the ladies of his harem, and in his fury had done his best to slay his own son and heir. Happily he had not succeeded in doing more than maim the child, and, before long, imprisonment and the bow-string put an end to his dangerous career. But though the boy Sultan had escaped with his life, and had now reached the age of sixteen years, he never attained to an imposing presence. He has been described as 'a monster of a man, deformed in body and mind, stupid, logger-headed, cruel, fierce as to his visage,' though this would seem to be an exaggeration, since another account speaks of him as 'young and active, addicted wholly to the delight of hunting and to follow the chase of fearful and flying beasts.' In order to have more leisure for these sports he was wont to depute all the business of government to his Grand Vizier, the aged Albanian chieftain Kuprülü, who now, bending low before his young master, so that the hairs of his white beard almost swept the ground, was having one of his farewell audiences before departing for the battlefield. Kuprülü, though over eighty years of age, was about to face danger for the sake of the boy ruler, who lounged luxuriously on his cushions, glittering with jewels, scented and effeminate, with sidelong, cunning glances and cruel lips. Yet even Sultan Mahomet, touched by his aged Minister's devotion, had been fired with unwonted generosity: 'Ask what you will and you shall have it, even unto the half of my kingdom,' he was exclaiming with true Oriental fervour.

The Grand Vizier again swept the ground with his long white beard, protesting that he was but a humble dead dog in his master's sight, and that one beam from the imperial eyes was a far more precious reward than the gold and jewels of the whole universe. Nevertheless, the Sultan detected a shade of hesitation in spite of the magniloquence of this refusal. There was something the Grand Vizier wished to ask. He must be yet further encouraged.

'Thou hast a boon at heart; I read it in thy countenance,' the Sultan continued, 'ask and fear not. Be it my fairest province for thy revenues, my fleetest Arab for thy stable, my whitest Circassian beauty for thine own, thou canst demand it at this moment without fear.' So saying, as if to prove his words, he waved away with one hand the Court Executioner who stood ever



at his side when he gave audience, ready to avenge the smallest slip in etiquette.

The Grand Vizier looked on the ground, still hesitating and troubled, 'The Joy of the flourishing tree and the Lord of all Magnificence is my Lord,' he answered slowly, 'the gift I crave is unworthy of his bountiful goodness. How shall one small speck of dust be noticed in the full blaze of the noonday sun? Yet, in truth, I have promised this mere speck of dust, this white stranger woman, by the mouth of my interpreter, that I would mention to my lord's sublimity her desire to bask in the sunshine of his rays and—'

'A white, stranger woman,' interrupted the Sultan eagerly, 'desiring to see me? Nay, then, the boon is of thy giving, not of mine. Tell me more! Yet it matters not. Were she beauteous as the crescent at even, or ill-favoured as a bird of prey, she shall yet be welcome for thy sake, O faithful Servant, be she a slave or a queen. Tell me only her name and whence she comes.' Again the Grand Vizier made obeisance. 'Neither foul nor fair, neither young nor old, neither slave nor queen,' he replied. 'She is in truth a marvel, like to none other these eyes have seen in all their fourscore years and more. Tender as the dewdrop is her glance; yet cold as snow is her behaviour. Weak as water in her outward seeming; yet firm and strong as ice is she in strength of inward purpose.'

'Of what nation is this Wonder?' enquired the Sultan. 'She can scarcely be a follower of the Prophet, on whom be peace, since thou appearest to have gazed upon her unveiled countenance?'

'Nay, herein is the greatest marvel,' returned the Minister, 'it is an Englishwoman, come hither in unheard fashion over untrodden ways, with a tale to tickle the ears. She tells my interpreter (who alone, as yet, hath spoken with her) that her home is in the cold grey isle of Britain. That there she dwelt many years in lowly estate, being indeed but a serving-maid in a town called Yorkshire; or so my interpreter understands. She saith that there she heard the voice of Allah Himself, calling her to be His Minister and Messenger, heard and straightway obeyed. Sayeth, moreover, that she hath already travelled in His service beyond the utmost western sea, even to the new land discovered by that same Cristofero of Genoa, whose fellow citizens are at this hour dwelling in our city yonder. Sayeth that in that far western land she hath been beaten and imprisoned. Yet, nevertheless, she was forbidden to rest at home until she had carried her message "as far to the East as to the West," or some such words. That having thus already visited the land where sleeps the setting sun of western skies, she craveth now an audience with the splendid morning Sun, the light of the whole East; even the Grand Seignior, who is as the Shade of God Himself.'

'For what purpose doth she desire an audience?' enquired the Sultan moodily.

'Being a mere woman and therefore without skill, she can use only simple words,' answered the Grand Vizier. '"Tell the Sultan I have something to declare unto him from the Most High God,"



such is her message; but who heedeth what a woman saith? "Never give ear to the counsels and advices of woman" is the chiefest word inscribed upon the heart of a wise king, as I have counselled ever. Yet, this once, seeing that this maiden is wholly unlike all other women, it might be well to let her bask in the rays of glory rather than turn her unsatisfied away—.' The Vizier paused expectantly. The Sultan remained looking down, toying with the pearl and turquoise sheath of the dagger stuck in his girdle. 'A strange tale,' he said at last, 'it interests me not, although I feel an unknown Power that forces me to listen to thy words. Her name?' he suddenly demanded, lifting his eyes once more to his Minister's face.

'She gives it not,' returned the other, 'speaketh of herself as but a Messenger, repeating ever, "Not I, but His Word." Yet my interpreter, having caused enquiries to be made, findeth that those with whom she lodgeth in the city do speak of her as Maree. Also, some peasants who found her wandering on the mountains when the moon was full, and brought her hither, speak of her by the name of Miriam. Marvelling at the whiteness of her skin, they deem she is a witch or Moon Maiden come hither by enchantment. Yet must she on no account be hurt or disregarded, they say, since she is wholly guileless of evil spells, and under the special protection of Issa Ben Miriam, seeing that she beareth his mother's name.'

The Sultan was growing impatient. 'A fit tale for ignorant peasants,' he declared. 'Me it doth not deceive. This is but another English vagabond sent hither by that old jackal Sir Thomas Bendish, their Ambassador at Constantinople, to dog my footsteps even here, and report my doings to him. I will not see her, were she ten times a witch, since she is of his nation and surely comes at his behest.'

'Let my lord slay his servant with his own hands rather than with his distrust,' returned the Grand Vizier. 'Had she come from Sir Thomas Bendish, or by his orders, straightway to him she should have returned. She hath never even seen him, nor so much as set eyes on our sacred city beside the Golden Horn. Had she gazed even from a distance upon the most holy Mosque of the Sacred Wisdom at Constantinople, she had surely been less utterly astonished at the sight of even our noble Sultan Selim in this city.' So saying, the Grand Vizier turned to the entrance of the pavilion, and gazed towards the town of Adrianople lying in the plain beneath, beyond the poplar-bordered stream of the Maritza. High above all other buildings rose the great Mosque of Sultan Selim, with its majestic dome surrounded by slender sky-piercing minarets. Its 999 windows shone glorious in the rays of the setting sun:—Sultan Selim, the glory of Adrianople, the ruin of the architect who schemed its wondrous beauty; since he, poor wretch, was executed on the completion of the marvel, for this crime only, that he had placed 999 windows within its walls, and had missed, though but by one, the miracle of a full thousand.

The Vizier continued: 'The woman declares she hath come hither on foot, alone and unattended. Her tale is that she came by the



sea from the Isles of Britain with several companions (filled all of them with the same desire to behold the face of the Sublime Magnificence) so far as Smyrna; where, declaring their wish unto the English Consul there, he, like a wise-hearted man, advised her and her companions "by all means to forbear."

'They not heeding and still urgently beseeching him to bring them further on their journey, the Consul dissembled and used guile. Therefore, the while he pretended all friendliness and promised to help forward their enterprise, he in truth set them instead on board a ship bound for Venice and no wise for Constantinople, hoping thereby to thwart their purpose, and to force them to return to their native land. Some of the company, discovering this after the ship had set sail, though lamenting, did resign themselves to their fate. Only this maid, strong in soul, would not be turned from her purpose, but declared constantly that Allah, who had commanded her to come, would surely bring her there where He would have her, even to the presence of the Grand Seignior himself. And lo! even as she spoke, a violent storm arose, the ship was driven out of her course and cast upon the Island of Zante with its rugged peaks; and there, speaking to the ship-master, she persuaded him to put her ashore on the opposite coast of the mainland, even at the place known as the Black Mountain; and thence she hath made her way hither on foot, alone, and hath met with nothing but lovingkindness from young and old, so she saith, as the Messenger of the Great King.'

The Sultan's interest was aroused at last: 'Afoot—from the Black Mountain!—incredible! A woman, and alone! It is a journey of many hundreds of miles, and through wild, mountainous country. What proof hast thou that she speaketh truly?'

'My interpreter hath questioned her closely as to her travels. His home is in that region, and he is convinced that she has indeed seen the places she describes. Also, she carries ever in her breast a small sprig of fadeless sea-lavender that groweth only on the Black Mountain slopes, and sayeth that the sea captain plucked it as he set her ashore, telling her that it was even as her courage, seeing that it would never fade.'

But the Sultan's patience was exhausted: 'I must see this woman and judge for myself, not merely hear of her from aged lips,' he exclaimed. 'Witch or woman-moonbeam or maiden—she shall declare herself in my presence. Only, since she doth dare to call herself the messenger of the Most High God, let her be accorded the honours of an Ambassador, that all men may know that the Sultan duly regardeth the message of Allah.'

II

On a divan of silken cushions in the guest chamber of a house in the city of Adrianople, a woman lay, still and straight. Midnight was long past. Outside, the hot wind could be heard every now and then, listlessly flapping the carved wooden lattice-work shutters of an overhanging balcony built out on timber props over the river Maritza, whose turbid waters surged beneath with steady splash. Inside, the striped silken curtains



were closely drawn. The atmosphere was stuffy and airless, filled with languorous aromatic spices.

Mary Fisher could not sleep: she lay motionless as the slow hours passed; gazing into the darkness with wide, unseeing eyes, while she thought of all that the coming day would bring. The end of her incredible journey was at hand. The Grand Vizier's word was pledged. The Grand Turk himself would grant her an audience before the hour of noon, to receive her Message from the Great King.

Her Message. Through all the difficulties and dangers of her journey, that Message had sustained her. As she had tramped over steep mountain ranges, or won a perilous footing in the water-courses of dry hillside torrents, more like staircases than roads, thoughts and words had often rushed unbidden to her mind and even to her lips. No difficulties could daunt her with that Message still undelivered. Many an evening as she lay down beneath the gnarled trees of an olive grove, or cooled her aching feet in the waters of some clear stream, far beyond any bodily refreshment the intense peace of the Message she was sent to deliver had quieted the heart of the weary messenger. Only now that her goal was almost reached, all power of speech or thought seemed to be taken from her. But, though a candle may burn low, may even for a time be extinguished, it still carries securely within it the possibility of flame. Even so the Messenger of the Great King lay, hour after hour, in the hot night silence; not sleeping, yet smiling: physically exhausted, yet spiritually unafraid.

The heat within the chamber became at length unbearably oppressive to one accustomed, as Mary Fisher had been for weeks past, to sleeping under the open sky. Stretching up a thin white arm through the scented darkness, she managed to unfasten the silken cords and buttons of the curtain above her, and to let in a rush of warm night air. It was still too early for the reviving breeze to spring up that would herald the approach of dawn: too early for even the earliest of the orange hawks, that haunted the city in the daytime, to be awake. Cuddled close in cosy nests under the wide eaves, their slumbers were disturbed for a moment as Mary, half sitting up, shook the pierced lattice-work of the shutters that formed the sides of her apartment. Peering through the interstices of fragrant wood, she caught sight of a wan crescent moon, just appearing behind a group of chestnut-trees on the opposite hill above the river.

The crescent moon! Her guide over sea and land! Had she not come half round the world to proclaim to the followers of that same Crescent, a people truly sitting in gross darkness, the message of the One true Light?

However long the midnight hours, dawn surely must be nigh at hand. Before long, that waning Crescent must set and disappear, and the Sun of Righteousness arise with healing in His wings. There lay the slumbering flame of her wondrous Message. The right words wherewith to kindle that flame in the hearts of others would surely be given when the right hour came, however unworthy the Messenger.



'As far as the East is from the West,' the weary woman thought to herself, while the scenes of her wondrous journey across two hemispheres rushed back unbidden to her mind—'even so far hath He removed our transgressions from us.'

At that moment, the eagerly awaited breeze of dawn passed over her hot temples, soothing her like a friend. Refreshed and strengthened, she lay down once more, still and straight; her smooth hair braided round her head; her hands crossed calmly on her breast; in a repose as quiet and austere, even upon those yielding Oriental cushions, as when she lay upon her hard, narrow pallet bed at home.

Before the first apricot flush of dawn crept up the eastern sky, Mary Fisher had sunk into a tranquil sleep.

III

It was broad daylight, though still early, when she awoke. Outside, the garden behind the house was now a rippling sea of rose and scarlet poppies, above which the orange hawks swooped or dived like copper anchors, in the crisp morning air. Within doors, a slave girl stood beside the divan in the guest chamber, clapping her hands gently together to cause the white stranger to awake. But the chamber seemed full of moonlight, although it was broad day. Had the waning crescent retraced her footsteps, or left behind some of her chill beams? Mary Fisher rubbed her eyes. She must surely be dreaming still! Then, waking fully, she saw that the moon-like radiance came from a heap of silvery gauze draperies, reflected in the emerald green tiles of the floor and in the tall narrow mirrors that separated the lattice-work shutters.

A flowing robe of silver tissue was spread out over an ottoman in the centre of the floor. The slave girl at her side was holding up a long veil of shimmering silver, drawing it through her henna-stained finger-tips, with low, gurgling cries of delight; then, stretching out her arms wide, she spread the veil easily to their fullest extent. A moment later, drawing a tiny ring from her finger, she had pressed the veil as easily through the small golden circlet, so fine were the silken folds. Then with significant gestures she explained that all these treasures were for the stranger to wear instead of her own apparel. With scornful glances from her dark almond-shaped eyes she pointed disdainfully to Mary Fisher's own simple garments, which, at her entrance, she had tossed contemptuously into a heap on the floor.

The plain, grey, Quakeress's dress did indeed look simpler than ever amid all the shining Oriental splendour. Worn too it was, and travel-stained in places, though newly washed, carefully mended and all ready for use.

Mary Fisher had been a woman for many years before she became a Quakeress. Nay more, she was a woman still. It is possible that, for about the space of half a minute, she may have looked almost regretfully at the silver tissue draperies and the gauze veil. Half a minute. Not longer! For her, a Messenger of the Great King, to clothe herself in garments worn by Turkish women,



unbelievers, followers of the False Prophet, was impossible, not to be contemplated for an instant. With the gentleness of complete decision she dismissed the slave girl, who departed reluctantly towards the women's apartments. In spite of the froth of shining, billowy folds with which her arms were full, she turned round as she parted the striped, silken hangings of the doorway and drew her dusky orange finger-tips in a significant gesture across her slender brown throat. It was obvious that the slave girl considered this refusal a very serious breach of etiquette indeed!

Left alone, Mary Fisher clothed herself, proudly and yet humbly, in her own simple garments. Her body bore even yet the marks where cruel scourgings in her youth had furrowed deep scars from head to waist. Years ago thus had English Christians received her, when she and her companion had been whipped until the blood ran down their backs beneath the market cross at Cambridge. The two young girls were the first of any of the Friends to be thus publicly scourged. 'This is but the beginning of the sufferings of the people of God,' Mary had exclaimed prophetically, as the first stroke of the lash fell on her shoulders, while the assembled multitudes listened in amazement as the two suffering women went on to pray for mercy on their persecutors.

While here, in Adrianople, under the Crescent, the Infidel Turk, to whom she had come in the power of the very same Message for which she had suffered in Christian countries, was receiving her with kindness and respect, offering to clothe her body in sumptuous apparel, instead of with bloody scars....

Mary Fisher sighed with irrepressible pain at the thought. Looking down, the marks left by the stocks were also plainly visible under the sunburn round her ankles, as she stood, bare-footed, on the crimson rug. She gladly covered up those tell-tale tokens under her white stockings. But where were her shoes? They seemed to have disappeared. Although the few strips of worn leather that she had put off the night before had been scarcely worthy of the name of shoes, their disappearance might be a grave difficulty. Had they been taken away in order to force her to appear bare-footed before the Sultan?

Ah!—here the slave girl was reappearing. Kneeling down, with a triumphant smile she forced the Englishwoman's small, delicate feet—hardened, it is true, by many hundreds of miles of rough travelling, but shapely still—into a little pair of embroidered silver slippers. Turkish slippers! glistening with silver thread and crystal beads, turned up at the pointed toes, and finished by two silver tufted tassels, that peeped out incongruously from under the straight folds of the simple grey frock.

This time Mary Fisher yielded submissively and made not the slightest resistance. It did not matter to her in the least how her feet were shod, so long as they were shod in some way, and she was saved from having to pay a mark of homage to the Infidel. As she sat with folded hands on the divan, awaiting the summons of the Grand Vizier, her deep eyes showed that her thoughts were



far, far away from any Silver Slippers.

IV

'Mahomet, sone of the Emperour, sone of God, thrice heavenly and thrice known as the renowned Emperour of the Turks, King of Greece, Macedonia and Moldavia, King of Samaria and Hungary, King of Greater and Lesser Egypt, King of all the inhabitants of the Earth and the Earthly Paradise, Guardian of the Sepulchre of thy God, Lord of the Tree of Life, Lord of all the Emperours of the World from the East even to the West, Grand Persecutor of the Christians and of all the wicked, the Joy of the flourishing Tree' ... and so forth and so on.

The owner of all these high-sounding titles was hunched up on his cushions in the State Pavilion. 'On State occasions, among which it is evident that he included this Quaker audience, he delighted to deck his displeasing person in a vest of cloth of gold, lined with sable of the richest contrasting blackness. Around him were ranged the servants of the Seraglio—the highest rank of lacqueys standing nearest the royal person, the "Paicks" in their embroidered coats and caps of beaten gold, and the "Solacks," adorned with feathers, and armed with bows and arrows. Behind them were grouped great numbers of eunuchs and the Court pages, carrying lances. These wore the peculiar coiffure permitted only to those of the royal chamber, and above their tresses hung long caps embroidered with gold.

'Mary Fisher was ushered into this brilliant scene with all the honours usually accorded to an Ambassador: the Sultan's dragomans accompanied her and stood waiting to interpret at the interview. She was at this time about thirty-five years of age, "a maid ... whose intellectual faculties were greatly adorned by the gravity of her deportment." ... She must have stood in her simple grey frock, amidst that riot of gold and scarlet, like a lily in a garden of tulips, her quiet face shining in that cruel and lustful place with the joy of a task accomplished, and the sense of the presence of God.'⁴⁸

Thus she stood, at the goal of her journey at last, in the presence of the Grand Turk, she the Messenger of the Great King. There was the Grand Turk, resplendent in his sable and cloth of gold. Opposite to him stood the gentle Quakeress, in her plain garment of grey Yorkshire frieze with its spotless deep collar and close-fitting cap of snowy lawn. Only the Message was wanting now.

At first no Message came.

The Sultan, thinking that the woman before him was naturally alarmed by such unwonted magnificence, spoke to her graciously. 'He asked by his interpreters (whereof there were three with him) whether it was true what had been told him that she had something to say to him from the Lord God. She answered, "Yea." Then he bade her speak on: and she not being forward, weightily pondering what she might say. "Should he dismiss his attendants and let her speak with him in the presence of fewer listeners?' the Grand Turk asked her kindly.' Again came an uncourtly

48. QUAKER WOMEN, by Mabel R. Brailsford.



monosyllabic 'No,' followed by another baffling silence. The executioner, a hook-nosed Kurd with eyes like a bird of prey, stationed, as always, at the Sultan's right hand, began to look at the slight woman in grey with a professional interest. He felt the edge of his blade with a skilful thumb and fore-finger, and turned keen eyes from the slender throat of the Quakeress, rising above the folds of snowy lawn, to the aged neck of the Grand Vizier half hidden by his long white beard. There might be a double failure in etiquette to avenge, should the Sultan's pleasure change and this unprecedented interview prove a failure! The executioner smacked his cruel lips with pleasure at the thought, looking, in his azalea-coloured garment, like an orange hawk himself, all ready to pounce on his victims. Still Silence reigned:—a keen silence more piercing than the sharpest Damascene blade. It was piercing its way into one heart already. Not into the heart of the aged Grand Vizier. The Grand Vizier was frankly bored, and was, moreover, beginning to be strangely uneasy at his protégée's unaccountable behaviour. He turned to his interpreter with an enquiring frown. The interpreter looked yet more uncomfortable—even terrified. Approaching his master, he began to whisper profound apologies into his ear, how that he ought to have warned him that this might happen; the woman had in truth confessed that she could not tell when the Message would be sent, nor could she give it a moment before it came: 'Sayeth indeed that her Teacher in this strange faith hath been known to keep an assembly of over 1000 people waiting for a matter of three hours, in order to "famish them from words," not daring to open his lips without command.' 'Thou shouldest indeed have mentioned this before! Allah grant that this maiden keepeth us not here so long,' retorted the Grand Vizier, with a scowl of natural impatience, seeing that he was to set forth on his journey to the battle-field that very day, and that moments were growing precious, even in the timeless East. Then, turning to the Sultan, he in his turn began to pour out profuse explanations and apologies. The uncouth, misshapen figure on the central divan, however, paid scant heed to his Minister. Right into the fierce, cruel, passionate heart of Sultan Mahomet that strange silence was piercing: piercing as no words could have done, through the crust formed by years of self-seeking and sin, piercing, until it found, until it quickened, 'That of God within.'

What happened next must be told in the historian Sewel's own words, since he doubtless heard the tale from the only person who could tell it, Mary Fisher herself.

'The Grand Turk then bade her speak the word of the Lord to them and not to fear, for they had good hearts and could hear it. He also charged her to speak the word she had to say from the Lord, neither more nor less, for they were willing to hear it, be it what it would. Then she spoke what was upon her mind.'

She never says what it was. The Message, once delivered, could never be repeated.

'The Turks hearkened to her with much attention and gravity until she had done; and then, the Sultan asking her whether she



had anything more to say? she asked him whether he understood what she had said? He answered, "Yes, every word," and further said that what she had spoken was truth. Then he desired her to stay in that country, saying that they could not but respect such an one, as should take so much pains to come to them so far as from England with a message from the Lord God. He also proffered her a guard to bring her into Constantinople, whither she intended. But she, not accepting this offer, he told her it was dangerous travelling, especially for such an one as she: and wondered that she had passed safe so far as she had, saying also that it was in respect for her, and kindness, that he proffered it, and that he would not for anything she should come to the least hurt in his dominions. She having no more to say, the Turks asked her what she thought of their prophet Mahomet? She answered warily that she knew him not, but Christ the true prophet, the Son of God, who was the Light of the World, and enlightened every man coming into the world, Him she knew. And concerning Mahomet, she said that they might judge of him to be true or false according to the words and prophecies he spoke; saying further, "If the word of a prophet shall come to pass, then shall ye know that the Lord hath sent that prophet: but if it come not to pass, then shall ye know that the Lord never sent him." The Turks confessed this to be true, and Mary, having performed her message, departed from the camp to Constantinople without a guard, whither she came without the least hurt or scoff....'

V

Thus Mary returned safe to England, where, if not romance, at any rate solid happiness awaited her in the shape of a certain William Bayly. He, a Quaker preacher and master mariner, having been himself a great traveller and having endured repeated imprisonments in distant countries, could appreciate the courage and success of her unprecedented journey. At any rate, as the historian quaintly tells us, he 'thought her worthy to make him a second wife.'

A few months after her return to England, but while she was still unmarried, Mary Fisher wrote the following account of her travels to some of the friends in whose company she had suffered imprisonment in former days before her great journey.

'My dear love salutes you all in one, you have been often in my remembrance since I departed from you, and being now returned into England and many trials, such as I was never tried with before, yet have borne my testimony for the Lord before the King unto whom I was sent, and he was very noble unto me, and so were all they that were about him: he and all that were about him received the word of truth without contradiction. They do dread the name of God, many of them, and eyes His messengers. There is a royal seed amongst them which in time God will raise. They are more near truth than many Nations, there is a love begot in me towards them which is endless, but this is my hope concerning them, that He who hath raised me to love them more than many others will also raise His seed in them unto which my love is.



Nevertheless, though they be called Turks, the seed of them is near unto God, and their kindness hath in some measure been shewn towards His servants. After the word of the Lord was declared unto them, they would willingly have me to stay in the country, and when they could not prevail with me, they proffered me a man and a horse to go five days' journey that was to Constantinople, but I refused and came safe from them. The English are more bad, most of them, yet hath a good word gone through them, and some have received it, but they are few: so I rest with my dear love to you all—Your dear sister, MARY FISHER.'

VI

Forty years later, in 1697, an aged woman was yet alive at Charlestown in America, who was still remembered as the heroine of the famous journey so many years before. Although twice widowed since then, and now with children and grandchildren around her, she was spoken of to the end by her maiden name. A shipwrecked visitor from the other side of the Atlantic describes her in his letters home as 'one whose name you have heard of, Mary Fisher, she that spoke to the Grand Turk.' In the dwelling of that ancient widow, however old she grew, however many other relics she kept—remembrances of her two husbands, of children and grandchildren—between the pages of her well-worn Bible was there not always one pressed sprig of the fadeless sea-lavender that grows on the rocky shores of the Black Mountain? And, somewhere or other, in the drawer of an inlaid cabinet or work-table there must have been also one precious packet, carefully tied up with ribbon and silver paper, in which some favourite grandchild, allowed for a treat to open it, would find, to her indescribable delight, a little tasselled pair of Turkish

SILVER SLIPPERS.



HISTORICAL NOTES

Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

'SILVER SLIPPERS.'

Mainly historical. See Sewel's HISTORY, i. 294, 473; ii. 343. See also 'HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS,' by G. Croese, for some additional particulars. The best account of Mary Fisher and her adventurous journey is given in 'QUAKER WOMEN,' by Mabel R. Brailsford, Chapters v. and vi., entitled 'Mary Fisher' and 'An Ambassador to the Grand Turk.' I am indebted to Miss Brailsford for permission to draw freely from her most interesting narrative, and also to quote from her extracts from Paul Rycaut's HISTORY. The only historical foundation for the 'Silver Slippers' is the statement by one historian that before Mary Fisher's interview with the Sultan she was allowed twenty-four hours to rest and to 'arrange her dress.' H.M. Wallis has kindly supplied me with some local colouring and information about Adrianople.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

August: The first of the new group of [Quaker](#) missionaries made it to Boston. She was Mary Clark, the wife of a merchant taylor of London and a mother of children. She was stripped to the waist and whipped, “twenty stripes of three cords, laid on with fury.” The history has alleged “Mary Clark was the first woman to suffer the penalty of whipping in America” — but that is most surely both entirely untruthful and helplessly racist. She would be held for August, September, and October in the cold jail, without heat.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October: Perceiving that their laws and punishments were inadequate to deter Quakers, the Massachusetts Bay Colony declared that in the future all [Quaker](#) women were to be whipped, and one ear would be severed from each male Quaker upon each attempt to re-enter the colony. If any citizen should attempt to harbor a Quaker, a fine should be assessed at the rate of “forty shillings for every hour’s concealment.”

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

October: In Sandwich on Cape Cod, so that they might safely hold a forbidden meeting for worship, Friend Christopher Holder led other Quakers surreptitiously over a ridge, through the forest, and down into a hollow by a stream. To this day that place has been referred to as “Christopher’s Hollow.” (I don’t know exactly when this happened, but when Friend Christopher’s right ear was cut off by the Boston authorities, the declared punishment for a first offense of preaching Quakerism, and then deported him, he took his ear with him to show to the King — the record does not, however, substantiate that he was able to get the monarch to take a close look at it.)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

October 23: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), [John Porter](#) and Horodia or Herodius ([Horod](#)) Long Hicks were ordered to answer to the Court of Trials “for they are suspected to Cohabit, and soe to live in a way of incontinency...”





SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

December 27: By the end of the year, all [Quaker](#) missionaries would have been detected, punished, and expelled from the Massachusetts Bay.

Governor Peter Stuyvesant had issued an edict forbidding anyone in New Netherlands to entertain a [Quaker](#) or to allow a Quaker meeting to be held in his or her house. The penalty was to be a fine of £50. When Quaker



missionaries arrived from England, Friend Henry Townsend held a meeting in his home in Flushing, and was fined and banished. This prompted a protest from Flushing citizens, which is arguably the earliest demand for freedom of religion made by American colonists to their political superiors. It was drawn up and signed by Edward Hart, the Town Clerk, Tobias Feake the Schout (sheriff) of the Town, and 28 other citizens:

Right Honorable

You have been pleased to send unto us a certain prohibition or command that we should not receive or entertain any of those people called Quakers because they are supposed to be, by some, seducers of the people. For our part we cannot condemn them in this case, neither can we stretch out our hands against them, for out of Christ God is a consuming fire, and it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God. Wee desire therefore in this case not to judge least we be judged, neither to condemn least we be condemned, but rather let every man stand or fall to his own Master. Wee are bounde by the law to do good unto all men, especially to those of the household of faith. And though for the present we seem to be unsensible for the law and the Law giver, yet when death and the Law assault us, if wee have our advocate to seeke, who shall plead for us in this case of conscience betwixt God and our own souls; the powers of this world can neither attach us, neither excuse us, for if God justifie who can condemn and if God condemn there is none can justifie. And for those jealousies and suspicions which some have of them, that they are destructive unto Magistracy and Ministerye, that cannot bee, for the Magistrate hath his sword in his hand and the Minister hath the sword in his hand, as witness those two great examples, which all Magistrates and Ministers are to follow, Moses and Christ, whom God raised up maintained and defended against all enemies both of flesh and spirit; and therefore that of God will stand, and that which is of man will come to nothing. And as the Lord hath taught Moses or the civil power to give an outward liberty in the state, by the law written in his heart designed for the good of all, and can truly judge who is good, who is evil, who is true and who is false, and can pass definitive sentence of life or death against that man which arises up against the fundamental law of



the States General; soe he hath made his ministers a savor of life unto life and a savor of death unto death.

The law of love, peace and liberty in the states extending to Jews, Turks and Egyptians, as they are considered sons of Adam, which is the glory of the outward state of Holland, soe love, peace and liberty, extending to all in Christ Jesus, condemns hatred, war and bondage. And because our Saviour sayeth it is impossible but that offences will come, but woe unto him by whom they cometh, our desire is not to offend one of his little ones, in whatsoever form, name or title hee appears in, whether Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist or Quaker, but shall be glad to see anything of God in any of them, desiring to doe unto all men as we desire all men should doe unto us, which is the true law both of Church and State; for our Saviour sayeth this is the law and the prophets.

Therefore if any of these said persons come in love unto us, we cannot in conscience lay violent hands upon them, but give them free egress and regress unto our Town, and houses, as God shall persuade our consciences, for we are bounde by the law of God and man to doe good unto all men and evil to noe man. And this is according to the patent and charter of our Towne, given unto us in the name of the States General, which we are not willing to infringe, and violate, but shall houlde to our patent and shall remaine, your humble subjects, the inhabitants of Vlishing.

Written this 27th of December in the year 1657, by mee.

Edward Hart, Clericus

Additional Signers

Tobias Feake

The marke of William Noble

William Thorne, Seignior

The marke of William Thorne, Jr.

Edward Tarne

John Store

Nathaniel Hefferd

Benjamin Hubbard

The marke of William Pidgion

The marke of George Clere

Elias Doughtie

Antonie Feild

Richard Stocton

Edward Griffine

Nathaniell Tue

Nicholas Blackford

The marke of Micah Tue

The marke of Philip Ud

Robert Field, senior

Robert Field, junior

Nicholas Parsell

Michael Milner

Henry Townsend

George Wright

John Foard

Henry Sementell

Edward Hart

John Mastine

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

John Townesend



Edward Farrington



The result would be that Governor Stuyvesant would throw the Town Clerk and Schout in jail and replace the entire town government with officials of his own choosing. The Clerk would be banished from the colony but the Schout after offering an abject apology would be excused from banishment.

Friend Humphrey Norton was spending this winter chained by the leg to a log in the open, because he had been going about proselytizing [Quakerism](#). When he would go to trial in New Haven and would attempt to argue against the presiding Reverend John Davenport, a “great Iron key” would be shoved “athwart his Mouth so that he could not speak.” His punishment by the Connecticut authorities would include not only banishment but also being deeply branded on the right hand with the letter H, which stood not for “Humphrey” but for “Heretic.” He would seek refuge in [Rhode Island](#).

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

December 31: [John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:

John Evelyn's Diary

Praised God for his mercies the yeare past, & set all things in order in my family:



By year's end all [Quaker](#) missionaries had been detected, punished, and expelled from the vicinity of the Massachusetts Bay, some of them having found sanctuary in [Rhode Island](#).

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1658

William Marston, Sr. was charged with the possession of Friend John Lilburne's THE RESURRECTION OF JOHN LILBURNE, NOW A PRISONER IN DOVER-CASTLE (an announcement of his conversion to Quakerism dated the 4th day of the 10th month, 1655) and Friend William Dewsbury's THE MIGHTY DAY OF THE LORD IS COMING (a Quaker sermon delivered on January 12, 1656), but managed to get his fine rebated to him by turning these documents over to the authorities and exhibiting appropriate penitence.

The Plymouth Colony observed a Day of Humiliation because God had sicked some [Quakers](#) on them as a punishment for their sins: "leting loose as a scourge upon us those freeing gangreinlike doctrines and persons commonly called Quakers."



An attitude toward [Quakers](#) in the arts: “All ye Poets, Jestors, rhimers, makers of Verses and Ballads, who bend your wits to please novelties, light minds, who delights in jests and toys, more than in the simple naked truth which you should be united to, you are for the undoing of many poor souls, it is your work to tickle up the ears of people with your jests and toys; this proceeds from a wrong heart where dwells the lust, and feeds the wrong heart and mind and wits, which brings them to the grave and dust, and there buries the minds and clogs the nature, which is a shame to all that be in the modesty and pure sincerity & truth and cleanness of mind....”⁴⁹

In Ipswich, Magistrate William Hathorn reported that [Friend](#) Samuel Shattuck had “condemned Authority” by delivering a written notice that he would refuse to train as part of the local militia:

Be it known to thee, we will not follow thee in training.

The [Quaker](#) responded that this record was incorrect, since his notice had used the word “cannot” rather than the words “will not.”

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[Friend James Nayler](#)’s tract “A MESSAGE FROM THE Spirit of Truth, unto the Holy Seed.”

A MESSAGE FROM THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH, UNTO THE HOLY SEED.

**The night is far spent, the day is at hand:
let us therefore cast off the works of
darkness, and let us put on the armour of light.
Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness,
not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying.
But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh,
to fulfil the lusts thereof. (Romans 13:12-14)**

Dear Friends, Brethren and Sisters, of the Seed of Abraham, partakers with him in the holy call, and who in his faith wait for that glory and inheritance immortal, which every one of you shall receive at the appearance of the great God, and His Son Jesus Christ, to you all be peace, truth, and love increased, wherein you may be established to the end of your calling.

49. [Friend George Fox](#), “Concerning Poets, Jestors, Rhimers, and all that wanton crew.” Addendum to Humphrey Smith, TO THE MUSICIANS, THE HARPERS, THE MINSTRELS, THE SINGERS, THE PERSECUTORS, 1658. Discussed in Edwin Alton, “When the Harpe and Musicke Goe,” [Reynard](#), Spring 1968, pages 30-1



That which is set before me in the Spirit of truth, and for which my soul travails and breaths after in the whole creation (but especially in you who are already called thereunto) I am moved to impart to you, thereby to stir you up earnestly to press on towards the appearance of that to which you are called in one, which is no other than what has been held forth from the beginning, even the only begotten of the Father, filled with grace and truth; for the obtaining whereof, you that are faithful have denied the delights of this present world, and do daily undergo the enmity thereof. Of whose appearance many of you have received a certain hope which cannot be shaken, and a measure of Him some are come to in the same Spirit, who have seen, felt, and handled of His appearance, and have received of His fullness, wherein alone you excel, and are able to hold forth that life in the power of obedience, meekness, and fear, which no form nor knowledge without is able to bear or bring forth, which is that alone wherein I rejoice in you; and not only so, but find cause in heart to magnify that goodness and glorious power of God, already manifested in you, and through you to the world, whose praises will daily increase, as His virtues appear in you; which that you, and all the number of called ones, may increase in, and grow to that stature, and full appearance of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, is the full desire of my soul, and that which will give us an assured joy and perfect peace in one, when knowledge will vanish, and that which is in part shall be done away.

Wherefore you that have received the Spirit of prophecy, and that light out of darkness, which lets you see what manner of one the Son of God must be at His appearing in spirit and power, holiness and great glory. I beseech you that none of you sit down at rest in this fight, nor be you puffed up therewith, as though you had already attained, lest thereby the enemy prevail to exalt you above what is meet, and so others, less in wisdom, who are more lowly, in spirit step in before you, and obtain that crown and glory to which you were called; and so while you feed on the knowledge you lose the life; but that everyone wait in the light to feel the power and life of the Son of God manifest in your bodies, giving you victory over your own spirits, and raising you up out of death into the life of the prophecies, that you all may know the true worship in spirit, and what you bow to, that henceforth you may be servants of righteousness, begotten and not made, which only has food able to satisfy your thirsting souls, that you may all feel the only begotten of God in virtue and power, working mightily in the work of the Father, and destroying the work of the devil in every particular, for hereunto were you first called, that you should inherit eternal life and power, the true riches of grace in righteousness, and to receive a kingdom that cannot be moved, but that is able to keep you against all assaults of the enemy, which riches is God's only begotten, in whom is received of the perfect fullness of God, which is only able to satisfy all fears, and supply all wants, in all who attain to His appearance.

And further, I beseech you that you satisfy not yourselves only with a feeling of this working in you, but that you diligently attend an entrance thereinto, that you may put Him on whom the Father begets and forms in you, that your souls may be bathed and anointed therein. And not only so, but that you bring Him forth before all men, even Him the only begotten Son of God in meekness, long-suffering, in patience, in righteousness, in godly holiness, and all His virtues; the living image of Him by whom He is begotten; that it may appear to all men whose you are, and who possesses the vessel, and what He is that appears therein; that it may be seen and confessed that God is in you of a truth, revealed in His only begotten; for this is He, to whom at His appearance every tongue shall confess, and every heart be struck with fear; though the form of His beauty, and visage of His glory has (among false births and feigned profession) been more marred than any man's; who instead of bringing forth into the world the only begotten of God, to convince and condemn the world of all ungodliness, and save them from it, have brought forth the conceivings of their own brains, and the child born to them is no savior, but their birth has left them in the world, and one with it, who are now turning the words of Christ against His works, and their power to withstand His appearance in others, who is the same which was, and is, and is to come to all generations.



So that instead of holding forth that spiritual power of perfect redemption from above, to save His people from their sins, and set them at liberty from the bondage of corruption, to serve God in the new man, the Son of righteousness, of peace, and holiness, God's image, there appears, the son of wickedness, in every form, at liberty, and pleaded for, the image and power of all unrighteousness and ungodliness, preached and set up; so that the very faith and hope of God's appearance in their generation is destroyed. So these not waiting in faith, single in the begettings of God from above, to see in patience that formed, born and brought forth, but mixing with their reasonings and wisdom from below, have not attained His appearance, but have turned the truth of God into a lie, His glory into shame; wherefore God has given them up to believe their own conceivings: And you has He called in that glorious hope and powerful faith, wherein you now stand; and them He has left to be heirs of the corruptions of this world, which they have minded more than Himself; where now many of them are the great opposers of His appearance, who were once called to bear a measure of His testimony in spiritual life and power.

And now, dear Friends, the called of God you are, unto the day of His coming, whose light has shined out of darkness, giving you a knowledge in this great mystery and hope, and a power you have received from above, whereby you are come nearer the day than those before you, and many have denied the world and their inheritance, that you might stand single in the hope thereof. Now the day is yours if you be watchful, and faithful thereto, that you mix not with the earthly seed, nor bring forth a false birth, but that your hearts be single, and open to receive Him from above, the heavenly Seed in the will of God, and not of yourselves; the Son of righteousness, the Father's glory, who has the living image and power of God, to make all Sons and Daughters of the Most High, conformable to Himself, and heirs with Him of the same kingdom, glory, and power; even as many of you as so receive Him, as to put Him on as He is, and so walk in Him as the begotten of God, children of the Most Holy, whom He has counted worthy of so high a calling, as to receive His name, power, and glory, and to bear testimony what He is before all men, and to hold forth the power that you have in His name and image, above all names and forms, in heaven or in earth; and this with all diligence, meekness, and fear, lest satan deceive you of that simplicity that is in Him, and so you come short of His glory, and others be called. Now quit yourselves as the beloved of God; cast off every weight which would hinder your attaining Him, that in the light is set before you; crucify every affection after the earthly, and put away all the cares and pleasures that would choke this Seed, and whatever would mix in your minds, or plead for a place in your hearts, let it be to you as an accursed thing, that the blessing of Abraham may come upon you, and through you to manifest to all the world, and that the Holy Name of Christ may be glorified in you, which has long been polluted through such who have professed it, in a contrary nature.

For this is He to whose appearance in the world every tongue shall be made to confess, and the angels of God shall worship Him, for He is the glory of God, and power of righteousness in heaven and in earth, God's love and good will among men, and in Him is the Father revealed, whom no eye has seen. You that have received Him, and hold Him forth, are the light of the world, let Him shine to the glory of your Father; it is you that hold forth the foundation of faith; He being lifted up will draw all men to Him; as you receive Him from above, and there is that in every conscience that will answer His appearance, for God has not left him without witness: So that he that believes not is condemned already in himself, because he believes not in that only begotten of God, whom the Father has sent into the world. If He does that work in you which no other can do, than how should any believe or confess that it is He? But at His appearance His works shall declare Him, and leave all without excuse.

His righteousness, His meekness, His patient sufferings, His lowly-mindedness, His faith and obedience to the Father, His love and tender compassion towards all men, being richly furnished with all manner of godliness, shall declare Him whose image He bears, and whose Son He is, and from whence He comes, for the earth has not those fruits, power and glory: Thus shall He be glorified in His Saints, and admired in all them that believe, and receive His testimony: And in this birth you shall not only save yourselves, but hold forth salvation to all that here thereof.



Wherefore as you profess that holy calling above others, so in the fear of God take heed what you bring forth, be sober and watch diligently in that which is from above, lest the enemy prevail to mix somewhat of your own to hold forth in his name, that has not the nature, power, nor purity of the Son of God, and that being above spoil you of His appearance, and mar the true image, which you will find the envious one seeks to devour upon all occasions, that alone having power over the head of the serpent; wherefore see that you be covered with Him alone, as He is from heaven.

But above all things, I beseech you put Him on as He is the Son of God's love, and so hold Him forth towards all men, but especially towards the brethren; so much the more as this being that which the enemy has cast long upon the children of light (to wit) want of love, taking his advantage while the way has been preparing thereto, and the spirit of judgment and burning has passed on the old building, a time of sorrow, and pulling down, dressing the house where love should dwell; so that though the root of the matter was in it, yet could not in that time spring forth towards others, nor indeed be fully shed abroad in the heart, while that is there which God hates, which love many have now received, and it is full time to bring forth, Him so begotten in you, lest any selfishness appear in His stead, and so prevent you of that which is most excellent: But that you all may put Him on, as He is manifest from the Father's bosom, and that you be clothed therewith, from heaven, so plentifully, that you may have to cast over a brother's nakedness, a garment of the same love, who came from above to lay down His life for His enemies, and of the same power, who can forgive sins, and offences, above seven times a day, beholding each other with the good eye which waits for the soul and not for the sin, which covers, and overcomes the evil with the good, that with Him you may be perfect in love, judging, and receiving one another in the increase of God, and not in that which is for destruction, giving more abundant honor to him that lacks, that in the Body be no schism, nor defile one another, nor keep alive a brother's iniquity, nor blot out the Name, and appearing of the Holy Seed in the least, but keep the Lord in your eye, and the evils shall die and vanish away from among you, and the appearance shall be the Lord's, and to Him shall the gathering of the nations be; hungry souls shall see, and be satisfied with His likeness, and all that behold His beauty shall confess unto Him, and in Him shall the upright heart delight, for at His coming shall He establish the throne of righteousness, and measure every appearance, and correct every false judgment, and that which ensnares the simple will be cast out, for by the power of His appearance shall everything be tried, and peace proclaimed in the name of righteousness alone, for that which is not like Him, will not be able to stand before His appearance. But we know that when He appears, we shall be like Him; he that has this hope purifies himself even as He is pure, that he may be seen in Him at His coming.

Now dear Friends, is your sound gone forth to the ends of the earth, and God has made you famous among your enemies, in that you have begun to confess His name, and nature, and that He is in you whom many are looking for here and there, and now the eyes of people and nations is upon you to see your end, and now your glory is in putting Him on, and covering you with Him, a Lamb without blemish, before God and man, that in Him you may obtain good report, unreprouable, and holy, so shall you stop the way of the destroyer, and put an end of all false conceptions, and revive the hope of Israel.



Let His innocency be your armor, and put your trust in His truth, for your salvation. The time is full come for you to declare what He is to you, with boldness, with a confession beyond words; for this appearance of Him in love is that which shall judge all likenesses, and try all spirits, actions, judgments, and appearances, and by this shall you all be measured, what spirits you are of, and all spirits in the world, for He shall bring every hidden formed feigned thing to light, at His coming; and whatever has not this love in it, is not His, nor begotten of God; but he that has this love is begotten of God, and has Him, the Father and the Son, the end of the law and the Prophets, the substance and life of all knowledge, faith and works, the root and ground of every good gift; for herein are we made perfect in love, that we may have boldness in the day of judgment, because we have put Him on, and dwell in Him, who is love; and as He is, so are we in this world. But he that loves not, is not made perfect in faith, in knowledge, in judgment, having not learned Christ herein, therefore by this he must be judged himself. So blessed is he that judges nothing before the time, who condemns not himself, wherein he judges another, all judgment being committed to Him that can lay down His life for His enemies. Therefore happy are you if you have Him on first, for when He appears His judgment is true, and shall stand, when all that has come before Him shall pass away, for Him alone has the Father sealed.

So dearly beloved ones, my soul breaths towards you herein, that in all your several gifts and administrations, this Son of God be your eye and end, the beauty and glory of the Father, that the hope thereof to attain, may stay you in all trials and temptations, knowing that in Him alone is your lasting peace, and that which does now befall you in all your afflictions is to shake all other appearances, that way may be made for Him alone, whose image and life none can judge nor condemn. And the day is come, that happy is that man who has nothing else to glory in; and this know, that the appearance of God in His own begotten, is your glory; and if any man boast himself, and not herein, when he is weighed therewith he will be found wanting, the sound thereof will not save him.

**As the same Spirit from whence this comes,
moves in any one,
so let them send it abroad among the called of God,
to be read and known.**

Come forth you children of light, come forth, depart out of the world, touch not the unclean thing, that the Holy One may make His appearance among you; make haste to the day of your God. If He shine forth salvation is with you, but He cannot appear in that heart where the world is retained. If you be like the world it will own you; but that image which it receives not, is your everlasting glory and beauty. So mind what works in the vessel; for now must every child appear like his Father, and must bring to light of what spirit he is begotten; and only blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord, with power and great glory. That which the world is ashamed of is that with which the Son of God is glorified, and again must be glorified. He that bears the iniquities of men, and is filled with reproach, and yet appears without sin, is our Savior. And a Lamb without spot must take away the sin of the world; His manifestation destroys the work of the devil, in a body prepared He delights to perform the counsel of God, and to bring hidden things to light; that He may speak mysteries to the wise therein, and hold forth a way to the simple, leading out of the snares of subtlety.

Wherefore all that love His appearance, and seek the face of redemption, love that which prepares His way to His appearance in His temple; that which breaks down the will of man, and as a fire goes before Him; which is that baptism with which all that will receive Him must be baptized into death. So when sorrow, anguish, and tribulation comes upon you, rejoice, and flee not. This comes to destroy nothing but destruction, and to kill that which keeps you from eternal life, and to prepare a way for your peace, and a place for everlasting righteousness to dwell in you. For truly friends, in the threshing floor must the altar be set up, and where God answers by fire, there must His house be built: And as many as look to the end of this, may not despise correction, nor faint under the hand of reproof.



That is good which brings down into the death where the wonders of God are learned, for he that will labor in God's vineyard must know every seed and its root; what feeds it, and what famishes it, and the ground of every weed, the cause of every curse. This many may see, when it's come to a tree, branches, and brings forth fruit; but then it is strong and powerful, and not easily plucked up, seldom got down without fire, and much sorrow, therefore blessed is that eye that's lowly and diligent, which sees every several appearance, that he may slay the seed of wickedness e're it bud, and not suffer the enmity to take root; for he that suffers diverse seeds shall have sorrow therein; and he that sows among thorns and briers must reap trouble; and where this kind is suffered to grow, there is torment to themselves, and trouble to others, for how should the thistle change its nature.

So all that desire peace, prepare a place that the Seed thereof may grow alone, and the Sun thereof may arise and shine clearly, that nothing may grieve His Spirit, for Jacob must dwell alone, and not be numbered among the rest of the nations, neither has the Lamb fellowship with the beasts of the field.

Now as you have seen the image of the earthly, and felt his power and inclination to earthly things, captivating your minds downward, to things below; even so must you bear the image of the heavenly, if He reign that comes from above. Till then think not you are perfect, nor have attained to the resurrection of the dead. For this I know of Him, in whom your life is hid, that as He arises, He shall as strongly lead your minds into the heavenly, as ever you were captivated with the earthly. So he that can read the figure, rejoice in hope concerning Him that is to come, yet let none glory in the sight of this knowledge, but press into the life thereof, that God may be seen and glorified in you. For as he that has gone much out with his mind, and has drank in abundance of the earthly, is become the most subtle, selfish, and hard, and filled with all unrighteousness, till he become incurable, even so he that returns in, and drinks abundantly of the heavenly, does become simple, innocent and harmless, separate from all ungodliness, till he become incorruptible, and receive power to attain the Son of God, whose image declares the Father, from whence he is; for he that has seen the Son, has seen the Father, and he that has the Son has the Father also. So dear Friends, behold the end of your calling, and glory of your profession, your life in this world, and eternal inheritance; for the which to attain, we endure all things, for which sufferings and patience, we have a cloud of witnesses.

So we follow not fables and fancies (as some suppose) but every one as he is proved herein is able to set to his seal, even the day of the Lord, with them that are going before, whose spirits are herein perfected.

Wherefore dearly beloved of God, for His names sake I beseech you, be zealous for His appearance, and with meekness and fear instruct the ignorant, who oppose themselves; comfort the weak; in all things leading with a life that cannot be blamed, knowing how manifold your labor of love is doubled, in everlasting glory, as He comes to be made manifest to the world. And the Lord God of power strengthen all your hand by the appearance of His love; that by the shedding abroad of it in your hearts, you may be able to overcome the world, and willing to give your necks to the yoke of Christ, and to bear the burdens of the weak, till the Brotherhood arise, and the Body of Christ be perfected in one; that none of you suffer an evil eye or ear, which delights to behold the weakness of others, but that your whole delight be to wait for the appearance of God in all, and to behold His face in them, rather than their failings. And as this arises in every particular, it shall be a sure token to you for good, and that you are passed from the love of evil, to the love of God the Father, and the Son. And what you delight in shall be your inheritance. And as you grow herein, so shall He whom you love to see, delight to make His appearance among you, and to walk in you; and you shall not seek His face in vain, but with His likeness shall be satisfied, and shall praise the beauty of His appearance.

Thus in honor preferring one another, you shall know, that the power of love is a ministration of life, to that which is to be beloved.



Who will be on the Lord's part? Now in this day of darkness, when iniquity is growing to the full, and the Man Child is to be born above it? And who will give up the vessel to bear His name against the enmity that is now arising? And who will be glorified with the Lamb? Blessed and happy is he that is found worthy to follow Him out of the world, bearing His reproach. To as many as receive Him, He gives power to become sons of God.

But he that will bear His name, must receive His nature, and himself also so walk, even as He walked: His name is power over sin, and the world cannot bear it; he that bears His name, must bear it in His life, and power, lest he blaspheme. Of flesh and blood it is not born, nor by the will of man is it manifest, it's he that is born again who has His witness in himself, that must bear His name before the world for a witness against them, who has that life in him which testifies against the deeds thereof; but who bows thereto betrays Him, and proves false in his testimony.

Moses in his house, made all things in likeness of the pattern, so it became a tabernacle of witness to all nations (of the true God therein) and against all their false gods, and false worships; and herein was he faithful to Him that called him, and to all that beheld the pattern he preached God's presence, dwelling in the tabernacle made with hands. How much more must he that bears the name of Christ follow the pattern, and suit His example, holding forth a tabernacle of witness, and preaching the presence of the true God therein, and against all the world, their false births, false ways, and worships, herein proving faithful to Him that has called thereto; and to all that behold Him, holding forth that holiness is His habitation here on earth, as it is in heaven, bearing a lively testimony thereof, by the tabernacle of witness, conformable to the heavenly witness in all things. And to this end Christ descended, walked and suffered on earth, leaving an example to all that follow His steps, wherein, as in a lively oracle, God is found, in all that is builded after His image; and seek in His name and nature, for the immortality that dwells therein. Now God was not to be found in the tabernacle of Molech (though sought never so earnestly) but in the tabernacle of witness, built according to the pattern; neither is He now to be found in the image of the world; or is His name born in that nature, though professed never so zealously. Therefore let every one that names the Name of the Lord depart from iniquity; the seed of evil-doers bears not the testimony of Christ, and are out of the vine, in a contrary nature.

Did they blaspheme, who said they were Jews and were not? How much more do they who profess the name of Christ, and are out of the vine, in a contrary nature?

Wherefore all who aim to hold forth in love to His appearance, and to attain His coming in purity and glory, must be diligent in the heavenly light, ever minding the way and moving of the Holy Spirit, Him that is from above, that His form you may see, who has the heavenly image, and the holy power; that so beholding Him with open face as in a glass, you may be changed into the same image, and formed thereafter, from glory to glory, by the powerful working of the same Spirit; until the tabernacle be built conformable to the heavenly example, the holy pattern, in body and spirit, that as He is, so may you be in the world, that God may appear in His temple; that as the image of the earthly appears in the world, so the image of the heavenly you may bear, a witness against them. And by drinking in the communion of that Holy Spirit, and power from above, you may become as able, zealous, and willing to hold forth the heavenly in holiness, meekness, purity, patience, love, long-suffering, faith, and obedience to God, and all the fruits of the Spirit, as the sons of the world are to hold forth the earthly, in lusts and pleasures, strife, and envy, cruelty, and oppression, and all manner of the works of the flesh; that you as truly and really give up your bodies, minds, and strength to suffer with Christ, that He may be manifest and magnified therein, in your mortal bodies, as others who are without God in the world, do give themselves to act according to the principles and power of the god of this world, his unrighteous ways, worships, and fashions, and all his cursed courses, and the whole body of sin, and mystery of iniquity born in them.



And where the tabernacle is thus edified, and the temple thus cleansed, there is a vessel of honor, fit for the Master's use; that being filled with the Holy Ghost, God may dwell on the earth, and take up His rest therein, His tabernacle being with men, the appearance of the blessed day, so many souls hunger for, and Abraham's Seed longs to see, which the god of this world strongly opposes, in all whose minds he has blinded, and whose spirit he possesses in disobedience to the heavenly light, for which the wrath of God remains on that generation, till this day, and forever.

Wherefore all you who wait for the kingdom of God, and love His appearance, whose coming again is without sin, abide within, and wait in the temple where the Witness arises against the world, that in faith and patience you may be counted worthy to receive that witness, that it may arise and cover you, and that in bearing it you may come out of the world, being conformable to Him, who suffered without the gates; bearing His reproach, and you bear His Name. Touch not the unclean thing, and He will receive you for Himself, in you to appear and be glorified. Rise up against the powers of darkness. You that have received the earnest of this Spirit: Has He not said, I will dwell in you and walk in you? Wherefore come out from among them, and be you separate. This is the joy that is set before you, to wit, His appearance, and that glory, for the attaining whereof, we endure the present sufferings, and reproach; not to be compared therewith, for glory, immortality, eternal life.

Oh! Friends, who shall be found worthy at His coming, and in whom may He appear, and not consume them? For our God is a consuming fire; even in His holy temple is He known, and with clean hands will He take up His rest, and in the pure heart shall He be seen; else who may dwell with everlasting burnings? And who may abide that baptism wherein every one shall be seasoned with the fire at His coming.

At least nine [Quakers](#) went from [Rhode Island](#) to Boston and there attempted to speak at the end of a sermon. They were of course arrested and whipped for their disruptiveness, but when the Quakers in Rhode Island heard of this, they sent off two more Quakers to Boston to attempt to tend to their wounds. The entire scheme of penalties collapsed as not only barbaric but also ineffectual, and the public raised moneys by general subscription to return all these Quaker hornets to their hive in Rhode Island. However, three of them promptly returned again, and suffered the penalty of removal of one ear. "In the strength of God we suffered joyfully."

The first person in [Providence](#), who adopted the principles of Friends, is stated by tradition to be Richard Scott. He was one of the early settlers of the town; at first he joined the [Baptists](#), but remained with them but a short time. His wife Catharine, and two daughters Patience and Mary, were also among the first members of the Friends' Society. All three of these suffered corporeal punishment in Massachusetts, at an early period, the wife as early as 1658. One of the daughters subsequently intermarried with Christopher Holder, whose name appears, more than once, among those who suffered corporeal punishment in Massachusetts, as Friends. That these met together for worship with such others as agreed with them in principles, is highly probable, though there is no direct proof of the fact.⁵⁰

50. William Read Staples (1798-1868). ANNALS OF THE TOWN OF [PROVIDENCE](#), FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT, TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT, IN JUNE, 1832. Providence, [Rhode Island](#): Printed by Knowles and Vose, 1843.

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Three expelled Quaker ministers –[Friend Marmaduke Stevenson](#), a farmer from Yorkshire, [Friend William Robinson](#), a young resident of London, and [Friend Mary Dyer](#)– determined to test the barbarous new law requiring death for return to Boston after an initial expulsion. Would it be enforceable or, only another idle threat, would it also collapse upon a challenge from those of sufficient faith? Six Salem Quakers, keeping faith, prepared “linen wherein to wrap the dead bodies of those who were to suffer.” (These people, you see, were playing hardball.) Friend Mary was convicted of “rebellious sedition, and presumptuous obtruding herself after banishment upon pain of death,” and was sentenced to be executed, but upon the petition of her son Will Dyer, Jr. was reprieved on condition that she depart the jurisdiction of Massachusetts colony in 48 hours — and if she return, to suffer the sentence as imposed.

A friendlier attitude was being taken in [Providence, Rhode Island](#):

1658. This town refuses to banish such Quakers as are here, or to prohibit others from coming, though strongly urged to such a course by the Commissioners of the united Colonies, and replies to the intolerant request, that they prize freedom of conscience as the greatest happiness men can possess in this world. This place had then become a city of refuge to the cruelly persecuted Quakers of Massachusetts. By a municipal vote, all those who enjoyed lands within the jurisdiction of the town were freemen.



“I HAVE BEEN RESERVED FOR THIS—TO FREE THE LAND FROM SPIRITUAL TYRANNY”

At some point during this year, I have been given to understand, the *Sarah Artch* was on its way from England to Maryland and had reached the Hebrides, when the crew began to suspect that one of the passenger, Friend Elizabeth Richardson, was not only a [Quaker](#) but also a [witch](#). They hanged her from the yardarm.⁵¹

Major American Witchcraft Cases

1647	Elizabeth Kendall, Alse Young	1663	Mary Barnes
1648	Margaret Jones, Mary Johnson	1666	Elizabeth Seager
1651	Alice Lake, Mrs. (Lizzy) Kendal, Goody Bassett, Mary Parsons	1669	Katherine (Kateran) Harrison
1652	John Carrington, Joan Carrington	1683	Nicholas Disborough, Margaret Mattson
1653	Elizabeth “Goody” Knapp, Elizabeth Godman	1688	Annie “Goody” Glover
1654	Lydia Gilbert, Kath Grady, Mary Lee	1692	Bridget Bishop, Rebecca Towne Nurse, Sarah Good, Susannah Martin, Elizabeth Howe, Sarah Wildes, Mary Staplies, Mercy Disborough, Elizabeth Clawson, Mary Harvey, Hannah Harvey, Goody Miller, Giles Cory, Mary Towne Estey, Reverend George Burrough, George Jacobs, Sr., John Proctor, John Willard, Martha Carrier, Sarah Good, Martha Corey, Margaret Scott, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Wilmott Redd, Samuel Wardwell, Mary Parker, Tituba
1655	Elizabeth Godman, Nicholas Bayley, Goodwife Bayley, Ann Hibbins	1693	Hugh Crotia, Mercy Disborough
1657	William Meaker	1697	Winifred Benham, Senr., Winifred Benham, Junr.
1658	Elizabeth Garlick, Elizabeth Richardson, Katherine Grade	1724	Sarah Spencer
1661	Nicholas Jennings, Margaret Jennings	1768	—— Norton
1662	Nathaniel Greensmith, Rebecca Greensmith, Mary Sanford, Andrew Sanford, Goody Ayres, Katherine Palmer, Judith Varlett, James Walkley	1801	Sagoyewatha “Red Jacket”

51. The alleged source for this, which I have not had an opportunity to consult, is: William Hand Brown, ed. ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND: PROCEEDINGS AND ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF MARYLAND, JANUARY 16378–SEPTEMBER 1664, Baltimore MD: Maryland Historical Society, 1883, Volume 41, pages 327-29.



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(In an unrelated incident, the same fate, of being hanged at sea as a witch, would befall another woman in this year: Katherine Grade of Jamestown, Virginia.)

In 1657, while Easthampton on Long Island had still been within the jurisdiction of the colony of New York, before it had been made instead a part of Connecticut, two servants of Lion Gardiner on Gardiner's Island, Joshua Garlick and Elizabeth his wife, had resettled there. In Easthampton, Elizabeth Garlick soon came under suspicion of witchcraft. A special town meeting was held and a committee was appointed to deliver the suspect across Long Island Sound to the authorities in Connecticut for capital trial. Goody Howell was deposed to the effect that, during an illness, she had "tuned a psalm and screked out several times together very grievously," crying "a witch! a witch! now are you come to torter me because I spoke two or three words against you." She claimed to have seen a black thing at the foot of her bed, claimed that Garlick had two tongues, that she had pinched her with pins, and that she had stood by her bed ready to tear her in pieces. William Russell was deposed to the effect that he had been startled from his sleep before daybreak by "a very doleful noyse on ye backside of ye fire, like ye noyse of a great stone thrown down among a heap of stones." Goody Birdsall was deposed to the effect that "she was in the house of Goody Simons when Goody Bishop came into the house with ye dockweed and between Goody Davis and Goody Simons they burned the herbs. Farther, she said y't formerly dressing flax at Goody Davis's house, Goody Davis saith y't she had dressed her children in clean linen at the island, and Goody Garlick came in and said, 'How pretty the child doth look,' and so soon as she had spoken Goody Garlick said, 'the child is not well, for it groaneth,' and Goody Davis said her heart did rise, and Goody Davis said, when she took the child from Goody Garlick, she said she saw death in the face of it, & her child sickened presently upon it, and lay five daies and 5 nights and never opened the eyes nor dried till it died. Also she saith as she dothe remember Goody Davis told her upon some difference between Mr. Gardiner or some of his family, Goodman Garlick gave out some threateningse speeches, & suddenly after Mr. Gardiner had an ox legge broke upon Ram Island. Moreover Goody Davis said that Goody Garlick was a naughtie woman." Goody Edwards was deposed to the effect that "Y't as Goody Garlick owned,



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she sent to her daughter for a little best milk and she had some and presently after, her daughters milk went away as she thought and as she remembers the child sickened about y't time." Goody Hand was deposed to the effect that "she had heard Goody Davis say that she hoped Goody Garlick would not come to Easthampton, because, she said, Goody Garlick was naughty, and there had many sad things befallen y'm at the Island, as about ye child, and ye ox, as Goody Birdsall have declared, as also the negro child she said was taken away, as I understood by her words, in a strange manner, and also of a ram y't was dead, and this fell out quickly one after another, and also of a sow y't was fat and lustie and died. She said they did burn some of the sow's tale and presently Goody Garlick did come in." The General Court of Connecticut took jurisdiction of the case, duly considered all these various depositions by the island neighbors, acquitted Goody Elizabeth Garlick, and sent her home to Easthampton.

Major American Witchcraft Cases

1647	Elizabeth Kendall, Also Young	1663	Mary Barnes
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Major American Witchcraft Cases

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1651	Alice Lake, Mrs. (Lizzy) Kendal, Goody Bassett, Mary Parsons	1669	Katherine (Kateran) Harrison
1652	John Carrington, Joan Carrington	1683	Nicholas Disborough, Margaret Mattson
1653	Elizabeth “Goody” Knapp, Elizabeth Godman	1688	Annie “Goody” Glover
1654	Lydia Gilbert, Kath Grady, Mary Lee	1692	Bridget Bishop, Rebecca Towne Nurse, Sarah Good, Susannah Martin, Elizabeth Howe, Sarah Wildes, Mary Staplies, Mercy Disborough, Elizabeth Clawson, Mary Harvey, Hannah Harvey, Goody Miller, Giles Cory, Mary Towne Estey, Reverend George Burrough, George Jacobs, Sr., John Proctor, John Willard, Martha Carrier, Sarah Good, Martha Corey, Margaret Scott, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Wilmott Redd, Samuel Wardwell, Mary Parker, Tituba
1655	Elizabeth Godman, Nicholas Bayley, Goodwife Bayley, Ann Hibbins	1693	Hugh Crotia, Mercy Disborough
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1661	Nicholas Jennings, Margaret Jennings	1768	—— Norton
1662	Nathaniel Greensmith, Rebecca Greensmith, Mary Sanford, Andrew Sanford, Goody Ayres, Katherine Palmer, Judith Varlett, James Walkley	1801	Sagoyewatha “Red Jacket”

In Salem, Friend [Samuel Shattuck](#) was fined for absence from the Puritan church’s First-Day worships and for aiding visiting Quakers. (He had, at the Salem church, attempted to intervene when Friend Christopher Holder was being silenced.) Persisting “in his course and opinions as a Quaker” despite this fine, he would be jailed. At mid-year he and other of Salem’s “resident converts” would suffer banishment, on pain of death should they return.

A number of [Quaker](#) families of Salem lived in a district referred to as “The Woods” or as “Great Pastures.”⁵²



THE severities already inflicted on the members of this society had so affected many of the inhabitants of this colony that they withdrew from their public assemblies and met on the first day of the week, to worship quietly by themselves, for which they were fined 5 shillings per week, and imprisoned. Particularly Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, an aged couple (who in the last year had been imprisoned and fined for entertaining Christopher Holder and John Copeland), with their son Joseph, were sent to the house of correction, whipped in like manner as those before mentioned, and had their goods taken to the value of £4, 15 shillings, for not coming to church. For the same cause Edward Harnet, aged 69, and his wife, 73 years of age, had 37 shillings taken from them without regard to their circumstances, which were but mean, or their age, which would naturally excite tenderness. About this time (1658) there was a meeting at the house of Nicholas Phelps in the woods about five miles from Salem, and upon the information of one Butler, the six following residents were taken up and committed to prison: Samuel Shattock, Lawrence Southwick and Cassandra his wife, Josiah their son, Samuel Gaskin (or Gaskill), and Joshua Buffum, who being kept close in the house of correction during the heat of the Summer, from their husbandry, after three weeks confinement, represented their case to the court in the following letter:

This to Magistrates at the Court in Salem. Friends:—
Whereas it was your pleasure to commit us, whose names are under-written, to the house of correction in Boston, although the Lord, the righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth, is our witness that we have done nothing worthy of stripes or of bonds; and we being committed by your court to be dealt withal as the law provides for foreign Quakers, as ye please to term us; and having some of us suffered your law and pleasures, now that which we do expect is, That whereas we have suffered your law, so now to be set free by the same law, as your manner is with strangers, and not to put us on the account of one law, and execute another law upon us, of which according to your own manner we were never convicted, as the law expresses.

If you had sent us upon the account of your new law, we should have expected the jailer's order to have been on that account, which that it was not, appears by the warrant which we have, and the punishment which we bare, as four of us were whipped, among whom was one that had formerly been whipped; so now according to your former law, friends, let it not be a small thing in your eyes, the exposing as much as in you lies, our families to ruin. It is not unknown to you, the season and the time of year, for those that live of husbandry, and what their cattle and families may be exposed unto; and also such as live upon trade. We know if the spirit of Christ

52. John Gough. HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. Dublin, Ireland: 1790. Volume I: Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, their sufferings, pages 349, 361; Josiah Southwick, pages 349, 361; Daniel and Provided ordered to be sold for slaves, pages 376 to 381.



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did dwell and rule in you these things would take impression on your spirits. What our lives and conversations have been in that place is well known, and what we now suffer for, is much for false reports, and ungrounded jealousies of heresy and sedition. These things lie upon us to lay before you. As for our parts we have true peace and rest in the Lord in all our sufferings, and are made willing in the power and strength of God, freely to offer up our lives in this cause of God, for which we suffer: yea, and we do find (through grace) the enlargement of God in our imprisoned state, to whom alone we commit ourselves and our families, for the disposing of us according to his infinite wisdom and pleasure, in whose love is our rest and life.

From the house of bondage in Boston wherein we are made captives by the wills of men, although made free by the Son, (John 8, 36).

In which we quietly rest, this 16th of the 5th month, 1658.

LAWRENCE SOUTHICK, JOSIAH SOUTHICK, CASSANDRA SOUTHICK, SAMUEL SHATTOCK, JOSHUA BUFFUM.

The first victims to this severe law were Lawrence and Cassandra Southick, their son Josiah, Samuel Shattock, Nicholas Phelps and Joshua Buffum. They were called before the court 11th of 3rd mo., 1659, and on their trial (such as it was), the same arbitrary spirit of tyranny appeared in their manner of executing as in passing their laws. The prisoners making a rational objection to their proceeding against them by their law as being in custody when it was made, and therefore as to them an ex post facto law. To their query whether it was for an offence against that law which then had no existence, they were committed to prison and banished, they received no reply; then one of them desired the governor that he would be pleased to declare before the people the real and true cause of their proceedings against them. He answered, it was for contemning authority in not coming to the ordinances of God. He further charged them with rebelling against the authority of the country in not departing according to their order; to which they answered they had no other place to go, but had their wives, children, families and estates to look after; nor had they done anything worthy of death, banishment or bonds, or any of the hardships or ignominious punishments which they had suffered in their persons, beside the loss of one hundred pound's worth of their property taken from them for meeting together. This remonstrance of their recent accumulated injuries silencing the Governor, Major General Denison made this unanswerable reply, that they stood against the authority of the country in not submitting to their laws, that he should not go about to speak much of the error of their judgements but added he, you and we are not able well to live together, at present the power is in our hand, and therefore the strongest must fend off. After this the prisoners were put forth for a while, and being



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called in again, the sentence of banishment was pronounced against them, and no more than a fortnight's time allowed for them to depart on pain of death; and although they desired a respite to attend to their affairs and till an opportunity of a convenient passage to England might occur, the unrelenting malice of their persecutors would not grant them even this small and reasonable request; so Samuel Shattock, Nicholas Phelps, and Josiah Southick were obliged to take an opportunity that offered four days after, to pass for England by Barbadoes, in order to seek redress from the parliament and council of state there, but without success.

Lawrence and Cassandra Southick went to Shelter Island, where they soon died, within three days of each other; and Joshua Buffum retired to Rhode Island. The proceedings of these haughty rulers are strongly marked throughout with the features of self-importance, inhumanity and bitter malignity, but I know of no instance of a more persevering malice and cruelty, than that wherewith they persecuted the aforesaid Lawrence and Cassandra Southick and their family. First, while members of their church, they were both imprisoned for entertaining strangers, Christopher Holder and John Copeland, a christian duty which the apostle to the Hebrews advises not to be unmindful of; and after seven weeks imprisonment, Cassandra was fined 40 shillings for owning a paper written by the aforesaid persons. Next, for absenting from the public worship and owning the Quakers' doctrine, on the information of one Captain Hawthorne, they, with their son Josiah, were sent to the house of correction and whipped in the coldest season of the year, and at the same time Hawthorne issued his warrant to distrain their goods for absence from their public worship, whereby there were taken from them cattle to the value of £4, 15 shillings. Again they were imprisoned, with others, for being at a meeting, and Cassandra was again whipped, and upon their joint letter to the magistrates before recited, the other appellants were released, but this family, although they with the rest had suffered the penalty of their cruel law fully, were arbitrarily detained in prison to their great loss and damage, being in the season of the year when their affairs most immediately demanded their attendance; and last of all were banished upon pain of death, as before recited, by a law made while they were imprisoned. Thus despoiled of their property, deprived of their liberty, driven into banishment, and in jeopardy of their lives, for no other crime than meeting apart and dissenting from the established worship, the sufferings of this inoffensive aged couple ended only with their lives. But the multiplied injuries of this harmless pair were not sufficient to gratify that thirst for vengeance which stimulated these persecutors, while any member of the family remained unmolested. During their detention in prison they left at home a son Daniel and a daughter Provided; these children, not deterred by the unchristian treatment of their parents and brother, felt themselves rather encouraged to follow their steps and relinquish the assemblies of a people whose religion was productive of such relentless persecution;



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for their absence from which they were fined £10, though it was well known that they had no estate, their parents having been reduced to poverty by repeated fines and extravagant distrains; wherefore to satisfy the fine they were ordered to be sold for bond-slaves by the following mandate: "Whereas Daniel Southick and Provided Southick, son and daughter of Lawrence Southick, absenting themselves from the public ordinances, having been fined by the courts of Salem and Ipswich, pretending they have no estates and resolving not to work, the court upon perusal of a law which was made upon account of debts, in answer to what should be done for the satisfaction of the fines, resolves, that the treasurers of the several counties are, and shall be fully empowered to sell the said persons to any of the English Nation at Virginia or Barbadoes, to answer the said fines." Pursuant to this order, Edward Butler, one of the treasurers, sought out for a passage for them to Barbadoes for sale, but could find none willing to take them thither. One master of a ship to whom he applied, in order to evade a compliance, pretended they would spoil the ship's company. Butler replied, no, you do not fear that, for they are poor harmless creatures that will not hurt anybody. The master rejoined, will you then offer to make slaves of such harmless creatures? and declined the invidious office of transporting them, as well as the rest. Disappointed in his designs and at a loss how to dispose of them, the winter approaching, he sent them home to shift for themselves till he could find a convenient opportunity to send them away. Is it strange that a few people became excited unto insanity, after such terrible outrages upon themselves? friends, as to appear naked in public; rather is it not a wonder that more were not made insane?



During this year and the next Friend [George Fox](#) was experiencing “great events” in London:

We came into Bedfordshire, where we had large gatherings in the name of Jesus. After some time we came to John Crook's, where a general yearly meeting for the whole nation was appointed to be held. This meeting lasted three days, and many Friends from most parts of the nation came to it; so that the inns and towns round thereabouts were filled, for many thousands of people were at it. And although there was some disturbance by some rude people that had run out from Truth, yet the Lord's power came over all, and a glorious meeting it was. The everlasting gospel was preached, and many received it, which gospel brought life and immortality to light in them, and shined over all.

Now these things were upon me to open unto all, that they might mind and see what it is they sit down in.

First, They that sit down in Adam in the fall, sit down in misery, in death, in darkness and corruption.

Secondly, They that sit down in the types, figures, and shadows, and under the first priesthood, law, and covenant, sit down in that which must have an end, and which made nothing perfect.

Thirdly, They that sit down in the apostasy that hath got up since the Apostles' days, sit down in spiritual Sodom and Egypt; and are drinking of the whore's cup, under the beast's and dragon's power.

Fourthly, They that sit down in the state in which Adam was before he fell, sit down in that which may be fallen from; for he fell from that state, though it was perfect.

Fifthly, They that sit down in the prophets, sit down in that which must be fulfilled; and they that sit down in the fellowship of water, bread, and wine, these being temporal things, they sit down in that which is short of Christ, and of His baptism.

Sixthly, To sit down in a profession of all the Scriptures, from Genesis to the Revelations, and not be in the power and Spirit which those were in that gave them forth;—that was to be turned away from by them that came into the power and Spirit which those were in that gave forth the Scriptures.

Seventhly, They that sit down in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, sit down in Him that never fell, nor ever changed.



After this meeting was over, and most of the Friends gone away, as I was walking in John Crook's garden, there came a party of horse, with a constable, to seize me. I heard them ask, "Who is in the house?" Somebody made answer that I was there. They said that I was the man they looked for; and went forthwith into the house, where they had many words with John Crook and some few Friends that were with him. But the Lord's power so confounded them that they came not into the garden to look for me; but went their way in a rage.

When I came into the house, Friends were very glad to see that I had escaped them. Next day I passed thence; and, after I had visited Friends in several places, came to London, the Lord's power accompanying me, and bearing me up in His service.

** During the time I was at London I had many services laid upon me, for it was a time of much suffering. I was moved to write to Oliver Cromwell, and lay before him the sufferings of Friends both in this nation and in Ireland. There was also a talk about this time of making Cromwell king; whereupon I was moved to go to him and warn him against accepting it; and of diverse dangers which, if he did not avoid them, would, I told him, bring shame and ruin upon himself and his posterity. He seemed to take well what I said to him, and thanked me; yet afterwards I was moved to write to him more fully concerning that matter.*

About this time the Lady Claypole (so called) was sick, and much troubled in mind, and could receive no comfort from any that came to her. When I heard of this I was moved to write to her.

[Here is part of the letter he sent this daughter of Cromwell who would soon die: "Keep in the fear of the Lord God; that is the Word of the Lord unto thee. For all these things happen to thee for thy good, and for the good of those concerned for thee, to make you know yourselves and your own weakness, that ye may know the Lord's strength and power, and may trust in Him. Let the time past be sufficient to every one, who in anything hath been lifted up in transgression out of the power of the Lord; for He can bring down and abase the mighty, and lay them in the dust of the earth. Therefore, all keep low in His fear, that thereby ye may receive the secrets of God and His wisdom, may know the shadow of the Almighty, and sit under it in all tempests, storms, and heats. For God is a God at hand, and the Most High rules in the children of men. This is the word of the Lord God unto you all; what the Light doth make manifest and discover, as temptations, distractions, confusions, do not look at these temptations, confusions, corruptions, but at the Light which discovers them and makes them manifest; and with the same Light you may feel over them, to receive power to stand against them. The same Light which lets you see sin and transgression, will let you see the covenant of God, which blots out your sin and transgression, which gives victory and dominion over it, and brings into covenant with God. For looking down at sin, corruption, and distraction, ye are swallowed up in it; but looking at the Light, which discovers them, ye will see over them.



That will give victory, and ye will find grace and strength; there is the first step to peace. That will bring salvation; by it ye may see to the beginning, and the 'Glory that was with the Father before the world began'; and come to know the Seed of God, which is the heir of the promise of God, and of the world which hath no end; and which bruises the head of the serpent, who stops people from coming to God. That ye may feel the power of an endless life, the power of God which is immortal, which brings the immortal soul up to the immortal God, in whom it doth rejoice. So in the name and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, God Almighty strengthen thee. G.F." This note follows the letter: "*When the foregoing paper was read to Lady Claypole, she said, it stayed her mind for the present. Afterwards many Friends got copies of it, both in England and Ireland, and read it to people that were troubled in mind; and it was made useful for the settling of the minds of several."*

About this time came forth a declaration from Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, for a collection towards the relief of diverse Protestant churches, driven out of Poland; and of twenty Protestant families, driven out of the confines of Bohemia. And there having been a like declaration published some time before, to invite the nation to a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, in order to a contribution being made for the suffering Protestants of the valleys of Lucerne, Angrona, etc. [the Huguenots], who were persecuted by the Duke of Savoy, I was moved to write to the Protector and chief magistrates on this occasion, both to show them the nature of a true fast (such as God requires and accepts), and to make them sensible of their injustice and self-condemnation in blaming the Papists for persecuting the Protestants abroad, while they themselves, calling themselves Protestants, were at the same time persecuting their Protestant neighbours and friends at home.

Diverse times, both in the time of the Long Parliament and of the Protector (so called) and of the Committee of Safety, when they proclaimed fasts, I was moved to write to them, and tell them their fasts were like unto Jezebel's; for commonly, when they proclaimed fasts, there was some mischief contrived against us. I knew their fasts were for strife and debate, to smite with the fist of wickedness; as the New England professors soon after did; who, before they put our Friends to death, proclaimed a fast also.

Now it was a time of great suffering; and many Friends being in prisons, many other Friends were moved to go to the Parliament, to offer themselves up to lie in the same prisons where their friends lay, that those in prison might go forth, and not perish in the stinking jails. This we did in love to God and our brethren, that they might not die in prison; and in love to those that cast them in, that they might not bring innocent blood upon their own heads, which we knew would cry to the Lord, and bring His wrath, vengeance, and plagues upon them.



But little favour could we find from those professing Parliaments; instead thereof, they would rage, and sometimes threaten Friends that attended them, to whip and send them home. Then commonly soon after the Lord would turn them out, and send them home; who had not an heart to do good in the day of their power. But they went not off without being forewarned; for I was moved to write to them, in their several turns, as I did to the Long Parliament, unto whom I declared, before they were broken up, "that thick darkness was coming over them all, even a day of darkness that should be felt."

** And because the Parliament that now sat [Oliver Cromwell's 2nd Parliament] was made up mostly of high professors, who, pretending to be more religious than others, were indeed greater persecutors of those that were truly religious, I was moved to send them the following lines, as a reproof of their hypocrisy:*

O friends, do not cloak and cover yourselves; there is a God that knoweth your hearts, and that will uncover you. He seeth your way. "Wo be unto him that covereth, but not with my Spirit, saith the Lord." Do ye act contrary to the law, and then put it from you! Mercy and true judgment ye neglect. Look, what was spoken against such. My Saviour spoke against such; "I was sick, and ye visited me not; I was hungry, and ye fed me not; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; I was in prison, and ye visited me not." But they said, "When saw we thee in prison, and did not come to thee?" "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of these little ones, ye did it not unto me." Friends, ye imprison them that are in the life and power of Truth, and yet profess to be the ministers of Christ; but if Christ had sent you, ye would bring out of prison, out of bondage, and receive strangers. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter; ye have condemned and killed the just, and he doth not resist you.

G.F.

After this, as I was going out of town, having two Friends with me, when we were little more than a mile out of the city, there met us two troopers belonging to Colonel Hacker's regiment, who took me, and the Friends that were with me, and brought us back to the Mews, and there kept us prisoners. But the Lord's power was so over them that they did not take us before any officer; but shortly after set us at liberty again.



* *The same day, taking boat, I went to Kingston, and thence to Hampton Court, to speak with the Protector about the sufferings of Friends. I met him riding in Hampton Court Park, and before I came to him, as he rode at the head of his life-guard, I saw and felt a waft [or apparition] of death go forth against him; and when I came to him he looked like a dead man.*

After I had laid the sufferings of Friends before him, and had warned him, according as I was moved to speak to him, he bade me come to his house. So I returned to Kingston, and next day went to Hampton Court, to speak further with him. But when I came he was sick, and Harvey [groom of the bedchamber], who was one that waited on him, told me the doctors were not willing I should speak with him. So I passed away, and never saw him more.

From Kingston I went to Isaac Penington's, in Buckinghamshire, where I had appointed a meeting, and the Lord's Truth and power were preciously manifested amongst us. After I had visited Friends in those parts, I returned to London, and soon after went into Essex, where I had not been long before I heard that the Protector was dead, and his son Richard made Protector in his room. Thereupon I came up to London again.

Before this time the church faith (so called) was given forth, which was said to have been made at the Savoy in eleven days' time. [This "Church-faith (so-called)" was DECLARATION OF THE FAITH AND ORDER OWNED AND PRACTICED IN THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES IN ENGLAND: AGREED UPON AND CONSENTED UNTO BY THEIR ELDERS AND MESSENGERS IN THEIR MEETING AT THE SAVOY, OCTOBER 12TH, 1658. Fox's reply was: SOMETHING IN ANSWER TO THAT BOOK CALLED, THE CHURCH-FAITH: SET FORTH BY INDEPENDANTS (sic) AND OTHERS; AGREED UPON BY DIVINE MESSENGERS AT THE SAVOY IN LONDON.] I got a copy before it was published, and wrote an answer to it; and when their book of church faith was sold in the streets, my answer to it was sold also. This angered some of the Parliament men, so that one of them told me, "We must have you to Smithfield." I told him, "I am above your fires, and fear them not." And, reasoning with him, I wished him to consider, had all people been without a faith these sixteen hundred years, that now the priests must make them one? Did not the apostle say that Jesus was the author and finisher of their faith? And since Christ Jesus was the author of the Apostles' faith, of the Church's faith in primitive times, and of the martyrs' faith, should not all people look unto Him to be the author and finisher of their faith, and not to the priests? Much work we had about the priest-made faith. There was great persecution in many places, both by imprisoning, and by breaking up of meetings. At a meeting about seven miles from London, the rude people usually came out of several parishes round about, to abuse Friends, and often beat and bruised them exceedingly. One day they abused about eighty Friends that went to that meeting out of London, tearing their coats and cloaks from off their backs, and throwing them into ditches and ponds; and when they had besmeared them with dirt, they said they looked like witches.



The next First-day I was moved of the Lord to go to that meeting, though I was then very weak. When I came there I bade Friends bring a table, and set it in the close, where they used to meet, to stand upon. According to their wonted course, the rude people came; and I, having a Bible in my hand, showed them theirs and their teachers' fruits; and the people became ashamed, and were quiet.

But it was a time of great sufferings; for, besides imprisonments, through which many died, our meetings were greatly disturbed. They have thrown rotten eggs and wild-fire into our meetings, and brought in drums beating, and kettles to make noises with, that the Truth might not be heard; and, among these, the priests were as rude as any, as may be seen in the book of the fighting priests, wherein a list is given of some priests that had actually beaten and abused Friends.

Many Friends were brought prisoners to London [in Autumn 1659], to be tried before the Committee; where Henry Vane, being chairman, would not suffer Friends to come in, except they would put off their hats. But at last the Lord's power came over him, so that, through the mediation of others, they were admitted. Many of us having been imprisoned upon contempts (as they called them) for not putting off our hats, it was not a likely thing that Friends, who had suffered so long for it from others, should put off their hats to him. But the Lord's power came over all, and wrought so that several were set at liberty by them.

I wrote to Oliver several times, and let him know that while he was persecuting God's people, they whom he accounted his enemies were preparing to come upon him. When some forward spirits that came amongst us would have bought Somerset-House, that we might have meetings in it, I forbade them to do so: for I then foresaw the King's coming in again. Besides, there came a woman to me in the Strand, who had a prophecy concerning King Charles's coming in, three years before he came: and she told me she must go to him to declare it. I advised her to wait upon the Lord, and keep it to herself; for if it should be known that she went on such a message, they would look upon it to be treason – but she said she must go, and tell him that he should be brought into England again. I saw her prophecy was true, and that a great stroke must come upon them in power; for they that had then got possession were so exceeding high, and such great persecution was acted by them, who called themselves saints, that they would take from Friends their copyhold lands, because they could not swear in their courts.

Sometimes when we laid these sufferings before Oliver Cromwell, he would not believe it. Therefore Thomas Aldam and Anthony Pearson were moved to go through all the jails in England, and to get copies of Friends' commitments under the jailer's hands, that they might lay the weight of their sufferings upon Oliver Cromwell. And when he would not give order for the releasing of them, Thomas Aldam was moved to take his cap from off his head, and to rend it in pieces before him, and to say unto him, "So shall thy government be rent from thee and thy house."

Another Friend also, a woman, was moved to go to the Parliament (that was envious against Friends) with a pitcher in her hand, which she broke into pieces before them, and told them that so should they be broken to pieces: which came to pass shortly after.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL

In my great suffering and travail of spirit for the nation, being grievously burdened with their hypocrisy, treachery, and falsehood, I saw God would bring that over them which they had been above; and that all must be brought down to that which convinced them, before they could get over that bad spirit within and without: for it is the pure, invisible Spirit, that doth and only can work down all deceit in people.

Now was there a great pother made about the image or effigy of Oliver Cromwell lying in state; men standing and sounding with trumpets over his image, after he was dead. At this my spirit was greatly grieved, and the Lord, I found, was highly offended.

About this time great stirs were in the nation, the minds of people being unsettled. Much plotting and contriving there was by the several factions, to carry on their several interests. And a great care being upon me, lest any young or ignorant people, that might sometimes come amongst us, should be drawn into that snare, I was moved to give forth an epistle as a warning unto all such.

FOX'S JOURNAL

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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



UNDER THE YEW-TREES⁵³

'George Fox was a born leader of souls. The flame of religious ardour which burned in him, and the intense conviction and spiritual power with which he spoke, would in any age have made him great. He was born in a generation of revolutions and upheavals, both political and spiritual. Confusion and unrest, war and reformations, give to great spirits a power which, when life is calmer, they might not attain. Fox drew to himself a multitude of noble souls, attracted to him by that which they shared with him, the sense of spiritual realities, and the consciousness of the guiding Spirit. The age of George Fox thirsted for spiritual reality. He had found it. Men on all sides were ready to find it as he had. The dales of Yorkshire, and the hills of lakeland, not less than the towns of the Midlands, had men in them ready to rejoice in the touch of the spiritual, ready to respond to the movement of the Spirit. See him then arriving at some farm-yard in the hills, or may be at a country squire's hall....'—CYRIL HEPHER, 'Fellowship of Silence.'

'The house was no doubt full of music, as were indeed many others, in that most musical of English centuries.'—J. BAILEY, 'Milton.'

Motto on Seal of a letter to M. Fell:

1660
'GOD ABOVE
KEEP US IN HIS LIGHT
AND LOVE.'

53. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



UNDER THE YEW-TREES

Six gay girls sat together, laughing and talking, under the shadow of the ancient yew-trees that guard the eastern corner of Swarthmoor Hall. The interlaced boughs of the gloomy old trees made a cool canopy of shadow above the merry maidens. It was a breathless day of late June, 1652, at the very end of the 'wonderful fortnight.'

There they were, Judge Fell's six fair daughters: Margaret, Bridget, Isabel, Sarah, Mary and little Susanna, who was but three years old, on that hot summer afternoon.

'Tis a pity that there are only six of us,' Sarah was saying with mock melancholy. 'Now, suppose my brother George instead of being a boy had been a girl, then there would have been seven. The Seven Sisters of Swarthmoor Hall! In truth it has a gallant sound like unto a play. Seven Young Sisters and Seven Ancient Yew Trees! Each of us might have a yew-tree then for her very own.' So saying, Sarah leant back against the huge gnarled trunk behind her, her golden curls rippling like sunshine over the wrinkled wood, while her blue eyes peered into the dark-green depths overhead.

'Moreover, in that case,' continued Isabel, with a touch of sarcasm in her voice, 'and supposing the Seventh Sister, who doth not exist, were to have seven more daughters in her turn,—then it might be expected that the Seventh Daughter of that Seventh Daughter would have keener than mortal hearing, and sharper than mortal sight. She would be able to hear the grass growing, and know when the fairies were making their rings, and be able to catch the Brownies at their tasks, so the country people say. Heigh ho! I wish she were here! Or I would that I myself were the Seventh Daughter of a Seventh Daughter, or still better the Seventh Son of a Seventh Son, for they have real true second sight, and can look in magic crystals and foresee things to come.'

'Now it is my turn,' chimed in Bridget, 'I am the eldest but one, and it is time I talked a little. Then when the Seventh Daughter of the Seventh Daughter walks hand in hand with the Seventh Son of a Seventh Son (neither of whom, allow me to remind you in passing, ever have existed, or, it is to be hoped, ever will exist in a well-connected family like ours), when they walk hand in hand under the shade of the Seven Ancient Yew-trees which, we all know, have guarded Swarthmoor for centuries ... the Seven Ancient Trees will be sure to overhear them whispering honeyed nothings to each other. Then the oldest and wisest of all the Trees (by the bye, it is that one behind you, Isabel!) will say, "Dearly beloved Children, although the words you say are incredibly foolish, yet to me they sound almost wise compared with the still more incredibly foolish conversation carried on beneath my old boughs in the Year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and fifty-two by your ever venerable Great Aunt Isabel and your still more venerable Great Aunt Sarah!"'



'O Bridget,' came in aggrieved tones from the two younger girls as they flung themselves upon her and put laughing hands over her mouth, 'that is too bad, that is unkind.'

The eldest sister, Margaret, looked up from the low bench where she was sitting with Mary and Susanna, the two youngest children beside her. Seeing the struggling heap of muslin and ribbons on the grass she resolutely turned the talk into less personal channels. 'I do not at all agree with Sarah,' she said calmly, 'besides it is much too hot to argue. For my part, I think Six Sisters are fully enough for any household. If I had more than five younger ones to look after, I don't know what I should do. Even for the yew-trees it is better. There is one now for each of us to sit under, and one to spare for my mother when at last she comes home. I wonder what makes her so late? When will she be here?'

A ripple of expectation stirred the maidens. Moved by the same impulse, they all looked out under the dark yew branches and over the sunlit orchard, beyond which lay the high road leading up the hill from Ulverston. Nothing as yet was to be seen and no faintest rumble of approaching wheels reached any of the listeners.

Everywhere the hot air quivered in the sunshine. Even the stately Elizabethan Hall with its high stone chimneys and mullioned bay windows looked drowsy and half asleep. A pale wisp of smoke was ascending listlessly in a straight line above the gabled roofs high up into the far still air. Scarcely a sound came from the outbuildings that lay beyond the Hall. Even the pigeons on the roof were too hot to coo. In the herb garden beneath, the flowers drooped in the scorching light. Glare everywhere. Only under the yew-trees was there to be found a pool of grateful shadow. And even that pool had a sunshine of its own radiating from the group of merry maidens, with their bright faces and gay voices raised in perpetual talk, or laughter, or song. For a little while they seemed to be busy practising a madrigal. Then the irrepressible chatter burst out afresh. Cool and fragrant all the maidens looked, in their dresses of clear sprigged muslin, each tied at waist, wrists, and throat with ribbons of a different colour: lilac, lavender, primrose, cherry, emerald, and blue. The garden roses might droop in the hot garden outside, but the roses on the girls' cheeks, instead of fading, flushed and deepened with growing excitement. They all seemed full of suppressed eagerness, evidently waiting for something much desired to happen.

At length tall Bridget, exclaiming, 'It must be time now!' sprang to her feet, and, stooping under the clinging boughs of the yew-tree temple, drew herself up to her full height outside its shade. Her gaze roamed over the long grass of the orchard and down the broad path, to the high stone arch of the entrance gate through which she could just catch sight of a glimpse of dusty road.

'Nothing yet!' she reported, 'not even a sign of the black horses' ears or heads above the hedge and not a sound upon the road.'



Margaret raised her head to listen. She inherited her mother's placid, Madonna-like beauty, and was at this time the fairest of the whole sisterhood. Sarah, who was hereafter to be considered not only the wit but also the beauty of the family, was at this time a child of ten, and not yet grown into her full inheritance of comeliness. In after years it was said of Sarah that she was 'not only beautiful and lovely to a high degree, but was wonderfully happy in ingeny and memory.' But even at her loveliest it was never said of her, as it was of Margaret, that she was 'glorious, comely, and beautiful in that which never fades away,' 'lovely in the truth, an example of holiness and wisdom.'

This comely Margaret, seeing and hearing nothing of what she sought, bent her fair face down once more to the little sisters seated on each side of her. To beguile the waiting time she was making for them a chain of the daisies they had gathered as they flitted about, like gay white butterflies, over the grass. Mary was eight years old, and therefore able to pick daisies with discretion; but the stalks of the flowers gathered by little Susanna were all sadly too short and the flowers themselves suffered in her tight hot hand. At this moment Isabel ran to join Bridget and, standing on tiptoe beside her, tried hard to see as much as her taller sister.

'Nothing yet,' she reported, 'not a sign of the black horses nor even the top of the coach.' Sarah, not to be outdone, swung herself up, with a laugh, on to one of the lower boughs of the oldest yew-tree, and standing on it thrust her golden head through the thick canopy overhead. She peered out in her turn looking across the orchard and over the hedge to the road, then, bending down with a laughing face to Margaret and the little ones, 'I'm tallest now,' she exclaimed, 'and I shall be the first to spy the coach when it reaches the top of the hill!'

But agile Isabel, ever ready to follow a sister's lead, had already left Bridget's side and swung herself up, past Sarah, on to a yet higher bough.

'Methinks not, Mistress Sarah,' she called over her head, slowly and demurely, 'for now I can see yet farther, and there are the horses' ears and heads; yea and the chariot also, and now, at last! our mother's face!'

But the group below had not waited for her tidings. They had heard the rumble of the wheels and the horses' feet on the road. With cries of joy, off they all sped down the path and across the orchard; to see who should be first at the gate to welcome their mother. Only Margaret stayed behind on her bench among the scattered daisies, with a slightly pensive expression on her lovely face.

'All of them flying to greet her!' Margaret thought to herself. 'See, Bridget has caught up even Susanna in her arms, that she shall not be left too far behind; while I, the eldest, whom my mother doth ever call her right hand, am forced to stay here. But my mother knows that my knee prevents me. She will not forget her Margaret. Already she sees me, and is beckoning the others to come this way.'



In truth Mistress Fell had already alighted and was now passing swiftly under the high stone arch of the gateway. Never did she come through that gate without a flash of remembrance of the first time she entered there, leaning on her husband's arm, a bride of seventeen summers, younger than her own fair Margaret now. She entered, this time, leaning on the arm of tall Bridget, walking as if she were a trifle weary, yet stooping to pick up little Susanna and to cover her with kisses as she moved up the path surrounded by her cloud of girls.

'Not the house, maids,' she cried, 'the yew-trees first! I see my Margaret waiting there. Your news, how marvellous soever, must wait until I have greeted my right-hand daughter and learned how she fares.'

'How art thou, dear Heart?' she enquired, as she stooped down and kissed her eldest daughter, and sat down beside her. 'Hath thy knee pained thee a little less this afternoon?'

'Much less,' answered Margaret gaily, 'in fact I had almost forgotten it, and was about to rise and welcome you with the rest, when a sudden ache reminded me that I must not run yet awhile.'

Mistress Fell shook her head. 'I fear that I shall have to take thee to London and to Wapping for the waters some day. I cannot have my bird unable to fly like the rest of the brood, and obliged to wait behind with a clipped wing.'

'Young Margrett,' as she was called, to distinguish her from her mother, laughed aloud. 'Nay now, sweet mother, 'tis nothing,' she replied. 'Let us think of more cheerful things. In truth we have much to tell you, for we have had an afternoon of visitors and many happenings in thy absence.'

'Visitors?' A slight furrow showed itself in the elder Margaret's smooth forehead. 'Well, that is not strange, since the door of Swarthmoor stands ever open to welcome guests, as all the country knows. Still I would that I had been at home, or thy father. Who were the visitors, daughter?'

It was Bridget who answered.

'My father hath often said that there has been scarce a day without a visitor at Swarthmoor since he first brought you here as its mistress,' she began primly, 'but in all these years, mother, I doubt you have never set eyes on such an one as our guest of to-day. Priest Lampitt said the same.'

'Priest Lampitt? Hath he been here? And I not at home. Truly, it grieves me, children, to have missed our good neighbour. Did he then bring a stranger with him?'

'No, No, No,' a chorus of dissent broke from the girls, all now seated round their mother on the grass, each eager to be the first to tell the tale, yet at a loss for words. Bridget, as usual, stepped into the gap. She explained that 'the Priest had been amazed to find the Stranger here. They had had much discourse. Till at last, Priest Lampitt, waxing hot and fiery ere he departed, strode down the flagged path slashing all the flowers with his cane and never seemed to know what he was doing, though you know, mother, that he loves our garden.'

A shade of real annoyance crossed Mistress Fell's face. 'The



good Priest angered in my house,' she said, with real concern in her voice, 'and I not there, but only a pack of giddy maids, who had not wit enough between them to keep a discourteous stranger in his place and prevent his being rude to an old friend! Nay, now, maidens, speak not all together. Ye are too young and do but babble. Let Bridget continue, or my Margaret. Either of them I can trust.' But 'young Margrett' was bending her head still lower, seemingly over her daisy chain.

'Truly, mother,' she said in a low voice close to her mother's ear, 'there are no words for him. He is so-different; I knew not that earth held a man like him. And he will be coming back shortly to the house-maybe he is already awaiting you!'

Mistress Fell looked up now in undisguised alarm. Who was this nameless Stranger who had invaded her house during her absence, and had apparently stolen the heart of her discreet and dignified Margaret, in one interview, by the mere sight of his charms? Young, handsome, quarrelsome; who could he be? What had brought him to Swarthmoor to destroy its peace?

She turned to capable Bridget for information. Bridget, never at a loss, understood her mother's fears, or some of them, and immediately answered reassuringly, 'Be not disquieted, sweet mother. Nothing really untoward has happened. It is true the Stranger disputed hotly with Lampitt, but it was the Priest's blame as much as the Stranger's at first, though afterwards, when Lampitt held out his hand and wished to be friendly, the Stranger turned from him and shook him off. Yet, though his actions were harsh there was gentleness in his face and bearing. He is a man of goodly presence, this Stranger, but quite, quite old, thirty or thereabouts by my guessing.'

The elder Margaret smiled. Bridget continued hastily: 'Or may be more. Any way he seemed older from his gravity, and from his outlandish dress. Under his coat could be seen a leather doublet and breeches, and on his head he wore a large, soft, white hat.' At these words the concern in Mistress Fell's face disappeared in a moment. A quick look of welcome sprang into her eyes.

'A man in a white hat!' she exclaimed. 'Perhaps, then, his coming forbodes good to us after all. It was only the other night that, as I lay a-dreaming, I saw a man in a large white hat coming towards me. I had been seeking for guidance on my knees, for often I fear we are not wholly in the right way, with all our seeking and religious exercises. In answer to my prayer there came towards me, in my dream, a man, and I knew that he was to be the messenger of God to me and to all my household. Tell me more, maidens, of this Stranger, how he came and whence, and why he left and when he will return.'

This time it was 'young Margrett' who answered. Seeing the sympathy in her Mother's eyes, she found her voice at last, and rejoined quickly:

'He resembleth a Priest somewhat, yet not altogether. He speaketh with more authority than anyone I ever heard. Grave he is too. Grave as my father when he is executing justice. Yet, for all his gravity, as Bridget says, he is wondrous gentle. None of us were affrighted at him, and the little maids ran to



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

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him as they do to my father. Moreover, he showed them a curious seal he carried in his pocket with letters intertwined among roses, a "G" I saw, and an "F." Afterwards he took them on his knees and blessed them and they were wholly at ease. Priest Lampitt, who had been watching through a window, his countenance strangely altered by his rage, now took his departure. Seeing him go, the Stranger put down the children gently, setting Susanna with both her feet squarely on the polished floor, as I have seen a shepherd set down a lamb, as if afear'd that it might slip. Then he turned in sorrow and spoke a few words to his companion. This was the man who brought him hither, one of the Seekers from Wensleydale or thereabouts, I should judge from his language; but truly none of us paid much heed to him. The two of them left the Hall together, and passed down through the herb-garden, and over the stream. Once I noticed the Stranger turn and gaze back at the house, searching each window, as if looking for something he found not there. Also he smiled at sight of the yew-trees, with a greeting as if they were old friends. Bridget declares that she heard the Stranger, our Stranger, say that he would return hither shortly, when he had set his companion a short distance on his homeward way. But that is now more than two hours ago, and as yet he hath not reappeared.'

'Well then, maids,' replied Mistress Fell briskly, 'let us not linger here. It is high time we went back to the house to welcome our guest, on his return.' So saying, she rose to her feet, and aiding 'young Margrett' with one hand, she drew aside with the other the thick screen of the branches. A ray of sunshine fell upon Margaret Fell, standing there, in the velvety gloom of the old yew-trees, with her six young daughters round her. Sunshine was in her heart too, as she looked down fondly at them for a moment.

Then, lifting up her eyes, she recognised the unknown man she had seen in her dream. In the full blaze of sunlight, coming straight up the flagged path towards her was a Stranger, wearing a white hat. And thus did Mistress Margaret Fell behold for the first time GEORGE FOX.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

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HISTORICAL NOTES

‘UNDER THE YEW-TREES.’

Expanded from George Fox’s JOURNAL, i. 47, 48, 52. The conversation among the girls is of course imaginary, but many details are taken from ‘Margaret Fox of Swarthmoor Hall,’ by Helen G. Crosfield, a most helpful book that has been constantly used in all these stories about Swarthmoor.



March 3: The government of the United Colonies had officially warned the government of [Rhode Island](#), that if it continued to harbor [Quakers](#), a trade embargo would be declared. In their response, the government of Rhode Island promised to be vigilant against Quakerism, but pointed out to the general colonial government that there was a “liberty of conscience” clause in their colonial charter which would somewhat limit what they could do against this conscientious folk. They promised that if any of them should refuse to turn out for militia training, or should refuse to stand watch — they would promptly report such behavior to the government in England. (We can safely infer from this, that the Quakers of Rhode Island, affected by the Peace Testimony, were having difficulty with the idea of bearing arms in the militia.)

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Spring: Family names such as Lopez, Rivera, Seixas, deToro (Touro), Gomez and Hays began to settle in [Newport](#) on [Rhode Island](#)'s [Aquidneck Island](#), and by the time of the American Revolution this population of Sephardic Jews would have grown to a prosperous community of several hundred souls. As international sugar traders from Brazil, the West Indies, Portugal, etc. they chose to maintain their headquarters on the island because it was a thriving peaceful commercial center with a major port.⁵⁴ For a long time they would hold *minyanim* in private homes. Their first public venture would be not the construction of a synagogue but the creation of a [Jewish](#) cemetery. (Only later, in 1763, would they be constructing the [Touro Synagogue of Congregation Jeshuat Israel](#).)⁵⁵

May 11: Friend [Horod](#) Long Hicks, “the mother of many children, with a babe sucking at her breast,” accompanied by Friend Mary Stanton, who helped carry the child, walked from [Newport](#) to Weymouth MA to protest religious persecution as a [Quaker](#), and as a result, was carried to Boston before Governor John Endecott, who sentenced each of the women to be whipped, ten lashes with a three-fold knotted whip, and then held in prison for 14 days.

54. Rabbi Theodore Lewis, M.A.S.T.D., has confidently asserted that these Jews came to Rhode Island “because of the assurance of freedom of religion and liberty of conscience promised by Governor [Roger Williams](#) to all who came within its borders.” To make a small point, the man was President of Rhode Island, not Governor, but the big point is to imagine how Rabbi Lewis can look right into people’s minds, people dead for centuries, and detect their true motives. This President Williams with an international reputation for religious openness who attracted the Jews to Rhode Island, I might point out, happens to be the same Reverend Williams who, we know, had pronounced his own wife, Mistress Mary Williams, and his own daughters, to be “unregenerate,” which meant that after Mary had prepared a meal for her family, she needed to take her daughters and be absent from the table while her husband blessed the meal and thanked God, alone. Then this tolerant man would allow his “unregenerate” family to return and break bread together and partake of the meal. (Although this practice would come to the attention of others who would chide the Reverend about it, remonstrances would be to no avail. Go figure.)

What is considerably more likely is that these immigrants had heard of the code of laws that had been enacted in [Rhode Island](#) in 1647, which concluded as follows:

These are the laws that concern all men, and these are the penalties for the transgressions thereof, which, by common consent, are ratified and established through the whole Colony. And otherwise than this (what is herein forbidden) all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his GOD. AND LET THE LAMBS OF THE MOST HIGH WALK IN THIS COLONY WITHOUT MOLESTATION, IN THE NAME OF JEHOVAH THEIR GOD, FOR EVER AND EVER.

However, that code of laws had been written, not by the great Reverend Williams, but by [John Clarke](#) with the assistance of [William Dyer](#) (Friend Mary Dyer’s husband). Presumably Rabbi Lewis did not grasp that point, because he was supposing the code of laws to have been enacted in 1674, six years after the settlement, rather than as it actually was, in 1647, eleven years before the settlement!

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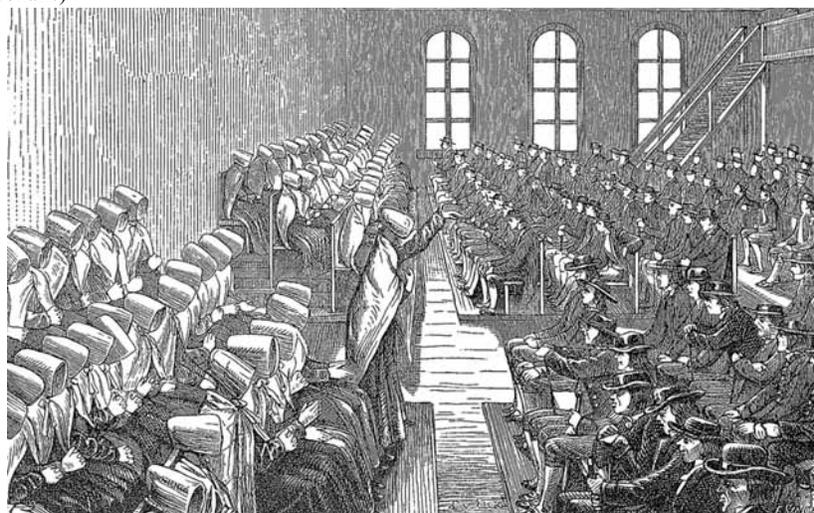
After the savage, inhumane & bloody execution upon her,

55. Some of the members of this congregation, such as [Aaron Lopez](#), would, like some of their Christian neighbors, even some of the members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), engage in the [international slave trade](#). After their synagogue building, in what had become the bad part of town, had been deconsecrated, the empty and dilapidated structure, under a caretaker who was a [Quaker](#), would find use occasionally, surreptitiously, for the harboring of escaping slaves as a station on the Underground Railroad. The edifice would be designated a national historical site in 1946.



–When you visit, and are proudly shown the must-see “secret hiding hole” underneath the lectern, be polite, as I was, and do not complicate matters by inquiring whether Newport’s Jews and Quakers participated in the international slave trade.

(When you visit the largest [Quaker](#) meetinghouse in the world, almost next door to this synagogue — ditto, do not inquire into the sensitive topic of why they avoid mentioning to the white tourists that this structure had for about half a century served as a segregated black dancehall!)





[90] An act for y^e Better Regulating y^e Militia

& for Punishing offend^{ers} as Shall not Conform to y^e Laws there unto Relating

Bee it Encted by y^e hon^{ble} y^e Gouer^{er} Councill & houfe of Representatives in this P^{re}sent Sefsions afsembled & by y^e Authority thereof it is hereby Enacted y^t aft^r y^e Publication of this Act y^t if any p^{er}son or persons Listed Und^r y^e Co^mmand of any Cap^t or Commad^{er} in Cheif of y^e Militia Shall or do not appear Compleat in armes (Vizth) wth A Good & Sufficent muskett or Fuze a Sword or Bayenet, Catooch box or Bandelers wth twelve Bulets fitt for his Peice half a Pound of Powder & Six good Flints Upon y^e Precife Training Days already p^{re}fixt as well as when there Rfpective Cap^{ts} or Co^mmand^{ers} in Cheif Shall call them Togeather Either by Allarum or any oth^{er} time or times as Shall by their s^d Command^{ers} be thought fitt & Expedient for his maj^{ties} Interest During y^e Times of Warr & if any p^{er}son or p^{er}sons Listed &c Shall neglect their Rfpective Dutys & due Obedience & not appear in Manner Afores^d Shall forfeit for Each neglect on y^e Days Appointed for Training or Oth^{er} Meetings in Armes y^e Sum of Thre Shillings in money wth y^e Due Fees Arifing thereon & for non Appearance or neglect on any Larum y^e Sum of five Shilling wth y^e Due Fees Arifeing thereon to be taken by Diftraint or otherwise as y^e fines for non apperance on y^e Training Days are to be Taken

....

[92] *And Bee it Further Enacted*

That y^e Rfpective Cap^t & Co^miffion officers of Each Rfpective Company or Train band in this Colony have full Pow^{er} & authority during y^e time of their being in Armes on y^e training Days or on Allarums or Upon any oth^{er} occasion w^hsoev^{er} to Punish any Private Sentinall y^t Shall Mifbehaue him self wth Laying him Neck & Heels or Riding y^e wooden horse or A fine not Exceeding fore Shillings at y^e Difcrefion of s^d Commiffion Officers notwthstanding y^e Afore recited Acts Relateing y^e militia it Shall be in y^e pow^{er} & Authority of y^e Cap^t & Co^miffion officers of Each Rfpective train Bands in this Colony if any P^{er}sons as they Shall Iudg realy Confcientious being wthin their lift & y^t they Cannot bare arm's in y^e Times of Allarums &c y^t if y^e s^d p^{er}sons being So Confcientious be any ways Serviceable in making Discoverys or Riding upon any Expedition or any thing Elce y^t may be Iudged Conuenient for y^e Preferuation of his maj^{estys} Interest y^t it Shall be then in y^e Pow^{er} of s^d Cap^{ts} or Co^miffion officers as afores^d to remit y^e fine or fines Impofed for their not appearing in Arms accord^{ing} to y^e Afore p^{re}mifed Act

[she] kneeled down & prayed the Lord to forgive....



John Smith

Howland
John Smith

June: Major-General William Goffe was a member of the Committee of Nine on Public Affairs. General Goffe’s aversion to Quakers and to Quakerism would have been only confirmed by an account I have seen, that during this month an Englishman attempted to enter the Parliament building with a firearm, and when detained, explained that he was a [Quaker](#) — the Inner Light, it seems, had instructed him to kill everyone there.⁵⁶

June 10: In the Plymouth colony, [John Smith](#), despite being married to a [Quaker](#) woman, subscribed to an oath of allegiance to the crown of England.



John Smith, I fancy, was not so straight laced an individual as some of your ancestors. To be sure, he had married a Howland, and like most dutiful husbands he followed her in religious tenets and was nominally a Quaker. He did not, however, take Quakerism or Separatism or any other ism as seriously as did most of your ancestors, for instance, Ralph Allen, who refused to take the oath of fidelity to King Charles and was fined £10. Apparently without a murmur John Smith took the oath on June 10, 1658 – and, I have no doubt, rather hoped he might have the chance to “fight for the King.” None the less he had become matrimonially involved with the Quakers and in March, 1658-9, he together with his wife’s relations, was fined for “frequently

56. Even today, we [Quakers](#) have a problem with people who come to Meeting for Worship, wait awhile in silence, and then jump up to proclaim that they were receiving a Message from God — and to pass on to every other worshiper in attendance God’s newest new commandment.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

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absenting himself from the public worship of God" – to the amount of ten shillings.

[VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES](#)

June 16: Friend Humphrey Norton, who had been expelled from the Plymouth colony in October 1657 after being “found guilty of divers horrid errors,” sent a piece of hate mail from [Rhode Island](#) to Governor Thomas Prentice, speaking truth to power in frank criticism of the Plymouth governor’s state of being: “[Thou] *hatcheth thy hatred in thy ceckett chamber.*” Therefore, Friend Humphrey predicted, “*The anguish and paine that will enter upon thy reines will be like knawing worms lodging betwixt thy hart and liver.*” The reason for this poor prognosis? “[T]he God of vengeance is our God.”⁵⁷

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

57. Probably this Friend Humphrey Norton was no relation of the Reverend John Norton whose sermons and writings were so entirely hostile to Quakerism.

September 3: [Oliver Cromwell](#) died of malaria because he had refused to use the only known treatment (quinine from cinchona).

PLANTS

He had rejected this treatment simply because the cure had been introduced by Jesuits. Amsterdam “was lighted up as for a great deliverance and children ran along the canals, shouting for joy that the Devil was dead.” By 1681 cinchona would be universally accepted as antimalarial. The great commoner’s shrouded corpse would be interred with great fanfare at the east end of Henry VII’s chapel in Westminster Abbey (only to be dug up at the Restoration and ritually hanged and decapitated at Tyburn, and then thrown into an anonymous pit that is now somewhere beneath the Marble Arch).



[John Dryden](#) would author “Heroic Stanzas” on the death of Cromwell.

His son Richard Cromwell would become Lord Protector and conflict would renew. [John Evelyn](#)’s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:

John Evelyn’s Diary

Died that archrebell Oliver Cromwell, cal’d Protector.

Friend [George Fox](#) also commented in his [JOURNAL](#), of the events surrounding the death:

Now was there a great pother made about the image or effigy of Oliver Cromwell lying in state; men standing and sounding with trumpets over his image, after he was dead. At this my spirit was greatly grieved, and the Lord, I found, was highly offended.

Major-General William Goffe, whom some had been considering as a possible successor to [Oliver Cromwell](#), instead witnessed the Protector’s appointment of his son Richard Cromwell as his successor. He would support



the son during his brief tenure of power and would advise him to use military force to resist Fleetwood and Desborough.

October 2: An Act was proposed at General Court, held at Boston, as has been recorded by William Sewell in *THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE, AND PROGRESS, OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. INTERMIXED WITH SEVERAL REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES. WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LOW DUTCH, AND ALSO TRANSLATED BY HIMSELF INTO ENGLISH. A NEW EDITION, TO WHICH IS APPENDED, AN INTERESTING NARRATIVE OF THE SUFFERINGS OF WILLIAM MOORE, JOHN PHILLY, AND RICHARD SELLER. IN TWO VOLUMES.* (Philadelphia PA: Uriah Hunt, 1832, Volume I, pages 222-223):

[P222] Whereas there is a pernicious sect, (commonly called Quakers.) lately risen, who by word and writing have published and maintained many dangerous and horrid tenets, and do take upon them to change and alter the received laudable customs of our nation, in giving civil respect to equals, or reverence to superiors, whose actions tend to undermine the civil government, and also to destroy the order of the churches, by denying all established forms of worship, and by withdrawing from orderly church-fellowship, allowed and approved by all orthodox professors of the Truth, and instead thereof, and in opposition thereunto, frequently meeting themselves, insinuating themselves into the minds of the simple, or such as are least affected to the order and government of church and commonwealth, hereby divers of our inhabitants have been infected, notwithstanding all former laws, made upon tile experience of their arrogant and bold obtrusions, to disseminate their principles among us, prohibiting their coming in this jurisdiction, they have [P223] not been deterred from their impetuous attempts to undermine our peace, and hazard our ruin. For prevention thereof, this court doth order and enact, that every person, or persons, of the cursed sect of the Quakers, who is not all inhabitant of, but is found within this jurisdiction, shall be ...

This act for dealing harshly with Quakers actually would not immediately be voted into effect, with Draconian penalties. However, on October 19th one of the magistrates would be absent due to illness and it would be possible to enact the legislation by a magistrate vote of 12 yea over 11 nay. When the sick man would hear what had been transacted in his absence, he would beg the other magistrates ineffectively for a re-balloting, saying that he would have crawled to the session of the General Court on his knees to have prevented this. With the measure enacted in such a marginal manner, actually for a period the Boston officials would be afraid to make any attempt to enact its extreme penalties.



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October 19: The magistrates at General Court in Boston assembled, one member being absent due to illness, finally were able to enact their ordinance against the [Quakers](#), by a vote of 12 Yea over 11 Nay. When the ill magistrate would hear what had been transacted in his absence, he would beg the others ineffectively for a re-balloting, saying that he would have crawled to the session of the General Court on his knees to have prevented such an action. With this measure enacted in such a marginal manner, actually for a period the Boston officials would



be afraid to attempt to enforce it.



Whereas there is a pernicious sect, (commonly called Quakers.) lately risen, who by word and writing have published and maintained many dangerous and horrid tenets, and do take upon them to change and alter the received laudable customs of our nation, in giving civil respect to equals, or reverence to superiors, whose actions tend to undermine the civil government, and also to destroy the order of the churches, by denying all established forms of worship, and by withdrawing from orderly church-fellowship, allowed and approved by all orthodox professors of the Truth, and instead thereof, and in opposition thereunto, frequently meeting themselves, insinuating themselves into the minds of the simple, or such as are least affected to the order and government of church and commonwealth, hereby divers of our inhabitants have been infected, notwithstanding all former laws, made upon tile experience of their arrogant and bold obtrusions, to disseminate their principles among us, prohibiting their coming in this jurisdiction, they have not been deterred from their impetuous attempts to undermine our peace, and hazard our ruin.

For prevention thereof, this court doth order and enact, that every person, or persons, of the cursed sect of the Quakers, who is not all inhabitant of, but is found within this jurisdiction, shall be apprehended without warrant, where no magistrate is at hand, by any constable, commissioner, or select man, and conveyed from constable to constable, to the next magistrate, who shall commit the said person to close prison, there to remain, without bail, unto the next court of assistants, where they shall have a legal trial: and being convicted to be of the sect of the Quakers, shall be sentenced to be banished upon pain of death: and that every inhabitant of this jurisdiction, being convicted to be of the aforesaid sect, either by taking up, publishing, or defending the horrid opinions of the Quakers, or the stirring up mutiny, sedition, or rebellion against the government, or by taking up their absurd and destructive practices, viz. Denying civil respect to equals and superiors, and withdrawing from our church assemblies, and instead thereof frequent meetings of their own, in opposition to our church order; or by adhering to, or approving of any known Quaker, and the tenets and practices of the Quakers, that are opposite to the orthodox received opinions of the godly, and endeavouring to disaffect others to civil government, and church orders, or condemning the practice and proceedings of this court against the Quakers, manifesting thereby their complying with those, whose design is to overthrow the order established in church and state, every such person, upon conviction before the said court of assistants, in manner as aforesaid, shall be committed to close prison for one month, and then, unless they choose voluntarily to depart this jurisdiction, shall give bond for their good behaviour, and appear at the next court, where continuing obstinate, and refusing to retract and reform the aforesaid opinions, they shall be sentenced to banishment upon pain of death; and any one magistrate, upon information given him of any such person, shall cause him to be apprehended, and shall commit any such person to prison, according to his discretion, until he come to trial, as aforesaid.



[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:

John Evelyn's Diary

To the Commissioners of Sewers, but because there was an Oath to be taken of fidelity to the Government as now constituted without a King: I got to be excus'd & returned home:

November 5: A committee appointed by the General Assembly wrote to Mr. Clarke, the agent of the [Rhode Island](#) colony in England, in regard to pressures being put upon them by the Massachusetts Bay Colony, to join in the general persecution of the [Quakers](#).

"We have now a new occasion given us by an old spirit with respect to the colonies round about us, who seem to be offended with us, because a sort of people, called by the name of Quakers, who are come amongst us, who have raised up divers, who at present seem to be of their spirit, whereat the colonies about us seem to be offended with us, being the said people have their liberty with us, are entertained in our houses of any of our assemblies: and for the present, we have found no just cause to charge them with the breach of the civil peace." After stating that "the offence our neighbors take against us is because we take not some course against the said people, either to expel them from amongst us, or take such courses against them as themselves do, who are in fear lest their religion should be corrupted by them," they added, "we fly as a refuge in all civil respects to his Highness and honorable council, as not being subject to any other in matters of our civil state, so may it please you, to have an eye and ear open, in case our adversaries should speak to undermine us in our privileges granted unto us, and plead our cause in such sort as that we may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men's consciences, so long as human orders in point of civility are not corrupted and violated."⁵⁸

58. William Read Staples (1798-1868). ANNALS OF THE TOWN OF [PROVIDENCE](#), FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT, TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT, IN JUNE, 1832. Providence, [Rhode Island](#): Printed by Knowles and Vose, 1843.

[VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES](#)



1659

[Richard Cromwell](#) was forced by the army to resign, and the “Rump” Parliament was restored. [Sir Henry Vane](#) returned to the House of Commons, when he became the leader of the Republican party. The fall of Richard Cromwell’s government brought about Major-General William Goffe’s loss of influence.

Friend [Samuel Shattuck](#) and a number of other prominent New England members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) were residing in London, in exile from their homes on this side of the pond.

Friend [William Edmundson](#) and a group of Quakers settled in the vicinity of Mountmellick in county Laois in Ireland. The other Friends were:

William Archer
William Barcrof (*circa* 1612-1696)
Thomas Beale
Evan Bevan
Rodger Boswel (died in 1666)
Godfrey Cantrel (died in 1686)
William Capton (died in 1672)
John Chandler
John Edmundson
John Gee
John Goodbody
Nicholas Gribbell (*circa* 1641-1728)
John Hug
Richard Jackson (1643-1697)
William Moon (died in 1659)
William Neale
William Parker
John Pim (1641-1718)
Tobias Pladwell
John Savage
Richard Scot (1625-1707)
Thomas Stalker
Thomas Stevenson
John Thompson (died in 1695)
William Walpole (died in 1691)
Robert Wardel

Friend [George Fox](#) sent off an Epistle advising [Friends](#) to pay their taxes to rulers who are to keep the peace, for the advantage of Truth, in order to safeguard their liberty. Friend George’s epistle was entitled “All Friends Everywhere, Who are Dead to Carnal Weapons”:

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

All Friends everywhere, who are dead to all carnal weapons, and have beaten them to pieces, stand in that which takes away the



occasion of wars, in the power which saves men's lives, and destroys none, nor would have others. And as for the rulers, that are to keep peace, for peace's sake, and the advantage of truth, give them their tribute. But to bear and carry carnal weapons to fight with, the men of peace, (which live in that which takes away the occasion of wars,) they cannot act in such things under the several powers; but have paid tribute. Which they may do still for peace sake, and not hold back the earth, but go over it; and in so doing, Friends may better claim their liberty.

G.F.



George Fox



'BEWITCHED!'⁵⁹

'When ye do judge of matters, or when ye do judge of words, or when ye do judge of persons, all these are distinct things. A wise man will not give both his ears to one party but reserve one for the other party, and will hear both, and then judge.'—G. FOX.

'And after I came to one Captain Sands, which he and his wife if they could have had the world and truth they would have received it. But they was hypocrites and he a very light chaffy man, and the way was too strait for him.'—G. FOX.

'James the First was crazed beyond his English subjects with the witch mania of Scotland and the Continent. No sooner had his first parliament enacted new death laws than the judges and the magistrates, the constable and the mob began to hunt up the oldest and ugliest spinster who lived with her geese on the common, or tottered about the village street. Many pleaded guilty, and described the covenants they had formed with black dogs and "goblins called Tibb"; others were beaten or terrified into fictitious confessions, or perished, denying their guilt to the last. The black business culminated during the Civil Wars when scores of women were put to death.'—G.M. TREVELYAN.

59. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



'BEWITCHED!'

Saint Swithin's feast was passed. It was a sultry, thundery afternoon of mid July, when three horsemen were to be seen carefully picking their way across the wide wet estuary of the River Leven that goes by the name of 'the Sands.' The foremost rider was evidently the most important person of the three. He was an oldish man with a careworn face, and deepset eyes occasionally lighted by a smile, as he urged his weary horse across the sand. This was no less a person than Judge Fell himself, the master of Swarthmoor Hall, attended by his clerk and his groom, and returning to his home after a lengthy absence on circuit. A man of wide learning, of sound knowledge of affairs, and gifted with an excellent judgment was Thomas Fell. He was as popular now, in the autumn of his days among his country neighbours, as he had been in former times in Parliament, and among the Puritan leaders. Thrice had he represented his native county in the House of Commons, and had been a trusted friend of Oliver Cromwell himself. It was only latterly, men said, since Oliver showed a disposition to grasp more and ever more power for himself that the good Judge, unable to prevent that of which he disapproved, had retired from the intricate problems and difficulties of the Capital. He now filled the office of Judge on the Welsh Circuit and later on that of Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. But whether he dwelt in the country or in London town it was all one. Wherever he came, men thought highly of him.⁶⁰ The good thirsted for his approval. The bad trembled to meet his eye. Yet, it was noted, that even when he was obliged to sentence some poor wretch, he seemed to commiserate him, and he ever sought to throw the weight of his influence on the side of mercy, although no man could be sterner at times, especially when he dealt with a case of treachery or cold-blooded cruelty.

The lines of his countenance were rugged, yet underneath there was always an expression of goodwill, and a kindly light in his eyes that seemed to come from some still quiet fount of happiness within. It was said of the Judge, and truly, that he had the happiest home, the fairest and wisest wife, and the goodliest young family, of any man in the county. That had been a joyful day, indeed, for him, twenty years before, when he brought the golden-haired Margaret Askew, the heiress of Marsh Grange, as his bride to the old grey Hall of Swarthmoor. Sixteen full years younger than her husband was she, yet a wondrous wise-hearted woman, and his companion in all things.

Now that a son and six fair daughters filled the old Hall with music and gay laughter all day long, the Judge might well be no less proud of his 'great family' than even of having been Oliver Cromwell's friend.

He was ever loath to leave that cherished home for his long absences on the Chester and North Welsh Circuit, and ever joyful

60. 'Being beloved,' the historian says, 'for his justice, wisdom, moderation, and mercy.'



when the day came that he might return thither. Even the heavy sand that clogged his horse's feet could hardly make him check his pace. The sands of Morecambe Bay are perilous at times, especially to strangers, for the tide flows in with such swiftness that even a galloping horse may not escape it. But the Judge and his companions knew the dangers well enough to avoid them. Their trained eyes instinctively marked the slight depressions in the sand and the line of brogs, or half-hidden trees, that guide travellers across by what is really the safest route, although it may seem to take unnecessary loops and curves.⁶¹ At a little distance lay the lonely Chapel Island, surrounded by the sea even at low tide, where in olden days lived a community of monks, who tolled a bell to guide pilgrims across the shifting sands, or said masses for the souls of those who perished.

As his horse picked its way carefully, the Judge raised his eyes often towards the high plateau on the horizon to which he was steadily drawing nearer with every tedious step. Beloved Swarthmoor! The house itself was hidden, but he could plainly discern the belt of trees in which it stood. He thought of each of the inmates of that hidden home. George, his only son, how straight and tall he was growing, how gallant a rider, and how skilful a sportsman even now, though hasty in temper and over apt to take offence. His gay maidens, were they at this moment singing over some new madrigal prepared to greet him on his return? In an hour or two he should see them all running down the garden path to welcome him, from stately 'young Margrett' to little toddling Susanna. His wife, his own Margaret, well he knew where she would be! watching for him from the lattice of their chamber, where she was ever the first to catch sight of him on his return, as she had been the last to bid him farewell on his departure.

At this point the good Judge's meditations were suddenly interrupted by his groom, who, spurring his horse on a level with his Master's, pointed respectfully, with upraised whip, towards several moving specks that were hastening across the estuary.

The softest bit of sand was over now, the travellers were reaching firmer ground, where it was possible to go at a quicker pace. Setting spurs to his horse the Judge hastened forward, his face flushing with an anxiety he took no pains to conceal.

In those days, when posts were rare and letters difficult to get or to send, an absence of many weeks always meant the possibility of finding bad news at home on the return from a journey.

'Heaven send they bring me no ill tidings!' Judge Fell said to himself as he cantered anxiously forward. Before long, it was possible to make out that the moving specks were a little company of horsemen galloping towards them over the sands. A few minutes later the Judge was surrounded by a group of breathless riders and panting horses, with bits and bridles flecked with foam.

The Judge's fears increased as he recognised all his most

61. 'The sands are left uncovered at low water to a great extent; and travellers between Lancaster and Furness had formerly to cross from Hest Bank to Ulverston by the route brogged out by the guides; the brogs being branches of trees stuck in the sand to mark where the treacherous way was safest; a dreary distance of about 14 miles.'—Richardson, FURNESS, i. 14.



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important neighbours. Their excited faces also struck him with dread. 'You bring me bad news?' he had called out, as soon as the cavalcade came within earshot. At the answering shout, 'Aye, the worst,' his heart had sunk like lead. And now here he was actually in their midst, and not one of them could speak. 'Out with it, friends,' he commanded, 'let me know the worst. To whom hath evil happened? To my wife? My son? My daughters?'

But even he was hardly prepared for the answer, low-breathed and muttering like a roll of thunder: 'To all.'

'To all!' cried the agonised father. 'Impossible! They cannot all be dead!' Again came the ominous rejoinder, 'Worse, far worse,' and then, in a shout from half-a-dozen throats at once, 'Far, far worse. They are all bewitched!' Bewitched! that was indeed a word of ill-omen in those days, a word at which no man, be his position ever so exalted, could afford to smile. Ever since the days of the first Parliament of the first Stuart king, the penalties for the sin of witchcraft had been made increasingly severe. Although the country was now settling down into an uneasy peace, after the turmoil of the Civil Wars, still its witch hunts were even yet too recent a memory for a devoted husband and father to hear the fatal accusation breathed against his family without dismay. Not all a woman's youth and beauty might always save her, if the hunt were keen. The Judge's lips were tightly pressed together, but his unmoved countenance showed little of his inward alarm as he gazed on the faces round him. His courteous neighbours, who had ridden in such haste with the 'ill news' that 'travels fast,' which of them all should enlighten him? His neighbour Captain Sands? a jovial good-humoured man truly;—no, not he, he could not enter into a husband and father's deep anxiety, seeing that he was ever of a mocking disposition inwardly for all that he looked sober and scared enough now. His brother Justice, John Sawrey? Instinctively Judge Fell recoiled from the thought. Sawrey's countenance might be sober enough in good sooth, seeing he was a leader among professing Puritans, but somehow Judge Fell had always mistrusted the pompous little man. Even bad news would be worsened if he had to hear it from those lips. Therefore it was with considerable relief that the good Judge caught sight of a well-known figure riding up more slowly than the others, and now hovering on the outskirts of the group. 'The very man! My honoured neighbour Priest Lampitt! You, the Priest of Ulverston, will surely tell me what has befallen the members of my household, who are likewise members of your flock?'

But the Priest's face was even gloomier than that of the other gentlemen. In the fewest possible words, but with stinging emphasis, he told the Judge that the news was indeed too true; his wife and young family, yea, and even the household servants had, one and all, been bewitched.

At this the Judge thought his wisest course was to laugh. 'Nay, nay, good friends,' he said, 'that is too much! I know my wife. I trust her good sense utterly. Still it is possible for even the wisest of women to lose her judgment at times. But as for my trusty steward Thomas Salthouse, the steadiest man I have



ever had in my employ, if even old Nick himself has managed to bewitch him, he must be a cleverer devil than I thought.' Then drawing himself up proudly he added, 'So now, Gentlemen, I will thank you to submit to me your evidence for these incredible and baseless allegations.' Priest Lampitt hastened to explain. He spoke with due respect of Mistress Fell, his 'honoured neighbour,' as he called her. 'Tis her well-known kindness of heart that hath led her astray. She hath warmed a snake in her bosom, a wandering Quaker Preacher, who hath beguiled and corrupted both herself and her household.'

'A wandering, Ranting Quaker entertained in my house, during my absence!' Judge Fell had an even temper, but the rising flush on his forehead betokened the effort with which he kept his anger under control. 'I thank ye, gentles, for your news. My wife and I have ever right gladly given food and lodging to all true servants of the Lord, but I will not have any Quakers or Ranters creeping into my house during my absence and nesting there, to set abroad such tales as ye have hastened to spread before me this day. Even the wisest woman is but a woman still, and the sooner I reach home the better.' So saying he raised his hat, and set spurs to his horse. But little Mr. Justice Sawrey, edging out of the group officiously, set spurs to his own horse and trotted after him. Laying a restraining hand on his fellow Justice's bridle, 'One moment more!' he entreated. 'Tis best you should know all ere you return. Not only at Swarthmoor, at Ulverston church also, hath this pestilential fellow caused a disturbance. It was on the Saturday that he arrived at Swarthmoor Hall, and violently brawled with our good Friend Lampitt during Mistress Fell's absence from home.'

A shade of relief crossed the Judge's face, 'My wife absent! I might have sworn to it. The maidens are too young to have sober judgment.' 'Nay, but listen,' continued Sawrey, 'the day after he came to the Hall was not only the Sabbath but also a day of public humiliation. Our good Priest Lampitt, seeing Mistress Fell surrounded by her family in the pew at church, trusted, as did we all, that she had sent the fellow packing speedily about his business. Alack! no such thing, he was but prowling outside. No sooner did the congregation sing a hymn than in he came, and boldly standing on a form, asked leave to speak. Our worthy Priest, the soul of courtesy, consented. Then, oh! the tedious discourse that fell on our ears, how that the hymn we had sung was entirely unsuited to our condition, with much talk of Moses and of John, and I know not what besides, ending up in no less a place than the Paradise of God! Naturally, none of us, gentles, paid much attention. I crossed my legs and tried to sleep until the wearisome business should be ended. When, to my dismay, I was aroused by our honoured neighbour Mistress Fell standing upright on the seat of her pew, shrieking with a loud voice: "We are all thieves, we are all thieves!" This was after the Ranter had finished. While he was yet speaking, she continued to gaze on him, so says my wife, as if she were drinking in every word. But afterwards, having loosed this exclamation about thieves (and she a Justice's wife, forsooth!) she sat down in her pew



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once more and began to weep bitterly.'

'Yes,' interrupted Lampitt, who had also come alongside by this time, 'and he continued to pour forth foul speeches, how that God was come to teach His people by His own spirit, and to bring them off from all their old ways and religions and churches and worships, for that they were all out of the life and spirit, that they was in that gave them forth.... And so on, until our good friend here,' indicating Sawrey, 'being a Justice of the Peace, called out to the churchwardens, "Take him away, take the fellow away." Whereat Mistress Fell must needs rise up again and say to the officers, "Why may he not speak as well as any other? Let him alone!" And I, willing to humour her—'

'Yes, more fool you,' interrupted Sawrey rudely, 'you must needs echo her, and cry, "Let him alone!" else had I safely and securely clapped him into the stocks.'

Judge Fell, who had listened with obviously growing impatience, now broke away from his vociferous companions. Crying once more, 'I thank you, Sirs, for your well-meant courtesy, but now I pray you to excuse me and allow me to hasten to my home,' he broke away from the restraining hands laid upon his bridle and galloped over the sands. His attendants, who had been waiting at a little distance just out of earshot, eagerly joined him, and the three figures gradually grew smaller and then disappeared into the distance.

The other group of riders departed on their different ways homewards, well satisfied with their day's work. Not without a parting shot from fat Captain Sands as they separated. Raising his whip he said mockingly as he pointed at the Judge's figure riding away in urgent haste: 'Let us hope he may not find the Fox too Foxy when he expels him from his earth!'



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HISTORICAL NOTES

'BEWITCHED!'

Historical. See Sewel's HISTORY, i. 106. George Fox's JOURNAL, i. 51. 'TESTIMONY OF MARGARET FOX' (Ellwood Edition of above, p. xliv). 'MARGARET FOX OF SWARTHMOOR HALL,' p. 15. Also 'ENGLAND UNDER THE STUARTS,' by G.M. Trevelyan (for Witchcraft).



In Maryland, Friend Richard Keen refused to train with the local militia, and “the Sheriff drew his Cutlash, and with the point made a thrust at his Breast, and struck him over the shoulders, and said you rogue I could find in my heart to split your brains.” —But this Sheriff’s threatening performance with his cutlass and with his mouth did not prevail over [Friend](#) Richard’s spirit.

In Sandwich on Cape Cod, [Friends](#) Thomas Ewer, Edward Perry, John Jenkins, and Robert Harper were fined for refusing to come to militia training.

The General Court bestowed upon each town of the Bay colony a proportional number of copies of a book currently in the press, the Reverend John Norton’s treatise against the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

[William Dyer](#) and [Friend Mary Dyer](#) had established their new farm in what is now [Newport, Rhode Island](#).⁶² In this year Friend Mary and two other expelled Quaker ministers –Friends [Marmaduke Stevenson](#) and [William Robinson](#), who were youths of little more than 20 years of age– would determine to test the barbarous new Boston law requiring death for return after an initial expulsion. Would it be enforceable or, only another idle threat, would it also collapse upon a challenge from those of sufficient faith?

Six [Quakers](#) of Salem, keeping faith, prepared “linen wherein to wrap the dead bodies of those who were to suffer.” (These people, you see, were playing hardball.)⁶³

After training for the ministry, John Higginson had succeeded his father-in-law Henry Whitfield or Whitfield (1597-1687) as minister at Guilford, Connecticut. At this point he became the pastor at Salem.

62. There is still a very small street, Dyer’s Gate off 3rd Street just next to the overpass from the Newport Bridge, to mark where they had lived. The island just off Newport that was associated with this farm, [Goat Island](#) where the family kept livestock, was then about a hundred times larger than it now is in this era in which this now tiny island has been transformed into a US Navy weapons-development facility.

63. Sewell, William. THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE, AND PROGRESS, OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. A NEW EDITION IN TWO VOLUMES. Philadelphia PA: Uriah Hunt, 1832, Volume I, pages 253-5



**LETTER TO THE GENERAL COURT AT BOSTON,
AFTER BEING SENTENCED TO DEATH,
27TH OF 8TH MONTH, 1659.**

To the General Court in Boston.

Whereas I am by many charged with the guiltiness of my own blood; if you mean in my coming to Boston, I am therein clear, and justified by the Lord, in whose will I came, who will require my blood of you, be sure, who have made a law to take away the lives of the innocent servants of God, if they come among you, who are called by you, cursed Quakers; although I say, and am a living witness for them and the Lord, that he hath blessed them, and sent them unto you; therefore be not found fighters against God, but let my counsel and request be accepted with you, to repeal all such laws, that the Truth and servants of the Lord may have free passage among you, and you be kept from shedding innocent blood, which I know there are many among you would not do, if they knew it so to be; nor can the enemy that stirreth you up thus to destroy his holy seed in any measure countervail the great damage that you will, by thus doing, procure.

Therefore seeing the Lord hath not hid it from me, it lieth upon me, in love to your souls, thus to persuade you. I have no self-ends the Lord knoweth; for if my life were freely granted by you, it would not avail me, nor could I expect it of you, so long as I should daily hear or see the sufferings of these people, my dear brethren, and the seed with whom my life is bound up, as I have done these two years: and now it is like to increase, even unto death, for no evil doing, but coming among you. Was ever the like laws heard of among a people that profess Christ come in the flesh? And have such no other weapons but such laws to fight against spiritual wickedness withal, as you call it? Woe is me for you! Of whom take ye counsel? Search with the light of Christ in you, and it will show you of whom, as it hath done me and many more, who have been disobedient and deceived, as now ye are: which light as ye come into, and obeying what is made manifest to you therein, you will not repent that you were kept from shedding blood, though it were by a woman. It is not mine own life I seek, (for I choose rather to suffer with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of Egypt,) but the life of the seed, which I know the Lord hath blessed, and therefore seeks the enemy thus vehemently to destroy the life thereof, as in all ages he ever did. O hearken not unto him, I beseech you, for the seed's sake, which is one and all, and is dear in the sight of God, which they that touch, touch the apple of his eye, and cannot escape his wrath; whereof I having felt, cannot but persuade all men that I have to do withal, especially you who name the name of Christ to depart from such iniquity as shedding blood, even of the saints of the Most High. Therefore let my request have as much acceptance with you, if you be Christians, as Esther's had with Ahasuerus, whose relation is short of that that is between Christians: and my request is the same that hers was: and he said not that he had



made a law, and it would be dishonourable for him to revoke it; but when he understood that those people were so prized by her, and so nearly concerned her, as in truth these are to me, you may see what he did for her. Therefore I leave these lines with you, appealing to the faithful and true witness of God, which is one in all consciences, before whom we must all appear; with whom I shall eternally rest, in everlasting joy and peace, whether you will hear or forbear. With him is my reward, with whom to live is my joy, and to die is my gain, though I had not had your forty-eight hours warning, for the preparation of the death of Mary Dyar.

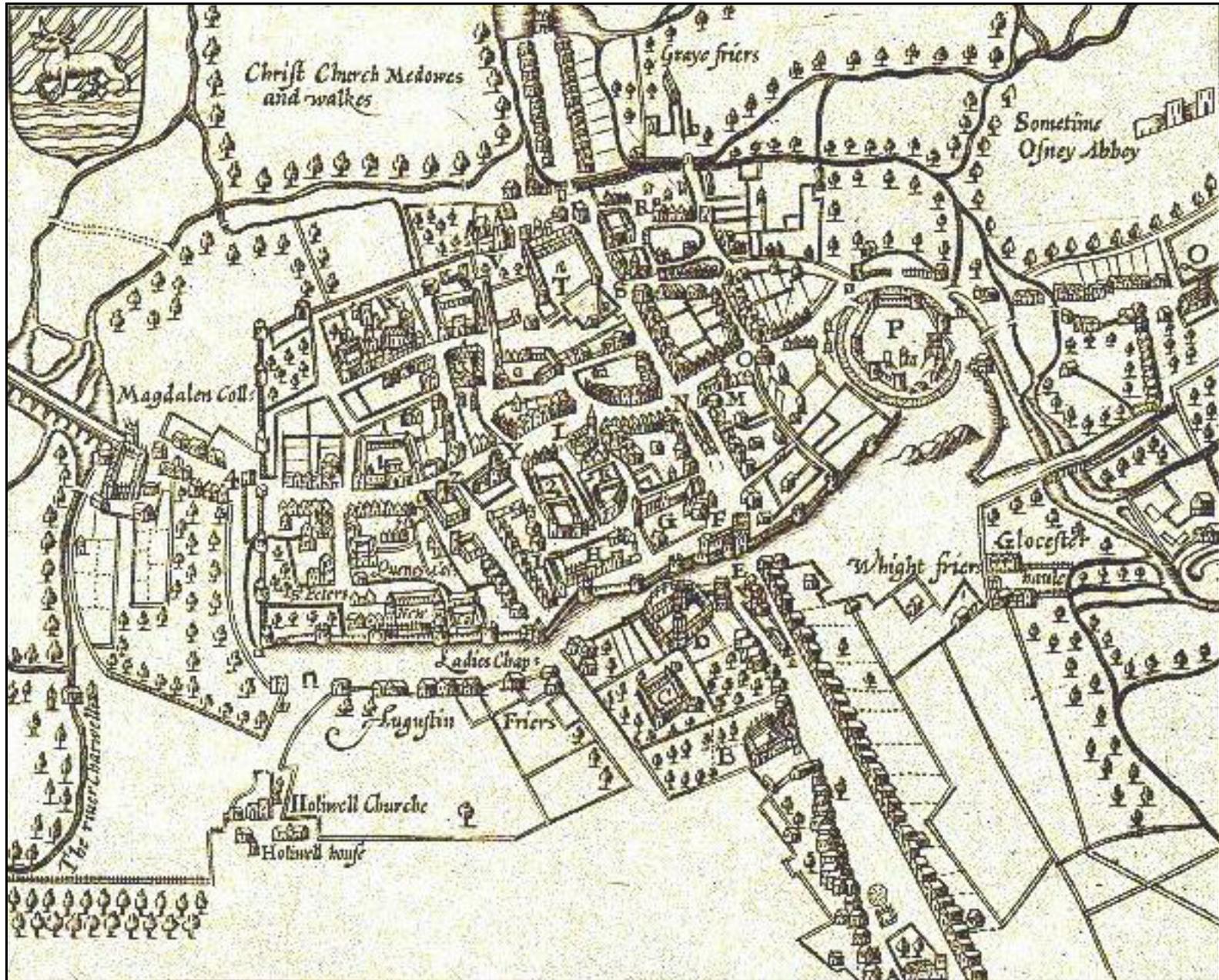
And know this also, that if through the enmity you shall declare yourselves worse than Ahasuerus, and confirm your law, though it were but by taking away the life of one of us, that the Lord will overthrow both your law and you, by his righteous judgments and plagues poured justly upon you, who now, whilst ye are warned thereof, and tenderly sought unto, may avoid the one, by removing the other. If you neither hear, nor obey the Lord, nor his servants, yet will he send more of his servants among you, so that your end shall be frustrated, that think to restrain them ye call cursed Quakers, from coming among you, by any thing you can do to them. Yea, verily, he hath a seed here among you, for whom we have suffered all this while, and yet suffer; whom the Lord of the harvest will send forth more-more labourers to gather, out of the mouths of devourers of all sorts, into his fold, where he will lead them into fresh pastures, even the paths of righteousness for his name's sake. Oh, let none of you put this good day far from you, which verily in the light of the Lord I see approaching even to many in and about Boston, which is the bitterest and darkest professing place, and so to continue so long as you have done, that ever I heard of. Let the time past, therefore, suffice, for such a profession as brings forth such fruits as these laws are. In love, and in the spirit of meekness, I again beseech you, for I have no enmity to the persons of any; but you shall know, that God will not be mocked; but what ye sew, that shall ye reap from him, that will render to every one according to the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil. Even be it, saith

Mary Dyar.

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During this year [William Penn](#), while a student in Oxford University, came under the influence of the preaching of Thomas Loe.



During this last year before the restoration of the monarchy, Quakers became intensely active in the republican and sectarian agitation which brought down the Protectorate. In May the Rump of the Long Parliament was restored. In August, volunteer regiments including Quakers were raised to crush the Presbyterian-Royalist risings. Then General Monck's army marched south from Scotland, to connect up with the rising led by the former General Lord Fairfax in York. Their target was the "fanatics" — [Quakers](#), [Baptists](#), the Rump and the Army.



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Young Penn had been knocked about, and would continue to knock about for quite a number of years, getting himself expelled from Oxford, studying for the law at Lincoln's Inn, studying at the Huguenot school *l'Académie Protestante* at Saumer in France, with the Christian humanist Moïse Amyraut, and managing his father's estates in Ireland. It would not be until 1666 that he would formally make a commitment to the [Quakers](#).

March: In the Plymouth colony, [John Smith](#), along with his [Quaker](#) wife's other relatives, was fined 10 s. for "frequently absenting himself from the public worship of God."



John Smith, I fancy, was not so straight laced an individual as some of your ancestors. To be sure, he had married a Howland, and like most dutiful husbands he followed her in religious tenets and was nominally a Quaker. He did not, however, take Quakerism or Separatism or any other ism as seriously as did most of your ancestors, for instance, Ralph Allen, who refused to take the oath of fidelity to King Charles and was fined £10. Apparently without a murmur John Smith took the oath on June 10, 1658 – and, I have no doubt, rather hoped he might have the chance to "fight for the King." None the less he had become matrimonially involved with the Quakers and in March, 1658-9, he together with his wife's relations, was fined for "frequently absenting himself from the public worship of God" – to the amount of ten shillings.

[VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES](#)

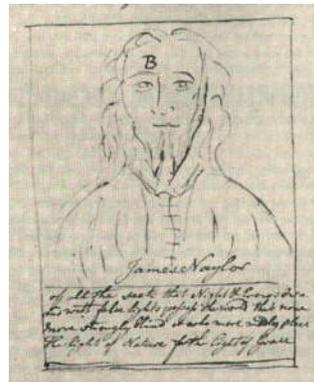
September: [Friend James Nayler](#), a close colleague of Friend [George Fox](#)'s who had been arrested several years before on a charge of extreme blasphemy at Bristol, England, having been pilloried and having been flogged and having had his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron and having been branded in the forehead with the letter B, and having done three years at hard labor in solitary confinement in Bridewell prison, was at this point released as part of a general amnesty. In the next year death would come quickly, from injuries and exposure, but according to JAMES NAYLER'S ANSWER TO THE FANATICK HISTORY AS FAR AS IT RELATES TO HIM, just before giving up the ghost he penned the following immortal words: ***"There is a spirit which I feel, which delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong; but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations; as it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other. If it be betrayed, it bears it; for its ground and***

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spring is the mercy and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness; its life is everlasting love unfeigned. It takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth, but through sufferings; for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone; being forsaken. I have fellowship therein, with those who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth; who through death obtained this resurrection, and eternal, holy life!"

JOURNAL





THE SADDEST STORY OF ALL⁶⁴

'Take heed of forward minds, and of running out before your guide, for that leads out into looseness; and such plead for liberty, and run out in their wills and bring dishonour to the Lord.'...

'And take heed if under a pretence of Liberty you do not ... set up that both in yourselves and on others that will be hard to get down again.'—G. FOX.

'The Truth in this city spreads and flourisheth; many large meetings we have, and great ones of the world come to them, and are much tendered. James is fitted for this great place, and a great love is begotten towards him'—A. Parker to M. Fell, 1655 (from London, before Nayler's fall).

'His forebearing in due time to testify against the folly of those his followers (who magnified him) was his great weakness and loss of judgment, and brought the greatest suffering upon him, Poor Man! Though when he was delivered out of the snare, he did condemn all their wild and mad actions towards him and judged himself also. Howbeit our adversaries and persecutors unjustly took occasion thereupon, to triumph and insult, and to reproach and roar against Quakers, though as a People (they were) wholly unconcerned and clear from those offences.'—G. Whitehead.

'And so His will is my peace.'—JAMES NAYLER.

64. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



THE SADDEST STORY OF ALL

BUT IT HAS A HAPPY END

Children—come close. Let us hold hands and gather round the fire. This story must be told in the twilight, while the room is all dark except for the dim glow of the coals. Then, if a few tears do run down our cheeks—no one will see them. And presently the lamp will come in, the darkness will vanish, and the story will end happily—as most stories do if we could only carry them on far enough. What makes the sadness to us, often, is that we only see such a little bit of the way.

This is the story of a man who made terrible mistakes, and suffered a terrible punishment. But, through his sufferings, and perhaps even through the great mistakes he made, he learned some lessons that he might never have learned in any other way. His name was James Nayler. He was born in 1616, and was the son of a well-to-do farmer in Yorkshire. He was 'educated in good English,' and learned to write and speak well. His early life seems to have been uneventful. At the age of 22 he married, and settled near Wakefield with his young wife, Anne. After a few years of happy married life, the long dispute between King Charles and his Parliament finally broke out into Civil War. The old peaceful life of the countryside was at an end. Everywhere men were called upon to take sides and to arm. James Nayler was one of the first to answer that call. He enlisted in the Parliamentary Army under Lord Fairfax, and spent the next nine or ten years as a soldier. Under General Lambert he rose to be quartermaster, and the prospect of attaining still higher military rank was before him when his health broke down and he was obliged to return home.

A little later he made a friend. One eventful Sunday in 1652 'the Man in Leather Breeches' visited Wakefield, and came to the 'Steeple-house' where Nayler had been accustomed to worship with his family. Directly the sermon was finished, all the people in the church pointed at the Stranger, and called him to come up to the priest. Fox rose, as his custom was, and began to 'declare the word of life.' He went on to say that he thought the priest who had been preaching had been deceiving his hearers in some parts of his sermon. Naturally the priest who had spoken did not like this, and although some of the congregation agreed with Fox, and felt that 'they could have listened to him for ever,' most of the people hated the Stranger for his words. They rushed at Fox, punching and beating him; then, crying, 'Let us have him in the stocks!' they thrust him out of the door of the church. Once in the cool fresh air, however, the crowd became less violent. Their mood changed. Instead of hustling their unresisting visitor through the town and clapping him into the stocks, they loosed their hold of him and suffered him to go



quietly away.

As he departed, George Fox came upon another group of people assembled at a little distance. These were the men and women who had listened to him gladly in church, who now wished to hear more of the new truths he had been declaring. Among them was James Nayler, a man older than Fox, who had been convinced by him a year earlier. This second visit, however, clinched Nayler's allegiance to his new friend. Possibly, having been a soldier himself, he began by admiring Fox's courage. Here was a man who refused to strike a single blow in self-defence. He was apparently quite ready to let the angry mob do what they would, and yet in the end he managed to quell their rage by the force of his own spiritual power. The Journal simply says that a great many people were convinced that day of the truth of the Quaker preaching, and that 'they were directed to the Lord's teaching in themselves.'

Hereupon the priest of the church became very angry. He spread abroad many untrue stories about Fox, saying that he 'carried bottles with him, and made people drink of them and so made them follow him and become Quakers.'

At Wakefield, also, in those days, as well as farther North, 'enchantment' was the first and simplest explanation of anything unusual. This same priest also said that Fox rode upon a great black horse, and was seen riding upon it in one county at a certain time, and was also seen on the same horse and at the very same time in another county sixty miles away.

'With these lies,' says Fox, 'he fed his people, to make them think evil of the truth which I had declared amongst them. But by those lies he preached many of his hearers away from him, for I was travelling on foot and had no horse; which the people generally knew.'

James Nayler at any rate decided to become one of Fox's followers, and let the priest do his worst. It may have been at his house that George Fox lodged that night, thankful for its shelter, having slept under a hedge the night before. When Fox left, Nayler did not go with him, but remained quietly at home. Having been a farmer's son before he became a soldier, he quietly returned to his farming when he left the army. One day in early spring, a few months after Fox's visit, as James Nayler was driving the plough and thinking of the things of God, he heard a Voice calling to him through the silence, telling him to leave his home and his relations, for God would be with him. At first James Nayler rejoiced exceedingly because he had heard the Voice of God, but when he considered how much he would have to give up if he left home, he tried to put the command aside. Nothing that he undertook prospered with him after this; he fell ill and nearly died, till at last he was made willing to surrender his own will utterly and go out, ready to do God's will, day by day and hour by hour, as it should be revealed to him. 'And so he continued, not knowing one day what he was to do the next; and the promise of God that He would be with him, he found made good to him every day.' These are his own words. His inward guidance led him into the west of England, and there he found George Fox.

After this Nayler and Fox were often together. Sometimes Nayler would take a long journey to see Fox when he was staying with his dear friends at Swarthmoor. Sometimes they wrote beautiful letters to each other. Here is one from Nayler to Fox that might have been written to us to-day:

'Dear hearts, you make your own troubles by being unwilling and disobedient to that which would lead you safe. There is no way but to go hand in hand with Him in all things, running after Him without fear or considering, leaving the whole work only to Him. If He seem to smile, follow Him in fear and love, and if He seem to frown, follow Him and fall into His will, and you shall see He is yours still,-for He will prove His own.'



'THE VOICE OF THE SILENCE'

Nayler's adventurous journey with Fox to Walney Island must have drawn their friendship closer than ever. In spite of hardships these were happy days as they went about the country together on God's errands. But these days came to an end.

You see, Nayler had not found his faith after a long struggle as George Fox had done. Perhaps he had accepted it a little too easily, and too confidently, in his own strength. He was a splendid, brilliant preacher, and he loved arguing for his new belief in public. Once, in Derbyshire, in an argument with some ministers, he got so much the best of it that the crowd was delighted and cried out, 'A Nailer, a Nailer hath confuted them all.'

Another time, when he was attending a meeting at a Friend's



house, he says that 'hundreds of vain people continued all the while throwing great stones in at the window, but we were kept in great peace within.' It would be rather difficult to sit quite still and 'think meeting thoughts' with large stones flying through the windows, would it not?

Once, when I was at a service on board ship, a few years ago, a tremendous wave broke through the port-hole and splashed the kneeling men and women on that side of the saloon. They were so startled that nearly all of them jumped, and one called out quite loudly, 'Oh, what's that?' But the clergyman went on quietly reading the service, and very soon everything became still and quiet again.

James Nayler also continued to give his message of stillness and calm, and the gathered people, listening to him intently, forgot to think about the stones. He must have had a great deal of that strange quality that we call magnetism. Just as a magnet attracts bits of iron to it, so some people have the power of attracting others to listen to them and love them. Fox was the most powerful magnet of all the Quaker preachers. He attracted people in thousands all over the country. But Nayler seems to have had a great deal of magnetism too, though it was of a different kind. For one thing he was handsomer to look at than Fox. He is described as 'of ruddy complexion and medium height, with long, low hanging brown hair, oval face, and nose that rose a little in the middle: he wore a small band close to his collar, but no band strings, and a hat that hung over his brows.'

But it would have been happier for him if he had not been so good-looking, as you will see presently. He must have had much charm of manner, too. A court lady, Abigail, Lady Darcy, invited him to her house to preach, and there, beside all the people who had assembled to hear him, many other much grander listeners were also present although unseen, 'lords, ladies, officers, and ministers.'

These great people, not wishing it to be known that they came to listen to the Quaker preacher, were hidden away behind a ceiling. Nayler himself must have known of their presence, since he mentions it in a letter, though he does not explain how a ceiling could be a hiding-place. He spoke to them afterwards of the Voice that had called him as he was ploughing in the fields at home. These fine lords and ladies could not understand what he meant. 'A Voice, a Voice?' they asked him, 'but did you really hear it?' 'Aye, verily, I did hear it,' he replied in such solemn tones that they wondered more than ever what he meant; and perhaps they began to listen too for the Inner Voice.

The discovery that he, a humble Quaker preacher, could attract all this attention did James Nayler harm. Instead of remembering only the thankfulness and joy of being entrusted with his Master's message, he allowed small, lower feelings to creep into his heart: 'What a good messenger I am! Don't I preach well? Far grander people throng to hear me than to any other Quaker minister's sermons!'

Another temptation came to him through his good looks. He was evidently getting to think altogether too much about himself.



It was James Nayler this and James Nayler that, far too much about James Nayler. Also, some of his friends were foolish, and did not help him. The interesting thing about James Nayler is that his chief temptations always came to him through his good qualities. If he had been a little duller, or a little uglier, or a little stupider, if he had even made fewer friends, he might have walked safely all his life. As it was, instead of listening only to the Voice of God, he allowed himself to listen to one of the most dangerous suggestions of the Tempter. Nayler began to think that he might imitate Jesus Christ not only in inner ways, not only by trying to be meek and loving and gentle and self-sacrificing, as He was to all the people around Him. That is the way we may all try to be like Him. Nayler also tried to imitate Him in outer ways. He found a portrait of the Saviour and noticed how He was supposed to have worn His hair and beard; and then he arranged his own hair and beard in the same way. He even attempted to work miracles like those in the Gospel story. He tried to fast as Christ had done, 'He ate no bread but one little bit for a whole month, and there was about a fortnight ... he took no manner of food, but some days a pint of white wine, and some days a gill mingled with water.' This was when he was imprisoned in Exeter Gaol with many other Quakers. One woman among them fainted and became unconscious, and she believed she had been brought back to life by Nayler's laying his hand on her head and saying, 'Dorcas, arise.'

Some of his friends and the other women in the prison were foolish and silly. Instead of helping Nayler to serve God in lowliness and humility, they flattered his vanity, and encouraged him to become yet more vain and presumptuous. They even knelt before him in the prison, bowing and singing, 'Holy, holy, holy.' Some one wrote him a wicked letter saying, 'Thy name shall be no more James Nayler, but Jesus!'

Nayler confessed afterwards that 'a fear struck him' when he received that letter. He put it in his pocket, meaning that no one should see it. But though Nayler did not himself encourage his friends in their wicked folly, still he did not check them as he should have done. He thought that he was meant to be a 'sign of Christ' for the world. He was weak in health at the time, and had suffered much from imprisonment and long fasting; so it can be said in excuse that his mind may have been clouded, and that perhaps he did not altogether understand what was being done.

The real sadness of this story is that we cannot excuse him altogether. Some of the blame for the silly and foolish and wicked things that were done around him does, and must, belong to him too. He ought to have known and to have forbidden it all from the beginning. George Fox and the other steady Friends of course did not approve of these wild doings of James Nayler and his friends. George Fox came to see James Nayler in prison at Exeter, and reproved him for his errors. James Nayler was proud and would not listen to rebukes, though he offered to kiss George Fox at parting. But Fox, who was 'stiff as a tree and pure as a bell,' would not kiss any man, however much he loved him, who



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persisted in such wrong notions. The two friends parted very sorrowfully, and with a sad heart Fox returned to the inn on Exeter Bridge. Not all the 'Seven Stars' on its signboard could shine through this cloud.

After this, things grew worse. Nayler persisted in his idea that he was meant, in his own life, and in his own body, to imitate Jesus Christ outwardly, and the women persisted in their wild acting round him. When Nayler and his admirers came to Bristol, in October 1656, they arranged a sort of play scene, to make it like the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem. One man, bareheaded, led Nayler's horse, and the women spread scarves and handkerchiefs in the way before him, as they had no palms. They even shouted 'Hosanna!' and other songs and hymns that they had no business to sing except in the worship of God.

They meant it to be all very brilliant and triumphant. But it was really a miserable sort of affair, for the rain came down heavily, and the roads were muddy and dirty, which made the whole company wet and draggled. Still it was not the rain that mattered,—what mattered most was that none of them can have had the sunshine of peace in their hearts, for they must have known that they were doing wrong.

Anyhow the magistrates of the city of Bristol had no manner of doubt about that. As soon as the foolish, dishevelled, excited company reached the city they were all clapped into gaol, which was perhaps the best place to sober their excited spirits. The officers of the law were thoroughly well pleased. They had said from the first that George Fox was a most dangerous man, and that the Quakers were a misguided people to follow him. Now the folly and wickedness of Nayler and his company gave them just the excuse they were wanting to prove that they had been right all along.

James Nayler was taken to London, tried, found guilty, and sentenced to savage punishments. He was examined at length by a Committee of Parliament. Just before his sentence was pronounced he said that he 'did not know his offence,' which looks as if his mind really had been clouded over when some of the things he was accused of were done. But this was not allowed to be any excuse. 'You shall know your offence by your punishment' was the only answer he received. The members of Oliver Cromwell's second Parliament who dealt with Nayler's case were not likely to be lenient to any man, who, like Nayler, had done wrong and allowed himself to be led astray. His Commonwealth judges showed him no mercy indeed. When Nayler heard his terrible sentence, he listened calmly, and said, 'God has given me a body: God will, I hope, give me a spirit to endure it. I pray God He may not lay it to your charge.' This shows that he had learned really to share his Master's Spirit, which is the only true way of imitating Him.

The punishments were cruel and vindictive. They lasted through many weeks. Half way through, many 'persons of note' signed a petition to ask that he might be allowed to miss the rest of the penalties, owing to his enfeebled condition. In spite of this, the whole barbarous sentence was carried out. James Nayler bore



it unflinchingly. I am only going to tell you one or two of the cruel things that were done to him—and those not the worst. He was sentenced to have the letter 'B' burned on his forehead with a hot iron. 'B' stands for 'Blasphemer,' and it was to show everybody who saw him, wherever he came, that he had been found guilty of saying wicked things about God. The worst part of this punishment must have been knowing in his heart that the accusation was, more or less, true.

There he stood before the Old Exchange in London, on a bitter December day, in the presence of thousands of spectators. He bore not only the branding with a red-hot iron on the forehead until smoke arose from the burning flesh, but also other worse tortures with 'a wonderful patience.' The crowd, who always assembled on such occasions, were touched by his demeanour. Instead of jeering and mocking, as they were accustomed to do to criminals, all these thousands of people lifted their hats in token of respect, and remained standing bareheaded as they watched him in his agony. It is said that 'he shrunk a little when the iron came upon his forehead,' yet on being unbound he embraced his executioner. One faithful friend, Robert Rich, who had done his utmost to save Nayler from this terrible punishment, stood with him on the pillory and held his hand all through the burning, and afterwards licked the wounds with his tongue to allay the pain. 'I am the dog that licked Lazarus' sores,' Robert Rich used to say, alluding to that terrible day. Long years after, when he was an old man with a long white beard, he used to walk up and down in Meeting in a long velvet gown, still repeating the story of his friend's sufferings and of his patience.

After this punishment Nayler was sent down to Bristol to undergo the rest of his sentence there. He was made to enter the city again in deepest humiliation, no longer with excited followers shouting 'Hosanna!' before him, but seated on a horse facing to the tail, with the big 'B' burned on his forehead for all men to see—and then he was publicly whipped.

Yet in spite of all the pain and shame he must have been happier in one way during that sorrowful return to Bristol than at his former entrance to the city, for he must have had more true peace in his heart.

Now, at last, comes the happy end of this sad story. There is no need to sit over the fire in the darkness any longer. We can dry our eyes and light the lamps—for it is not sorrowful really. James Nayler's mistakes and sufferings had not been wasted. They had made him more really like his Master, and his worst troubles were now over.

He still lay in prison for two years more, but he was allowed ink and paper, and he wrote many beautiful letters acknowledging that he had done wrong, confessing his sin, and praising God even for the sufferings which had shown him his error. He says in one place, 'the provocation of that time of temptation was exceeding great against the pure love of God; yet He left me not; for after I had given myself under that power, and darkness was above, my adversary so prevailed, that all things were



turned and so perverted against my right seeing, hearing, or understanding; only a secret hope and faith I had in my God whom I had served, that He would bring me through it, and to the end of it, and that I should again see the day of my redemption from under it all; and this quieted my soul in my greatest tribulation.'

And again, 'Dear brethren—My heart is broken this day for the offence that I have occasioned to God's truth and people....

'And concerning you, the tender plants of my Father, who have suffered through me, or with me, in what the Lord hath suffered to be done with me, in this time of great trial and temptation; the Almighty God of love, Who hath numbered every sigh, and put every tear in His bottle, reward it a thousandfold into your bosoms, in the day of your need, when you shall come to be tried and tempted; and in the meantime fulfil your joy with His love, which you seek after. The Lord knows, it was never in my heart to cause you to mourn, whose suffering is my greatest sorrow that ever yet came upon me, for you are innocent herein.' After this, at last he was set free. The first thing he did was to try to return home to his wife and children. It is said that 'he was a man of great self-denial, and very jealous of himself ever after his fall and recovery. At last, departing from the city of London, about the latter end of October 1660, towards the north, intending to go home to his wife and children at Wakefield in Yorkshire, he was seen by a Friend of Hertford (sitting by the wayside in a very awful, weighty frame of mind), who invited him to his house, but he refused, signifying his mind to pass forward, and so went on foot as far as Huntingdon, and was observed by a Friend as he passed through the town, in such an awful frame, as if he had been redeemed from the earth, and a stranger on it, seeking a better country and inheritance. But going some miles beyond Huntingdon, he was taken ill (being as 'tis said) robbed by the way, and left bound: whether he received any personal injury is not certainly known, but being found in a field by a countryman toward evening, was had, or went to a Friend's house at Holm, not far from King's Ripton, where Thomas Parnell, a doctor of physic, dwelt, who came to visit him; and being asked, if any Friends at London should be sent for to come and see him; he said, "Nay," expressing his care and love to them. Being shifted, he said, "You have refreshed my body, the Lord refresh your souls"; and not long after departed this life in peace with the Lord, about the ninth month, 1660, and the forty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in Thomas Parnell's burying-ground at King's Ripton aforesaid.'

'I don't call that a happy ending. I call it a very sad ending indeed! What could be worse? To sit all alone by the roadside, and then perhaps to be robbed and bound, or if not that, at any rate to be taken ill and carried to a stranger's house to die. That is only a sorrowful ending to a most sorrowful life.'

Is this what anyone is thinking?

Ah, but listen! That is not the real end. It is said that 'about two hours before his death he spoke in the presence of several witnesses' these words:



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'There is a spirit which I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end: its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations: as it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thoughts to any other: if it be betrayed it bears it, for its ground and spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God: its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love unfeigned, and takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind: in God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life: it is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression: it can never rejoice but through sufferings; for with the world's joy it is murdered: I found it alone, being forsaken; I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens, and desolate places in the earth, who through death obtained this resurrection and eternal holy life.'

That is why this story has a happy ending. A made-up story might have left James Nayler at home with his wife and children. But, after all he had suffered, he may have been too tired to bear much joy on earth. Besides, how could he have borne for those dear ones to see the condemning 'B' burned on his forehead? and the other scars and signs of his terrible punishments, how could they have borne to see them?

Was it not better that the end came as it did by the roadside near Huntingdon?

Only remember always, that what we call the end is itself only the beginning.

Think how thankful James Nayler must have been to lay down the tired, scarred body in which he had sinned and suffered, while his spirit, strengthened, purified, and cleansed by all he had endured, was set free to serve in the larger, fuller life beyond. James Nayler's difficult school-days were over at last on this little earth, where we are set to learn our lessons. Like the other prodigal son he had gone to receive his own welcome from the Father's heart in the Father's Home.

Why have I told you this story--'the saddest story of all'? A parable will explain it best. Imagine that ever since the beginning of Time there has been a great big looking-glass with the sun shining down upon it. Then imagine that that looking-glass has been broken up into innumerable fragments, and that one bit is given to each human soul, when it is born on earth, to keep and to hold at the right angle, so that it can still reflect the sun's beams. That is something like the truth that George Fox discovered for himself and preached all over England. He called it the doctrine of 'The Inner Light.' To all the hungry, thirsting, sinful, ignorant men and women in England he gave the same message: 'There is that of God within you, that can reflect Him. You can hear His Voice speaking in your hearts'; or, to continue the parable, 'If you hold your own little bit of looking-glass in the sunlight it will, it must, reflect the



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Sun.'

James Nayler listened to this message, accepted it, and rejoiced in it. He did truly turn to the Light. But he forgot one thing that must never be forgotten. He looked too much at his own tiny bit of looking-glass and too little at the Sun. In this way the mirror of his soul grew soiled and stained and dim. It could no longer reflect the Light faithfully. Then, it had to be cleansed by suffering. But all this time, and always, the Sun of God's unchanging love was steadily shining, waiting for him to turn to it again. Let us too look up towards that Sun of Love. Let us open our hearts wide to receive its light. Then we shall find that we have not only a mirror in our hearts but also something alive and growing; what George Fox would call the 'Seed.' Sometimes he calls it the 'Seed,' and sometimes the 'Light,' because it is too wonderful for any picture or parable to express it wholly. But we each have 'that of God within' that can reflect and respond to Him, if we will only let it. Let us try then to open our hearts wide, wide, to receive, and not to think of ourselves. If we do this, sooner or later we shall learn to live and grow in the sunshine of God's love, as easily and naturally as the daisies do, when they spread their white and golden hearts wide open in the earthly sunshine on a summer's day.

James Nayler did learn that lesson at last, and therefore even this, 'the saddest story of all,' really and truly has a happy end.



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HISTORICAL NOTES

‘THE SADDEST STORY OF ALL.’

Historical. See Sewel’s HISTORY, i. 80, 255-293, 382-397, 408, 438. Also ‘BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM,’ Chapter xi. ‘Nayler’s Fall.’ Also James Nayler’s collected BOOKS AND PAPERS, published in 1716.



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October: Samuel Dyer and Mahorshalehliashbash Dyer, non-Quaker sons of [Friend Mary Dyer](#), got in trouble in [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#) for “Nontrayneinge,” that is, for failure to show up for militia training. They would be charged with larceny against the state, but the General Court of Trials would dismiss the charge brought against them.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

October 27, Lecture Day: It was “Lecture Day” in Boston. The Reverend John Norton fulminated against “diabolical doctrines” such as those of “the cursed sect of the Quakers.” (This would be printed up and distributed at government expense.) A large company of soldiers escorted the three religious prisoners from the jail near what is now Dover Street at Washington Street, onto the Common.⁶⁵

[Friend Daniel Gould](#) of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) accompanied Friend Marmaduke and Friend William to their gallows tree, and for doing that would be sentenced to be tied across a big gun and flogged.

[Friend Mary Dyer](#) was between two guards with her arms and legs bound. She was seen to have covered her face with a handkerchief, loaned to her for this purpose by her former pastor in the Boston church, the Reverend John Wilson. With the drums rolling to drown out the voices of the condemned (they were nevertheless heard briefly, as below), Friends [Marmaduke Stevenson](#) and [William Robinson](#) were [hanged](#) from the limb of a tree on Boston Common. When the corpse of Robinson was cut down, the head hit the ground and the skull broke. Their bodies were cast naked into a hole, and soon were covered over with water. “A Mr. Nichols built a fence about the place to protect them.”⁶⁶

A week earlier, in the prison in Boston, Friend Marmaduke had written a brief summation of his life.⁶⁷

In the beginning of the year 1655, I was at the plough in the east parts of Yorkshire in Old England, near the place where my outward being was; and, as I walked after the plough, I was filled with the love and presence of the living God, which did ravish my heart when I felt it, for it did increase and abound in me like a living stream, so did the life and love of God run through me like precious ointment giving a pleasant smell, which mad me to stand still. And, as I stood a little still, with my heart and mind stayed upon the Lord, the word of the Lord came to me in a still, small voice, which I did hear perfectly, saying to me in the secret of my heart and conscience, "I have ordained thee a prophet unto the nations," and, at the hearing of the

65. The illustration that one commonly sees, of these three being taken along to the Common with a drummer in front and a small dog cavorting in the foreground, is by William Bell Scott and dates to his own perfervid imagination as of the late date of 1888. Representative Daniel Gould of [Newport](#) accompanied Friends [Marmaduke Stevenson](#) and [William Robinson](#) to encourage them as they were being [hanged](#) and for that act of sympathy would be “tied to a big gun” and given thirty lashes in Boston during November 1659.

66. After this execution a military man of highest esteem in the colony, John Hull, whose take on such topics was of course always that of discipline, felt that if ever an enemy deserved to die, then someone who had made themselves an enemy of God especially deserved to be put to death. He wrote in his diary that “the rest of the [Quakers](#) had liberty, if they pleased to use it, to depart the jurisdiction though some of them capitally guilty,” and piously ejaculated into prayer: “The good Lord pardon this timidity of spirit to execute the sentence of God’s Holy Law upon such blasphemous persons.”—One is reminded of the little sermon that was given to the German soldiers used as concentration camp guards, which amounted to “We know this goes against your natural feelings, and we hope you will be able to overcome such weaknesses in yourselves.”

67. Besse. SUFFERINGS, 1753, Volume II, pages 201-2



word of the Lord, I was put to a stand, seeing that I was but a child for such a weighty matter. So, at the time appointed, Barbados was set before me, unto which I was required of the Lord to go and leave my dear and loving wife and tender children; for the Lord said unto me, immediately by His Spirit, that He would be as an husband to my wife and as a father to my children, and they should not want in my absence, for He would provide for them when I was gone. And I believed the Lord would perform what He had spoken, because I was made willing to give up myself to His work and service, to leave all and follow Him, whose presence and life is with me, where I rest in peace and quietness of spirit, with my dear brother [Friend William Robinson] under the shadow of His wings, who hath made us willing to lay down our lives for His name's sake, if unmerciful men be suffered to take them from us. And, if they do, we know we shall have rest and peace with the Lord for ever in His holy habitation, when they shall have torment night and day.

So, in obedience to the living God, I made preparation to pass to Barbados in the Fourth month [June] 1658. So, after some time that I had been on the said island in the service of God, I heard that New England had made a law to put the servants of the living God to death if they returned after they were sentenced away, which did come near me at that time; and, as I considered the thing and pondered it in my heart, immediately came to word of the Lord unto me, saying, "Thou knowest not but that thou mayst go thither."

But I kept this word in my heart and did not declare it to any until the time appointed, so, after that, a vessel was made ready for [Rhode Island](#), which I passed in. So, after a little time that I had been there, visiting the seed which the Lord had blessed, the word of the Lord came to me saying, "Go to Boston with thy brother William Robinson," and at His command I was obedient and gave up to His will, that so His work and service may be accomplished. for He had said unto me that He had a great work for me to do, which is now come to pass. And, for yielding obedience to and for obeying the voice and command of the everlasting God, which created heaven and earth and the foundations of waters, do I, with my dear brother, suffer outward bonds near unto death.

And this is given forth to be upon record, that all people may know who hear it, that we came not in our own will but in the will of God.

Given forth by me, whom am know to men by the name of MARMADUKE STEVENSON, but have a new name given me, which the world knows not of, written in the book of life.

It turned out that the plan of the authorities was only to frighten this Quaker woman by the sentence of death and the witnessing of the execution of her fellow ministers. When it came time for her to be “turned off” – as the expression then was– upon the gallows tree, the authorities announced that she had been reprieved. Her bonds were loosed.



One of the Bostonians in the assembly, one John Chamberlain, however, announced then and there that he had been converted into a [Quaker](#), and he was taken back to town and thrown in jail. Shortly afterward, that jail released 17 religious prisoners.

After not being hanged, Friend Mary Dyer once again wrote to the court:⁶⁸

68. Sewell, William. THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE, AND PROGRESS, OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. A NEW EDITION IN TWO VOLUMES. Philadelphia PA: Uriah Hunt, 1832, Volume I, pages 256-7



**LETTER TO THE GENERAL COURT AT BOSTON,
AFTER BEING UNEXPECTEDLY REPRIEVED,
28TH OF 8TH MONTH, 1659.**

Once more to the general court assembled in Boston, speaks Mary Dyar, even as before. My life is not accepted, neither availeth in comparison of the lives and liberty of the Truth, and servants of living God, for which in the bowels of loved and meekness I sought you: yet, nevertheless, with wicked hands have you put two of them to death, which makes me to feel, that the mercies of the wicked are cruelty. I rather choose to die than to live, as from you, as guilty of their innocent blood: therefore seeing my request is hindered, I leave you to the righteous Judge, and searcher of all hearts, who, with the pure measure of light he hath given to every man to profit withal, will in his due time let you see whose servants you are, and of whom you have taken counsel, which I desire you to search into: but all his counsel hath been slighted, and you would have none of his reproofs. Read your portion, Prov. i. 24 to 32. For verily the night cometh on you apace, wherein no man can work, in which you shall assuredly fall to your own master. In obedience to the Lord, whom I serve with my spirit, and pity to your souls, which you neither know nor pity, I can do no less than once more to warn you, to put away the evil of your doings; and kiss the Son, the light in you, before his wrath be kindled in you; for where it is, nothing without you can help or deliver you out of his hand at all; and if these things be so, then say, there hath been no prophet from the Lord sent amongst you; though we be nothing, yet it be his pleasure, by things that are not, to bring to nought things that are.

When I heard your last order read, it was a disturbance to me, that was so freely offering up my life to him that gave it to me, and sent me hither so to do, which obedience being his own work, he gloriously accompanied with his presence and peace, and love in me, in which I rested from my labour; till by your order and the people, I was so far disturbed, that I could not retain any more of the words thereof, than that I should return to prison, and there remain forty and eight hours, to which I submitted, finding nothing from the Lord to the contrary, that I may know what his pleasure and counsel is concerning me, on whom I wait therefore, for he is my life, and the length of my days; and as I said before, I came at his command, and go at his command.

Mary Dyar.

Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."



— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787

“The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows.”

—Thoreau’s JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1601	Tycho Brahe	unsolicited comment	<i>“Let me not seem to have lived in vain.”</i>
1618	Sir Walter Raleigh	his wife would embalm his head and keep it near her in a red leather bag	<i>“Strike, man, strike.”</i>
1649	Charles I	the chopper was to wait for a signal that the king had prepared himself	<i>“Stay for the sign.”</i>
1659	Friend Marmaduke Stevenson and Friend William Robinson	unsolicited comments made over the muting roll of a drum intended to prevent such remarks from being heard	<i>Friend Marmaduke: “We suffer not as evil-doers but for conscience’ sake.” Friend William: “I die for Christ.”</i>
1660	Friend Mary Dyer	asked at her execution whether they should pray for her soul	<i>“Nay, first a child; then a young man; then a strong man, before an elder of Christ Jesus.”</i>

... other famous last words ...

1660

Two Quaker preachers landed on the island of Bermuda.

The council on Barbados, the island that would be called by a Quaker missionary "the nursery of truth," enacted that any citizen who refused service in the militia was to be fined "five hundred pounds of sugar for the first offense," and then a thousand pounds of sugar for each subsequent failure to appear for a militia muster. The offender was to be jailed until his fine was paid. There was to be no exemption for those tender of conscience, such as those afflicted with Quakerism.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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."

In the Plymouth colony, John Smith's Quaker wife Friend Deborah Howland Smith was getting him involved again and again with the government, but he stood loyally by her and faced the charges.



In 1660 his wife involved him in more trouble, but he seems to have stood by her as a loyal husband should. The record reads as follows: "1660. May 1st Prence Gov'r. At this Court John Smith of Plymouth, Jun'r, appeared, being summoned to answer for permitting that a Quaker meeting was suffered to bee at his house, - his wife alsoe being summoned to answer for permitting the same, hee, the said Smith, was demanded wither hee would owne and defend what his wife had done in that respect, hee answered hee would, and did owne it, and did approve of it, and soe Convict of the fact." And was fined £2. And again in the same year he and his wife Deborah were fined for a like offence.

VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

At about this point Mehitabel Smith was born, probably in Dartmouth. (We know that [John Smith](#) had thirteen children and that the initial five, Hassadiah, John, Josiah, Eliazer, and Hezekiah, were born to his 1st wife, [Friend](#) Deborah Howland Smith. The will makes it clear that Hannah, Sarah, and Deborah were born to the 2d wife, Friend Ruhamah Kirby Smith. About Judah, Gershom, Deliverance, Mehitabel, and Eliashib we infer that they also were born to the 2d wife Ruhaman. As to how it was that children were being born to the 2d Quaker wife while the 1st Quaker wife was still alive, and as to the details of the movement of the Smith family from Plymouth to Dartmouth, the record is silent.)

In a metaphor for the Inner Light which Henry David Thoreau would later exploit (translated from vision to hearing) in WALDEN, Friend Edward Burrough wrote in A DECLARATION OF THE SAD AND GREAT PERSECUTION AND MARTYRDOM OF THE PEOPLE OF GOD, CALLED QUAKERS, IN NEW-ENGLAND FOR THE WORSHIPPING OF GOD, that:

He hath given us to enjoy and possess in us a measure of that fulness that is in Himself, even a measure of the same love and life, of the same mercy and power and of the same divine nature....

He also declared something that was quintessentially Thoreauvian in its “either by doing or by suffering,” that is, accepting consequences rather than disobeying the conscience — a preliminary to “CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE”:

We are not Enemies unto Government it self, as these our Accusers do charge us, but it is our Principle ... to be subject to whatsoever Government is set up over us, either by doing or by suffering.

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

➡ Joseph Mede, whose writings influenced Bishop James Usher and Isaac Newton, had claimed that the [Antichrist](#) had appeared way back in 456CE, and the end was going to come in this year (McIver, Tom. THE END OF THE WORLD: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. Jefferson NC: McFarlane & Co., 1999 #147).



MILLENNIALISM

[Friend](#) Humphrey Smith (1624?-1663)'s THE VISION OF HUMPHREY SMITH, WHICH HE SAW CONCERNING LONDON, IN THE FIFTH MONTH, IN THE YEAR 1660. BEING NOT LONG AFTER HER KING CAME INTO HER, THAT WAS PRINTED IN LONDON FOR THOMAS SIMMONS, AT THE SIGN OF THE BULL AND MOUTH, NEAR ALDERGATE, 1660, ALLEGEDLY PROPHESIED THE GREAT FIRE THAT WOULD BEGIN IN LONDON ON SEPTEMBER 2, 1666. TO BE ON THE SAFE SIDE, HUMPHREY ALSO PROPHESIED THE GREAT FROST. GOSH, YOU DON'T SUPPOSE THAT GOD WAS WHISPERING IN THIS GOOD [Quaker](#)'S EAR,



alerting him so he could warn everyone in advance of the great fire and the great frost?

T H E
V I S I O N
O F
Humphrey Smith,
Which he saw concerning
L O N D O N,
In the fifth month, in the year 1660. being
not long after her KING came into her.

*The Prophet speaking of the pouring forth of the Spirit in the later days saith,
That then the young men shall see visions. Joel 2. 28.*

And the wife King said where there is no Vision the people perish. Pro. 29. 18.

*And the true Minister of Christ said, I will come to Visions and Revelations of
the Lord, 2 Cor. 12. 1.*

Concerning the Great City of London.

I beheld all her waters which belonged to her frozen up, and that exceeding hard, and the vessels which went upon them, so that I and others passed over her waters without the least danger, and over the greatest vessels which had carried her merchandise; For all was frozen with a mighty freezing, whereby all her goodly merchandize were flopt, and her mighty sweet waters were turned into a mighty thick frozen ice, which stood still, so that her pleasant streams ran no more.

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(Well, but this Quaker does not indicate whether the prophesy is to be read literally or spiritually, that is, does not indicate whether this destructive fire is to be an ordinary outward fire or some sort of inward, ghostly one.)

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And as for the City her self and her suburbs, and all that belonged to her, a fire was kindled therein, but she knew not how, even in all her goodly places, and the kindling of it was in the foundations of all her buildings, and there was none could quench it, for it was like an invincible fire, neither was there any able, neither did any seek to quench it; and the burning thereof was exceeding great, and it burned inward in a hidden manner, which cannot be expressed, and the fire consumed all foundations which the City stood upon, and all the tall buildings fell, and it consumed all the lofty things therein, and the fire searched out all the hidden places, and burned most in the secret places, yet very little of the fire appeared, but the consumption was exceeding great, wherewith it consumed every thing.

And as I passed through her streets, I beheld her state to be very miserable, and very few were those that were left in her, who were but here and there one, and they feared not the fire, neither did the burnings hurt them, but they were (and walked) as mournfull dejected people, and the fire burned every where, so that there was no escaping of it; And thus she became a desolation, and as an astonishment, for the burning was of God, and could never be quenched nor overcome; and in the midst of her waters was the vessel of her merchandize frozen up, that none could move it, and there was none that sought to stop the burning, and the fire consumed all things both stone and timber, and it burned under all things and under all foundations, And that which was lifted up above it fell down, and the fire consumed it, and the burning continued; for though the foundation was burnt up, and all the lofty part brought down (by the fire) yet there was much old stuffe, and part of broken desolate walls and buildings in the midst, which the fire continued burning against; And that which was taken as to make use of, which yet escaped the fire, became uselesse in mans hand as a thing of nought. And the Vision hereof remained in me as a thing that was secretly shewed me of the Lord.

And now let her wise men find out the matter, and her prudent men read the Parable, and her Divines (so called) interpret the Vision, (And let her know that her day is at hand) And let every one of them look to their own wayes.

And as for thee, O City of London, thy sin hath been exceeding grievous, and thy iniquities beyond measure; Who can number thy daily transgressions, or set before thee the multitude of thy abominations? Oh! thy waies have grieved the Lord, and thy works have oppressed the just, and the Lord will surely plead with thee, whom thou hast long rebelled against, and walked in thy pride, and nourished thy self in voluptuousnesse, as a beast for the slaughter, and in arrogancy hath thy steps been

been found, Oh! thy heart hath ⁽³⁾ been defiled, and thy waies are waies of grievousnesse, and thy paths are polluted before the Lord, and thou hast not done the thing that is just in his sight, but hast chosen thy own waies, and trusted in thy own wisdom. Take heed now therefore, O City of *London* for God will be too strong for thee, and thy strength shall fall before him, and thou must come to an account for thy deeds, and then where will be thy refuge, or what shall be thy shelter? will thy multitude of men deliver thee from God, or the greatnesse of thy strength prevail against the Almighty? If so, then mayest thou stand in thy waies O City of *London*, but if not, thy misery will be great, and who shall bemoan thee in that day, or pity thee in the time of thy distresse? Forasmuch as thou hast refused the counsel of the Lord, and rejected the voyce of his servants in the midst of thee, and hearkned not to his word in thy own bowels, but also slighted the many warnings of the Lord by his servants, who were sent of him in love to thee, that thou might come to serve him, and not thy own pleasure, proceeding on from year to year like a moriftrous woman, who regardeth not the voice nor person of husband nor friend; Oh: what shall be said unto thee? must thou needs be left for desolation? and must thou be leie as a woman forsaken? will thy lovers help thee in the day of trouble? or thy delightfome pleasures preserve thy heart from judgement, or thy glorious riches hide thee from the burning torments? If thou lovest thy wages of vanity more then God, and thy hearts lust more than thy Maker, and wilt not turn speedily from it to seek the Lord in thy heart, then mayest thou possou (as thou art going) hastily to the pit, and with much eagernesse to the gulf of misery, where none can help thee; And then will thy feasting be turned into famine, thy beauty into dust, thy glory into shame, and thy honour into contempt, as thou hast seen it come to pass upon others, whose glory and strength was as great as thine, by whom thou hast not taken warning by a through and speedy returning unto thy Lord with all thy heart.

Therefore will God search thee and judge thee according to what is found in the midst of thee, and thou shalt be awakned in the day of Gods anger, & be sensible of the torment when it cometh; For though God hath also tried thee with giving thee thy hearts desire, yet hast thou not been thereby humbled; and though the Lord hath visited thee in loving kindness, yet hast thou walked loftily; nay moreover thou hast taken occasion thereby to be the more exalted, and art going in the steps of them that the Lord so lately for such things overturned before thee, that it cannot yet be forgotten, and dost Thou or the Rulers in thee think to establish your selves by acting such things, for which God overturned

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many mightier then you? Therefore O City think not to establish thy self by blood, nor to be setled by way of revenge, for though some men may have done some things unjust against some of you (and others) so that God may justly by you scourge them fore for it, yet wherein you do it in the way of revenge, or to avenge your own cause, or to set up your selves in self ends like them before you, therein God will also find out a scourge for you. And this I have seen that the Great men of the earth stand in slippery places, and their great strength before the Lord is as smoak before the wind.

My counsell is therefore, *That thou fear the Lord, and turn from the way that thou art in,* and let thy Judges know that the Lord will judge them, and let thy Rulers understand that the Lord will rule over their strength and wisdom, and let thy Teachers perceive that God is come to teach his own children. And let the Kings heart be upright before the Lord in this the day of his tryall, and time of visitation from God, (*the shortnesse or length thereof being hid from him, over whom God ruleth as it pleaseth him,*) who is cutting his work short in righteoufnesse; Therefore let all thy inhabitants, O thou great City, from the highest to the lowest, take good heed unto their waies, and the intents which are in them, for the Lord seeth the secrets of all your hearts. H. S.

And that thou mayest not altogether disesteem of this vision concerning thee, and that thy wise men may not esteem it as a thing of nought (which is published for thy good, and brought forth for thy warning, and declared to set before thee thy state at hand, that thou mightest be warned before-hand, and come to find something in thy self, whereby thou might stand in the day of triall, and endure in the hour of trouble, or otherwise Gods servants might seale up the visions and revelations of God in the book of secrets, and treasure them up in the enlightned chambers of the heart, where God is revealing his secrets to those that fear him) Therefore shall I write what hath been formerly shewed, most whereof being come to passe, and the rest hasteneth.

In my former vision, in the dayes of the former Rulers, I saw on a hill many trees together standing which were both great and tall, but they were very old, and of a long standing, and many of their lofty boughs were broken and battered, and many hanged downward, which pressed down the trees, and they were old, withering, and decaying, and had not grown along time, & were but as a wonder to the beholders, though they had been of great account, and the chief trees among (or over) the rest, and it was so that I beheld them much, even with admiration, to
see

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see such trees in such a state, which was more to this purpose than is here express; and I beheld untill all these trees were rooted up out of the earth, and so overturned every one, and their dead bodies lay in a confused manner, and were fallen one upon another, and the ground upon which they stood was broken up, and then there was some room and liberty, and light came in, and I walked and looked every way, both upon the light, and the great desolation of these great ones. *The interpretation whereof may be read by such as can but see.*

And though this great overturning befell those great, tall, and strong trees, and that light came into that ground, over which those fruitless trees stood, yet I beheld round about, and near unto it much briars, brambles, and thorns in abundance, which covered the earth, and it was such rubbish, that it was never like to be fit for any thing, but to have a fire kindled among it; And it was so thick and so strong that there was no passing in nor through it, but onely where the narrow way was, and there also those briars would catch on every side; And he that passed through must stoop very low; And what those briars and thorns were, let those brambles read, who covered the earth with their multitudes, in raging, swearing, curling, shouting, roaring, and drinking the health, (as they call it) of their King at his coming.

And near unto the place of the destruction of those great trees, was there a Child in great desolation, in a close place, where it had been a long time, and was not like yet to be released, but remained in want and misery, which mine eye pitied, and in irons, and my heart was sadned for it, and the more because none came to visit it, nor succour it; for it was in a desolate place, and unseemly, and few had regard unto it, and yet there were some hopes it might be delivered. *And this was a true resemblance of the state of the seed of God in all the world.*

And in plainness concerning *Oliver Cromwell*, and his son *Richard*, (late called) *Protectors*, the vision from God was shewed to me, (before the downfall of either of them) thus.

And I beheld a great and mighty tree, much bigger then ever I saw before, and appearing without sap or vertue in it, or leaf, bough, or branch upon it, (much lesse fruit) and the top of it was broad, (being all big) much like unto the top of *Pauls steeple in London*, and close by this great old tree, grew up another tree, as out of his root, and belonged to him, but not both in one body, though very near together, and stood both upon one foundation, and this was as a little stripling tree, which also was without leaves, or branches, or any thing to bear fruit, so that I admired to see it so with the young tree, for I looked for branches or leaves, but there were none.

And

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And whilst I was beholding of them, a man being sent came in much haste, with an axe in his hand, to cut down the great mighty old tree, which seemed strange to me, that one man should adventure upon so great a work, to cut down such a tree as that, for the lower part of the tree was exceeding big, and almost as broad upon the earth as half the height; so that I thought he had need of three more to help him, and that one man could scarce cut him down with one axe, if he stood hewing all his life time; But I much more admired to see the confidence of the man that came with speed with his axe, who made no stop at all, because of the greatnesse of him, nor any thing else, but as soon as ever he could get to him smote with the edge of his axe, and stroke between the ground and the tree, so that I soon perceived he intended to separate between the tree and the ground on which he stood; and the man in the might of his strength, stroke but three blows in all, but he separated the tree from the earth on which he stood, and immediately the tree fell with a mighty overthrow, and the foundation of the tree was altogether rotten and not one root at all, but where the root should be was rottenness, and the earth shook at his fall, and many Great men stood amazed, and fear seized on many, because of the great sudden fall thereof.

And as this great tree fell, I saw under the foundation of the young *Tall Tree* that stood near the other, and it was much like to fall presently after, and was almost down on the one hand, and then almost down on the other, and yet it recovered and stood up for a time, having no root but rottenness; And the great tree fell from him on the one side, and the earth parted from him on two sides more, so that onely upon one side in four (or less) the earth cleaved to him, and he being slender and tall without root, was not like long thus to stand, *neither did Richard.*

And I likewise beheld many more smaller trees, and the man with his axe in his hand cut them all down at the butt, somewhat above the ground, and so left the stumps in the earth, and therefore it might be possible for them to grow up again; *As some did come up again who were put down, but fell the second time through disobedience.*

And after all this I beheld also many more trees in abundance, yea more numerous then the other, coming up out of the earth, and covering the face thereof, and growing up apace, which were not yet ready to be cut down; and I saw the man with the axe in his hand, standing still for a time (having cut down all the other) untill those should be ready to be cut down; and he waited till the time came, and was in a readinesse with his axe in his hand ready to strike, when those abundance of trees should come up to their growth, which hastened. And let those who are now come up read this, and let the whole City of
London

London take heed (as I said before) ⁽⁷⁾ and repent with speed, and turn to
the Lord whose servant I am, called *Humphrey Smith.*

P O S T S C R I P T.

When those people to whom God gave his Ordinances and his Statutes had long resisted and grieved his Spirit in them, who said *I am God and not man, the Holy One in the midst of thee,* and had also refused plain Instructions, then the Lord sent them the Prophet *Isaiab,* who said *With stammering tongues and other lips will I speak unto this people;* And for a Sign was he sent to walk naked among them. And the Prophet *Ezekiel* was sent with that which they might esteem dark Vilions and foolish Signes, (which were many) and hard sayings. And *Jeremiab* he lamented over them. And all the Lords Prophets proclaimed against their Priests and leaders of them, *which caused them to erre,* and yet would they not be warned, nor their Priests leave preaching Peace unto them, nor they leave following their Priests untill they had crucified the Just, and denied him that is *the Light,* who saveth his People from their sins; and *Jerusalem* became a heap, and a desolation, and an astonishment; and so both Priests and People went into destruction and captivity together. And thy sins, O *London:* may be equalized with her's, and are as many, and as grievous, and that thou mayest a little the better understand my Vision concerning thee, therefore have I written these later things that concerned others, which if thou understand not, that which concerns thee is more mysterious.

T H E E N D.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Thomas Simmons,* at the sign of the Bull and Mouth,
near *Aldersgate,* 1660.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM



Despite his long residence at the Launceston jail in Cornwall in 1656, Friend [George Fox](#) travelled extensively through the eastern and southern counties of England and revisited Cornwall.

George Fox

I entered Bristol on the Seventh day of the week. The day before, the soldiers came with their muskets into the meeting, and were exceedingly rude, beating and striking Friends with them, and drove them out of the orchard in a great rage, threatening what they would do if Friends came there again. For the mayor and the commander of the soldiers had, it seems, combined together to make a disturbance amongst Friends.

When Friends told me what a rage there was in the town, how they were threatened by the mayor and soldiers, and how unruly the soldiers had been the day before, I sent for several Friends, as George Bishop, Thomas Gouldney, Thomas Speed, and Edward Pyot, and desired them to go to the mayor and aldermen, and request them, seeing he and they had broken up our meetings, to let Friends have the town-hall to meet in. For the use of it Friends would give them twenty pounds a year, to be distributed amongst the poor and when the mayor and aldermen had business to do in it, Friends would not meet in it, but only on First-days.

These Friends were astonished at this, and said the mayor and aldermen would think that they were mad. I said, Nay; for this would be a considerable benefit to the poor. And it was upon me from the Lord to bid them go. At last they consented, and went, though in the cross to their own wills.

When they had laid the thing before the mayor, he said, "For my part I could consent to it, but I am but one"; and he told Friends of another great hall they might have; but that they did not accept, it being inconvenient.

So Friends came away, leaving the mayor in a very loving frame towards them; for they felt the Lord's power had come over him. When they came back, I spoke to them to go also to the colonel that commanded the soldiers, and lay before him the rude conduct of his soldiers, how they came armed amongst innocent people, who were waiting upon and worshipping the Lord; but they were backward to go to him.

Next morning, being First-day, we went to the meeting in the orchard, where the soldiers had lately been so rude. After I had declared the Truth some time in the meeting, there came in many rude soldiers and people, some with drawn swords. The innkeepers had made some of them drunk; and one had bound himself with an oath to cut down and kill the man that spoke. He came pressing in, through all the crowd of people, to within two yards of me, and stopped at those four Friends before mentioned (who should have gone to the colonel as I would have had them), and began jangling with them. Suddenly I saw his sword was put up and gone: for the Lord's power came over all, and chained him with the rest. We had a blessed meeting, and the Lord's everlasting power and presence were felt amongst us.

JOURNAL



On the day following, the four Friends went and spoke with the colonel, and he sent for the soldiers, and cut and slashed some of them before the Friends' faces. When I heard of this I blamed the Friends for letting him do so, and also that they did not go on the Seventh-day, as I would have had them, which might have prevented this cutting of the soldiers, and the trouble they gave at our meeting. But thus the Lord's power came over all those persecuting, bloody minds, and the meeting there was held in peace for a good while after without disturbance.

I had then also a general meeting at Edward Pyot's, near Bristol, at which it was judged were several thousands of people [this would of course have had to be in a field or orchard, or on some hill]: for besides Friends from many parts thereabouts, some of the Baptists and Independents, with their teachers, came to it, and many of the sober people of Bristol; insomuch that the people who stayed behind said the city looked naked, so many were gone out of it to this meeting. It was very quiet, and many glorious truths were opened to the people. As we had much work with priests and professors who pleaded for imperfection, I was opened to declare and manifest to them that Adam and Eve were perfect before they fell, and all that God made He saw was good, and He blessed it; but the imperfection came in by the fall, through man's and woman's hearkening to the devil who was out of Truth. And though the law made nothing perfect, yet it made way for the bringing in of the better hope, which hope is Christ, who destroys the devil and his works, which made man and woman imperfect.

Christ saith to His disciples, "Be ye perfect, even as your heavenly Father is perfect": and He, who Himself was perfect, comes to make man and woman perfect again, and brings them again to the state in which God made them. So He is the maker-up of the breach, and the peace betwixt God and man.

That this might the better be understood by the lowest capacities, I used a comparison of two old people who had their house broken down by an enemy, so that they, with all their children, were liable to all storms and tempests. And there came to them some that pretended to be workmen, and offered to build up their house again, if they would give them so much a year; but when they had got the money they left the house as they found it.

After this manner came a second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, each with his several pretence to build up the old house, and each got the people's money, and then cried that they could not rear up the house, the breach could not be made up; for there is no perfection here. They tell the old people that the house can never be perfectly built up again in this life, though they have taken the people's money for doing it.



So all the sect-masters in Christendom (so called) have pretended to build up Adam's and Eve's fallen house; and when they have got the people's money, they tell them the work cannot be perfectly done here; so their house lies as it did. But I told the people Christ was come to do it freely, who by one offering hath perfected for ever all them that are sanctified, and renews them up into the image of God, which man and woman were in before they fell, and makes man's and woman's house as perfect again as God made them at the first; and this Christ, the heavenly Man, doth freely. Therefore all are to look unto Him, and all that have received Him are to walk in Him, the Life, the Substance, the First, and the Last, the Rock of Ages, the Foundation of many Generations.

About this time the soldiers under General Monk's command were rude and troublesome at Friends' meetings in many places, whereof complaint being madeto him he gave forth the following order, which somewhat restrained them:

St. James's, the 9th of March, 1659.

I do require all officers and soldiers to forbear to disturb the peaceable meetings of the Quakers, they doing nothing prejudicial to the Parliament or Commonwealth of England. George Monk.

We passed thence to Tewkesbury and so to Worcester, visiting Friends in their meetings as we went. And in all my time I never saw such drunkenness as in the towns, for they had been choosing Parliament men. At Worcester the Lord's Truth was set over all, people were finely settled therein, and Friends praised the Lord; nay, I saw the very earth rejoiced.

Yet great fears and troubles were in many people, and a looking for the King's coming in, and all things being altered. They would ask me what I thought of times and things. I told them the Lord's power was over all, and His light shone over all; that fear would take hold only on the hypocrites, such as had not been faithful to God, and on our persecutors. In my travail and sufferings at Reading, when people were at a stand, and could not tell what might come in, and who might rule, I told them the Lord's power was over all (for I had travelled through in it), and His day shined, whosoever should come in; and whether the King came in or not, all would be well to them that loved the Lord, and were faithful to Him. Therefore I bade all Friends fear none but the Lord, and keep in His power. From Worcester I visited Friends in their meetings, till I came to Badgley, and thence I went to Drayton, in Leicestershire, to visit my relations. While there, one Burton, a justice, hearing I had a good horse, sent a warrant to search for me and my horse; but I was gone before they came; and so he missed of his wicked end.

I passed on to Twy-Cross, Swannington, and Derby, where I visited Friends, and found amongst them my old jailer, who had formerly kept me in the house of correction there, now convinced of the Truth which I then suffered under him for.



Passing into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, I came to Synderhill-Green, visiting Friends through all those parts in their meetings, and so on to Balby in Yorkshire, where our Yearly Meeting at that time was held in a great orchard of John Killam's, where it was supposed some thousands of people and Friends were gathered together.

In the morning I heard that a troop of horse was sent from York to break up our meeting, and that the militia, newly raised, was to join them. I went into the meeting, and stood up on a great stool, and after I had spoken some time two trumpeters came up, sounding their trumpets near me, and the captain of the troop cried, "Divide to the right and left, and make way." Then they rode up to me.

I was declaring the everlasting Truth and Word of life in the mighty power of the Lord. The captain bade me come down, for he was come to disperse our meeting. After some time I told him they all knew we were a peaceable people, and used to have such great meetings; but if he apprehended that we met in a hostile way, I desired him to make search among us, and if he found either sword or pistol about any there, let such suffer.

** He told me he must see us dispersed, for he came all night on purpose to disperse us. I asked him what honour it would be to him to ride with swords and pistols amongst so many unarmed men and women as there were. If he would be still and quiet our meeting probably might not continue above two or three hours; and when it was done, as we came peaceably together, so we should part; for he might perceive the meeting was so large, that all the country thereabouts could not entertain them, but that they intended to depart towards their homes at night.*

He said he could not stay to see the meeting ended, but must disperse them before he went. I desired him, then, if he himself could not stay, that he would let a dozen of his soldiers stay, and see the order and peaceableness of our meeting. He said he would permit us an hour's time, and left half a dozen soldiers with us. Then he went away with his troop, and Friends of the house gave the soldiers that stayed, and their horses, some meat.

When the captain was gone the soldiers that were left told us we might stay till night if we would. But we stayed but about three hours after, and had a glorious, powerful meeting; for the presence of the living God was manifest amongst us, and the Seed, Christ, was set over all. Friends were built upon Him, the foundation, and settled under His glorious, heavenly teaching.

After the meeting Friends passed away in peace, greatly refreshed with the presence of the Lord, and filled with joy and gladness that the Lord's power had given them such dominion. Many of the militia-soldiers stayed also, much vexed that the captain and troopers had not broken up our meeting; and cursed the captain and his troopers. It was reported that they intended evil against us that day; but the troopers, instead of assisting them, were rather assistant to us, in not joining them as they expected, but preventing them from doing the mischief they designed.



This captain was a desperate man; for it was he that said to me in Scotland that he would obey his superior's commands; if it were to crucify Christ he would do it, or would execute the great Turk's commands against the Christians if he were under him. So that it was an eminent power of the Lord which chained both him and his troopers, and those envious militia-soldiers also, who went away, not having power to hurt any of us, nor to break up our meeting.

Next day we had an heavenly meeting at Warmsworth of Friends in the ministry, with several others; and then Friends parted. As they passed through the country several were taken up; for on the day on which our first meeting was held, Lambert was routed, and it made great confusion in the country; but Friends were not kept long in prison at that time. As I went to this meeting there came to me several at Skegby, in Nottinghamshire, who were going to be soldiers under Lambert, and would have bought my horse of me. Because I would not sell him, they were in a great rage against me, using many threatening words: but I told them that God would confound and scatter them; and within two or three days after they were scattered indeed.

From Warmsworth I passed, in the Lord's power, to Barton Abbey, where I had a great meeting; thence to Thomas Taylor's; and so on to Skipton, where was a general meeting of men Friends out of many counties concerning the affairs of the Church.

A Friend went naked [to the waist] through the town, declaring Truth, and was much beaten. Some other Friends also came to me all bloody. As I walked in the street, a desperate fellow had an intent to do me mischief; but he was prevented, and our meeting was quiet.

To this meeting came many Friends out of most parts of the nation; for it was about business relating to the Church both in this nation and beyond the seas. Several years before, when I was in the north, I was moved to recommend to Friends the setting up of this meeting for that service; for many Friends had suffered in diverse parts of the nation, their goods were taken from them contrary to law, and they understood not how to help themselves, or where to seek redress. But after this meeting was set up, several Friends who had been magistrates, and others that understood something of the law, came thither, and were able to inform Friends, and to assist them in gathering up the sufferings, that they might be laid before the justices, judges, or Parliament.

This meeting had stood several years, and diverse justices and captains had come to break it up, but when they understood the business Friends met about, and saw their books and accounts of collections for relief of the poor, how we took care one county to help another, and to help our Friends beyond the seas, and provide for our poor, that none of them should be chargeable to their parishes, etc., the justices and officers confessed we did their work and passed away peaceably and lovingly, commending Friends' practice.



Sometimes there would come two hundred of the poor of other people, and wait there till the meeting was done (for all the country knew we met about the poor), and after the meeting Friends would send to the bakers for bread, and give every one of these poor people a loaf, how many soever there were of them; for we were taught to "do good unto all; though especially to the household of faith."

After this meeting I visited Friends in their meetings till I came to Lancaster; whence I went to Robert Widders's, and so on to Arnside, where I had a general meeting for all the Friends in Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire. It was quiet and peaceable, and the living presence of the Lord was amongst us. I went back with Robert Widders; and Friends all passed away, fresh in the life and power of Christ, in which they had dominion, being settled upon Him, the heavenly Rock and Foundation. I went next day to Swarthmore, Francis Howgill and Thomas Curtis being with me. I had not been long there before Henry Porter, a justice, sent a warrant by the chief constable and three petty constables to apprehend me. I had a sense of this beforehand; and being in the parlor with Richard Richardson and Margaret Fell, her servants came and told her there were some come to search the house for arms; and they went up into the chambers under that pretence.

It came upon me to go out to them; and as I was going by some of them I spoke to them; whereupon they asked me my name. I readily told them my name; and then they laid hold on me, saying that I was the man they looked for, and led me away to Ulverstone.

They kept me all night at the constable's house, and set a guard of fifteen or sixteen men to watch me; some of whom sat in the chimney, for fear I should go up it; such dark imaginations possessed them. They were very rude and uncivil, and would neither suffer me to speak to Friends, nor suffer them to bring me necessaries; but with violence thrust them out, and kept a strong guard upon me. Very wicked and rude they were, and a great noise they made about me. One of the constables, whose name was Ashburnham, said he did not think a thousand men could have taken me. Another of the constables, whose name was Mount, a very wicked man, said he would have served Judge Fell himself so, if he had been alive, and he had had a warrant for him.

Next morning, about six, I was putting on my boots and spurs to go with them before some justice; but they pulled off my spurs, took my knife out of my pocket, and hurried me away through the town, with a party of horse and abundance of people, not suffering me to stay till my own horse came down.

When I was gone about a quarter of a mile with them, some Friends, with Margaret Fell and her children, came towards me; and then a great party of horse gathered about me in a mad rage and fury, crying out, "Will they rescue him? Will they rescue him?" Thereupon I said unto them, "Here is my hair; here is my back; here are my cheeks; strike on!" With these words their heat was a little assuaged.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Then they brought a little horse, and two of them took up one of my legs and put my foot in the stirrup, and two or three lifting over my other leg, set me upon it behind the saddle, and so led the horse by the halter; but I had nothing to hold by. When they were come some distance out of the town they beat the little horse, and made him kick and gallop. Thereupon I slipped off him. I told them they should not abuse the creature. They were much enraged at my getting off, and took me by the legs and feet, and set me upon the same horse, behind the saddle again; and so led it about two miles till they came to a great water called the Carter-Ford.

By this time my own horse was come to us, and the water being deep, and their little horse scarcely able to carry me through, they let me get upon my own, through the persuasion of some of their own company, leading him through the water. One wicked fellow kneeled down, and, lifting up his hands, blessed God that I was taken.

When I was come over the Sands, I told them that I heard I had liberty to choose what justice I would go before; but Mount and the other constables cried, "No, you shall not." Then they led me to Lancaster, about fourteen miles, and a great triumph they thought to have had; but as they led me I was moved to sing praises to the Lord, in His power triumphing over all.

When I was come to Lancaster, the spirits of the people being mightily up, I stood and looked earnestly upon them, and they cried, "Look at his eyes!" After a while I spoke to them, and they were pretty sober. Then came a young man who took me to his house, and after a little time the officers took me to the house of Major Porter, the justice who had sent the warrant against me, and who had several others with him.

When I came in, I said, "Peace be amongst you." Porter asked me why I came into the country at that troublesome time [with the uproar of Charles II coming to the throne, everyone was suspicious of everyone else]. I told him, "To visit my brethren." "But," said he, "you have great meetings up and down." I told him that though we had, our meetings were known throughout the nation to be peaceable, and we were a peaceable people.

He said that we saw the devil in people's faces. I told him that if I saw a drunkard, or a swearer, or a peevish heady man, I could not say I saw the Spirit of God in him. And I asked him if he could see the Spirit of God. He said we cried against their ministers. I told him that while we were as Saul, sitting under the priests, and running up and down with their packets of letters, we were never called pestilent fellows nor makers of sects; but when we were come to exercise our consciences towards God and man, we were called pestilent fellows, as Paul was.

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He said we could express ourselves well enough, and he would not dispute with me; but he would restrain me. I desired to know for what, and by whose order he had sent his warrant for me; and I complained to him of the abuse of the constables and other officers after they had taken me, and in their bringing me thither. He would not take notice of that, but told me he had an order, but would not let me see it; for he would not reveal the King's secrets; and besides, "A prisoner," he said, "is not to see for what he is committed." I told him that was not reason; for how, then, should he make his defense? I said I ought to have a copy of it. But he said there was a judge once that fined one for letting a prisoner have a copy of his mittimus; "and," said he, "I have an old clerk, though I am a young justice."

Then he called to his clerk, saying, "Is it not ready yet? Bring it"; meaning the mittimus. But it not being ready, he told me I was a disturber of the nation. I told him I had been a blessing to the nation, in and through the Lord's power and Truth; and that the Spirit of God in all consciences would answer it. Then he charged me as an enemy to the King, that I endeavoured to raise a new war, and imbrue the nation in blood again. I told him I had never learned the postures of war, but was clear and innocent as a child concerning those things; and therefore was bold.

Then came the clerk with the mittimus, and the jailer was sent for and commanded to take me, put me into the Dark-house, and let none come at me, but to keep me there close prisoner till I should be delivered by the King or Parliament. Then the justice asked the constables where my horse was. "For I hear," said he, "he hath a good horse; have ye brought his horse?" I told him where my horse was, but he did not meddle with him.

As they had me to the jail the constable gave me my knife again, and then asked me to give it to him. I told him, Nay; he had not been so civil to me. So they put me into the jail, and the under-jailer, one Hardy, a very wicked man, was exceeding rude and cruel, and many times would not let me have meat brought in but as I could get it under the door. Many came to look at me, some in a rage, and very uncivil and rude.

** Being now a close prisoner in the common jail at Lancaster, I desired Thomas Cummins and Thomas Green to go to the jailer, and desire of him a copy of my mittimus, that I might know what I stood committed for. They went and the jailer answered that he could not give a copy of it, for another had been fined for so doing; but he gave them liberty to read it over. To the best of their remembrance the matters therein charged against me were that I was a person generally suspected to be a common disturber of the peace of the nation, an enemy to the King, and a chief upholder of the Quakers' sect; and that, together with others of my fanatic opinion, I had of late endeavoured to raise insurrections in these parts of the country, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood. Wherefore the jailer was commanded to keep me in safe custody until I should be released by order of the King and Parliament.*



When I had thus got the heads of the charge contained in the mittimus, I wrote a plain answer in vindication of my innocency in each particular; as follows:

I am a prisoner at Lancaster, committed by Justice Porter. A copy of the mittimus I cannot get, but such expressions I am told are in it as are very untrue; as that I am generally suspected to be a common disturber of the nation's peace, an enemy to the King, and that I, with others, endeavour to raise insurrections to embroil the nation in blood; all of which is utterly false, and I do, in every part thereof, deny it.

For I am not a person generally suspected to be a disturber of the nation's peace, nor have I given any cause for such suspicion; for through the nation I have been tried for these things formerly.

In the days of Oliver I was taken up on pretence of raising arms against him, which was also false; for I meddled not with raising arms at all. Yet I was then carried up a prisoner to London, and brought before him; when I cleared myself, and denied the drawing of a carnal weapon against him, or any man upon the earth; for my weapons are spiritual, which take away the occasion of war, and lead into peace. Upon my declaring this to Oliver, I was set at liberty by him.

After this I was taken and sent to prison by Major Ceely in Cornwall, who, when I was brought before the judge, informed against me that I took him aside, and told him that I could raise forty thousand men in an hour's time, to involve the nation in blood, and bring in King Charles. This also was utterly false, and a lie of his own inventing as was then proved upon him for I never spoke any such word to him.

I never was found in any plot; I never took any engagement or oath; nor have I ever learned war-postures. As those were false charges against me then, so are these now which come from Major Porter, who is lately appointed to be justice, but formerly wanted power to exercise his cruelty against us; which is but the wickedness of the old enemy.

The peace of the nation I am not a disturber of, nor ever was; but I seek the peace of it, and of all men, and stand for all nations' peace, and all men's peace upon the earth, and wish all knew my innocency in these things.



And whereas Major Porter saith I am an enemy to the King, this is false; for my love is to him and to all men, even though they be enemies to God, to themselves, and to me. And I can say it is of the Lord that the King is come in, to bring down many unrighteously set up; of which I had a sight three years before he came in. It is much Major Porter should say I am an enemy to the King; for I have no reason so to be, he having done nothing against me.

But I have been often imprisoned and persecuted these eleven or twelve years by those that have been both against the King and his father, even the party by whom Porter was made a major and for whom he bore arms; but not by them that were for the King. I was never an enemy to the King, nor to any man's person upon the earth. I am in the love that fulfils the law, which thinks no evil, but loves even enemies; and would have the King saved, and come to the knowledge of the Truth, and be brought into the fear of the Lord, to receive His wisdom from above, by which all things were made and created; that with that wisdom he may order all things to the glory of God.

Whereas he calleth me "A chief upholder of the Quakers' sect," I answer: The Quakers are not a sect, but are in the power of God, which was before sects were, and witness the election before the world began, and are come to live in the life in which the prophets and apostles lived, who gave forth the Scriptures; therefore are we hated by envious, wrathful, wicked, persecuting men. But God is the upholder of us all by His mighty power, and preserves us from the wrath of the wicked that would swallow us up.

And whereas he saith that I, together with others of my fanatic opinion, as he calls it, have of late endeavoured to raise insurrections, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood, I answer, This is altogether false. To these things I am as a child; I know nothing of them. The postures of war I never learned; my weapons are spiritual and not carnal, for with carnal weapons I do not fight. I am a follower of Him who said, 'My kingdom is not of this world,' and though these lies and slanders are raised upon me, I deny drawing any carnal weapon against the King or Parliament, or any man upon the earth. For I am come to the end of the Law, but am in that which saves men's lives. A witness I am against all murderers, plotters, and all such as would imbrue the nation in blood; for it is not in my heart to have any man's life destroyed.



And as for the word fanatic, which signifies furious, foolish, mad, etc., he might have considered himself before he had used that word, and have learned the humility which goes before honour. We are not furious, foolish, or mad; but through patience and meekness have borne lies, slanders and persecutions many years, and have undergone great sufferings. The spiritual man, that wrestles not with flesh and blood, and the Spirit that reproves sin in the gate, which is the Spirit of Truth, wisdom, and sound judgment, is not mad, foolish, furious, which fanatic signifies; but all are of a mad, furious, foolish spirit that in their furiousness, foolishness and rage wrestle with flesh and blood, with carnal weapons. This is not the Spirit of God, but of error, that persecutes in a mad, blind zeal, like Nebuchadnezzar and Saul.

Inasmuch as I am ordered to be kept prisoner till I be delivered by order from the King or Parliament, therefore I have written these things to be laid before you, the King and Parliament, that ye may consider of them before ye act anything therein; that ye may weigh, in the wisdom of God, the intent and end of men's spirits, lest ye act the thing that will bring the hand of the Lord upon you and against you, as many who have been in authority have done before you, whom God hath overthrown. In Him we trust whom we fear and cry unto day and night, who hath heard us, doth hear us, and will hear us, and avenge our cause. Much innocent blood hath been shed. Many have been persecuted to death by such as were in authority before you, whom God hath vomited out because they turned against the just. Therefore consider your standing now that ye have the day, and receive this as a warning of love to you. From an innocent sufferer in bonds, and close prisoner in Lancaster Castle, called

George Fox.

After this Margaret Fell determined to go to London, to speak with the King about my being taken, and to show him the manner of it, and the unjust dealing and evil usage I had received. When Justice Porter heard of this, he vapoured that he would go and meet her in the gap. But when he came before the King, having been a zealous man for the Parliament against the King, several of the courtiers spoke to him concerning his plundering their houses; so that he quickly had enough of the court, and soon returned into the country.



Meanwhile the jailer seemed very fearful, and said he was afraid Major Porter would hang him because he had not put me in the dark-house. But when the jailer waited on him after his return from London, he was very blank and down, and asked how I did, pretending he would find a way to set me at liberty. But having overshot himself in his mittimus by ordering me "to be kept a prisoner till I should be delivered by the King or Parliament," he had put it out of his power to release me if he would.

He was the more down also upon reading a letter which I sent him; for when he was in the height of his rage and threats against me, and thought to ingratiate himself into the King's favour by imprisoning me, I was moved to write to him and put him in mind how fierce he had been against the King and his party, though now he would be thought zealous for the King. Among other things in my letter I called to his remembrance that when he held Lancaster Castle for the Parliament against the King, he was so rough and fierce against those that favoured the King that he said he would leave them neither dog nor cat, if they did not bring him provision to the Castle. I asked him also whose great buck's horns were those that were in his house; and whence he had both them and the wainscot with which he ceiled his house; had he them not from Hornby Castle?

About this time Ann Curtis, of Reading, came to see me; and understanding how I stood committed, it was upon her also to go to the King about it. Her father, who had been sheriff of Bristol, was hanged near his own door for endeavouring to bring the King in; upon which consideration she had some hopes the King might hear her on my behalf. Accordingly, when she returned to London, she and Margaret Fell went to the King together; who, when he understood whose daughter she was, received her kindly. Her request to him being to send for me up, and hear the cause himself, he promised her he would; and he commanded his secretary to send an order for bringing me up.

But when they came to the secretary for the order he said it was not in his power; he must go according to law; and I must be brought up by a writ of habeas corpus before the judges. So he wrote to the Judge of the King's Bench, signifying that it was the King's pleasure I should be sent up by a writ of habeas corpus. Accordingly a writ was sent and delivered to the sheriff; but because it was directed to the chancellor of Lancaster the sheriff put it off to him; on the other hand, the chancellor would not make the warrant upon it, but said the sheriff must do that.

At length both chancellor and sheriff were got together; but being both enemies to Truth, they sought occasion for delay, and found an error in the writ, which was that, being directed to the chancellor, it said, "George Fox in prison under **your** custody," whereas the prison I was in was not in the chancellor's custody, but the sheriff's; so the word **your** should have been **his**. Upon this they returned the writ to London again, only to have that one word altered.

When it was altered and brought down again, the sheriff refused to carry me up unless I would seal a writing to him and become bound to pay for the sealing and the charge of carrying me up: which I denied, telling them I would not seal anything.



I was moved also to write to the King to exhort him to exercise mercy and forgiveness towards his enemies and to warn him to restrain the profaneness and looseness that was risen up in the nation upon his return.

* * * * *

TO THE KING.

KING CHARLES:

Thou camest not into this nation by sword, nor by victory of war, but by the power of the Lord. Now, if thou dost not live in this power, thou wilt not prosper.

If the Lord hath showed thee mercy and forgiven thee, and thou dost not show mercy and forgive, God will not hear thy prayers, nor them that pray for thee. If thou dost not stop persecution and persecutors, and take away all laws that hold up persecution about religion; if thou persist in them, and uphold persecution, that will make thee as blind as those that have gone before thee: for persecution hath always blinded those that have gone into it. Such God by his power overthrows, doeth His valiant acts upon, and bringeth salvation to His oppressed ones.

If thou bear the sword in vain, and let drunkenness, oaths, plays, May-games, as setting up of May-poles, with the image of the crown atop of them, with such like abominations and vanities, be encouraged or go unpunished, the nation will quickly turn like Sodom and Gomorrah, and be as bad as those men of the old world, who grieved the Lord till He overthrew them. So He will overthrow you if these things be not suppressed.

Hardly ever before has there been so much wickedness at liberty as there is at this day, as though there were no terror nor sword of magistracy. Such looseness doth not grace a government, nor please them that do well. Our prayers are for them that are in authority, that under them we may live a godly life in peace, and that we may not be brought into ungodliness by them. Hear and consider, and do good in thy time, whilst thou hast power; be merciful and forgive; that is the way to overcome and obtain the kingdom of Christ.

G.F.

It was long before the sheriff would yield to remove me to London unless I would seal a bond to him, and bear the charges; which I still refused to do. Then they consulted how to convey me up, and first concluded to send up a party of horse with me. I told them, "If I were such a man as you have represented me to be, you would have need to send a troop or two of horse to guard me."



When they considered what a charge it would be to them to send up a party of horse with me, they altered their purpose, and concluded to send me up guarded only by the jailer and some bailiffs. But upon farther consideration they found that this also would be a great charge to them, and therefore they sent for me to the jailer's house, and told me that if I would put in bail that I would be in London on such a day of the term, I should have leave to go up with some of my own friends.

I told them I would neither put in bail, nor give one piece of silver to the jailer; for I was an innocent man, – that they had imprisoned me wrongfully, and laid a false charge upon me. Nevertheless, I said, if they would let me go up with one or two of my friends to bear me company, I might go up and be in London on such a day, if the Lord should permit; and if they desired it, I or any of my friends that went with me would carry up their charge against myself.

When they saw they could do no otherwise with me, the sheriff consented that I should come up with some of my friends, without any other engagement than my word, to appear before the judges at London such a day of the term, if the Lord should permit.

Thereupon I was let out of prison, and went to Swarthmore, where I stayed two or three days; and thence went to Lancaster, and so to Preston, having meetings amongst Friends till I came into Cheshire, to William Gandy's, where was a large meeting without doors, the house not being sufficient to contain it. That day the Lord's everlasting Seed, which is the heir of the promise, was set over all, and Friends were turned to it.

Thence I came into Staffordshire and Warwickshire, to Anthony Bickliff's, and at Nuneaton, at a priest's widow's house, we had a blessed meeting, wherein the everlasting Word of life was powerfully declared, and many were settled in it. Then, travelling on, visiting Friends' meetings, in about three weeks' time from my coming out of prison I reached London, Richard Hubberthorn and Robert Withers being with me.

When we came to Charing-Cross, multitudes of people were gathered together to see the burning of the bowels of some of the old King's judges, who had been hanged, drawn and quartered.

We went next morning to Judge Mallet's chamber. He was putting on his red gown to sit in judgment upon some more of the King's judges. He was then very peevish and froward, and said I might come another time.

We went again to his chamber when there was with him Judge Foster, who was called the Lord Chief-Justice of England. With me was one called Esquire Marsh, who was one of the bedchamber to the King. When we had delivered to the judges the charge that was against me, and they had read to those words, "that I and my friends were embroiling the nation in blood," etc., they struck their hands on the table. Whereupon I told them that I was the man whom that charge was against, but I was as innocent of any such thing as a new-born child, and had brought it up myself; and some of my friends came up with me, without any guard.



As yet they had not minded my hat, but now seeing it on, they said, "What, do you stand with your hat on!" I told them I did not so in any contempt of them. Then they commanded it to be taken off; and when they called for the marshal of the King's Bench, they said to him, "You must take this man and secure him; but let him have a chamber, and not be put amongst the prisoners."

"My lord," said the marshal, "I have no chamber to put him into; my house is so full I cannot tell where to provide a room for him but amongst the prisoners."

"Nay," said the judge, "you must not put him amongst the prisoners." But when the marshal still answered that he had no other place wherein to put me, Judge Foster said to me, "Will you appear to-morrow about ten o'clock at the King's Bench bar in Westminster-Hall?"

I said, "Yes, if the Lord gives me strength."

Then said Judge Foster to the other judge, "If he says Yes, and promises it, you may take his word;" so I was dismissed.

Next day I appeared at the King's Bench bar at the hour appointed, Robert Widders, Richard Hubberthorn, and Esquire Marsh going with me. I was brought into the middle of the court; and as soon as I came in, was moved to look round, and, turning to the people, say, "Peace be among you." The power of the Lord spread over the court.

The charge against me was read openly. The people were moderate, and the judges cool and loving; and the Lord's mercy was to them. But when they came to that part which said that I and my friends were embroiling the nation in blood, and raising a new war, and that I was an enemy to the King, etc., they lifted up their hands.

Then, stretching out my arms, I said, "I am the man whom that charge is against; but I am as innocent as a child concerning the charge, and have never learned any war-postures. And," said I, "do ye think that, if I and my friends had been such men as the charge declares, I would have brought it up myself against myself? Or that I should have been suffered to come up with only one or two of my friends with me? Had I been such a man as this charge sets forth, I had need to be guarded with a troop or two of horse. But the sheriff and magistrates of Lancashire thought fit to let me and my friends come up with it ourselves, nearly two hundred miles, without any guard at all; which, ye may be sure, they would not have done, had they looked upon me to be such a man."

Then the Judge asked me whether it should be filed, or what I would do with it. I answered, "Ye are judges, and able, I hope, to judge in this matter; therefore, do with it what ye will; for I am the man these charges are against, and here ye see I have brought them up myself. Do ye what ye will with them; I leave it to you."

Then, Judge Twisden beginning to speak some angry words, I appealed to Judge Foster and Judge Mallet, who had heard me over-night. Thereupon they said they did not accuse me, for they had nothing against me. Then stood up Esquire Marsh, who was of the King's bedchamber, and told the judges it was the King's pleasure that I should be set at liberty, seeing no accuser came up against me. They asked me whether I would put it to the King and Council. I said, "Yes, with a good will."



Thereupon they sent the sheriff's return, which he had made to the writ of habeas corpus, containing the matter charged against me in the mittimus, to the King, that he might see for what I was committed. The return of the sheriff of Lancaster was as follows:

By virtue of His Majesty's writ, to me directed, and hereunto annexed, I certify that before the receipt of the said writ George Fox, in the said writ mentioned, was committed to His Majesty's jail at the Castle of Lancaster, in my custody, by a warrant from Henry Porter, Esq., one of His Majesty's justices of peace within the county palatine aforesaid, bearing date the fifth of June now last past; for that he, the said George Fox, was generally suspected to be a common disturber of the peace of this nation, an enemy of our sovereign lord the King, and a chief upholder of the Quakers' sect; and that he, together with others of his fanatic opinion, have of late endeavoured to make insurrections in these parts of the country, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood. And this is the cause of his taking and detaining. Nevertheless, the body of the said George Fox I have ready before Thomas Mallet, knight, one of His Majesty's justices, assigned to hold pleas before His Majesty, at his chamber in Sergeants' Inn, in Fleet Street, to do and receive those things which his Majesty's said justice shall determine concerning him in this behalf, as by the aforesaid writ is required.

George Chetham, Esq., Sheriff.

On perusal of this, and consideration of the whole matter, the King, being satisfied of my innocency, commanded his secretary to send an order to Judge Mallet for my release, which he did thus:

It is his Majesty's pleasure that you give order for releasing, and setting at full liberty the person of George Fox, late a prisoner in Lancaster jail, and commanded hither by an habeas corpus. And this signification of his Majesty's pleasure shall be your sufficient warrant. Dated at Whitehall, the 24th of October, 1660.

Edward Nicholas.

*For Sir Thomas Mallet, knight,
one of the justices of the King's Bench.*



When this order was delivered to Judge Mallet, he forthwith sent his warrant to the marshal of the King's Bench for my release; which warrant was thus worded:

By virtue of a warrant which this morning I have received from the Right Honorable Sir Edward Nicholas, knight, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries, for the releasing and setting at liberty of George Fox, late a prisoner in Lancaster jail, and thence brought hither by habeas corpus, and yesterday committed unto your custody; I do hereby require you accordingly to release and set the said prisoner George Fox at liberty: for which this shall be your warrant and discharge. Given under my hand the 25th day of October, in the year of our Lord God 1660.

THOMAS MALLET.

*To Sir John Lenthal, knight,
marshal of the King's Bench,
or his deputy.*

Thus, after I had been a prisoner somewhat more than twenty weeks, I was freely set at liberty by the King's command, the Lord's power having wonderfully wrought for the clearing of my innocency, and Porter, who committed me, not daring to appear to make good the charge he had falsely suggested against me. But, after it was known I was discharged, a company of envious, wicked spirits were troubled, and terror took hold of Justice Porter; for he was afraid I would take the advantage of the law against him for my wrong imprisonment, and thereby undo him, his wife and children. And indeed I was pressed by some in authority to make him and the rest examples; but I said I should leave them to the Lord; if the Lord forgave them I should not trouble myself with them.

[JOURNAL](#)



THE JUDGE'S RETURN⁶⁹

'The Cross being minded it makes a separation from all other lovers, and brings to God.'—G. FOX.

'Give up to be crossed; that is the way to please the Lord and to follow Him in His own will and way, whose way is the best.'—M. FELL.

'Now here was a time of waiting, here is a time of receiving, here is a time of speaking; the Holy Ghost fell upon them, that they spoke the wonderful things of God.'—G. FOX.

'Mind and consider well the spirit of Christ in you, that's he that's lowly in you, that's just and lowly in you: mind this Spirit in you, and then whither will you run, and forsake the Lord of Life? Will you leave Christ the fountain which should spring in you and hunt for yourselves? Should you not abide within, and drink of that which springs freely, and feed on that which is pure, meek and lowly in spirit, that so you might grow spiritual men into the same Spirit, to be as He is, the sheep of His Pasture? For as is your pasture, so are you filled.... And you shall say no more, I am weak and can do nothing, but all things through him who gives you strength.'—JAMES NAYLER.

69. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



THE JUDGE'S RETURN

Not one of the six maidens ever remembered a home-coming overclouded as was Judge Fell's on that thundery afternoon of late July. Sadder, darker days lay before them in the years to follow, but none more filled with unacknowledged dread. Was this sad, stern-looking man, who dismounted wearily from his horse at the high arched gate, really their indulgent father? He scarcely noticed or spoke to them, as he tramped heavily towards the house. 'He did not even raise an eye towards the window where my mother sits, as she hath ever sat, to welcome him,' young Margrett noticed. The thunder rumbled ominously overhead. The first big drops fell from the gloomy clouds that had been gathering for hours; while upstairs, in her panelled chamber, a big tear splashed on the delicate cambric needlework that lay between the elder Margaret's fingers, before she laid it aside and descended the shallow, oaken stairs to greet her husband. Margaret Fell looked older and sadder than on the afternoon under the yew-trees, only three weeks before. There was a new shade of care on her smooth forehead: yet there was a soft radiance about her that was also new. Even her voice had gentler tones. She looked as if she had reached a haven, like a stately ship that, after long tossing in the waves, now feels itself safely anchored and at rest.

Happily she has left an account of the Judge's return in her own words, words as fresh and vivid as if they had been written but yesterday, instead of more than two hundred and fifty years ago. We will take up her narrative at the point in Ulverston church at which Judge Fell broke away from Mr. Justice Sawrey when he was telling him the same tale from his point of view, on the glistening sands of the estuary of the Leven.

'And there was one John Sawrey,' writes Mistress Fell, 'a Justice of Peace and professor, that bid the church warden take him [George Fox] away, and he laid hands on him several times, and took them off again, and let him alone; and then after awhile he gave over and he [G.F.] came to our house again that night. He spoke in the family amongst the servants, and they were all generally convinced; as William Caton, Thomas Salthouse, Mary Askew, Anne Clayton, and several other servants. And I was struck into such a sadness, I knew not what to do, my husband being from home. I saw it was the truth, and I could not deny it; and I did as the Apostle saith, "I received truth in the love of it;" and it was opened to me so clear, that I had never a tittle in my heart against it; but I desired the Lord that I might be kept in it, and then I desired no greater portion.'

'He went on to Dalton, Aldingham, Dendron and Ramside chapels and steeple-houses, and several places up and down, and the people followed him mightily; and abundance were convinced and saw that that which he spoke was the truth, but the priests were in a rage. And about two weeks after James Nayler and Richard Farnsworth followed him and enquired him out, till they came to



Swarthmoor, and there stayed awhile with me at our house, and did me much good; for I was under great heaviness and judgment. But the power of the Lord entered upon me within about two weeks that he came, and about three weeks end my husband came home; and many were in a mighty rage, and a deal of the captains and great ones of the country went to meet my then husband as he was coming home, and informed him "that a great disaster was befallen amongst his family, and that they were witches; and that they had taken us away out of our religion; and that he must either set them away, or all the country would be undone." 'So my husband came home, greatly offended; and any may think what a condition I was like to be in, that either I must displease my husband or offend God; for he was very much troubled with us all in the house and family, they had so prepossessed him against us. But James Nayler and Richard Farnsworth were both then at our house, and I desired them both to come and speak to him, and so they did very moderately and wisely; but he was at first displeased with them until they told him "they came in love and goodwill to his house." And after that he had heard them speak awhile, he was better satisfied, and they offered as if they would go away; but I desired them to stay and not go away yet, for George Fox will come this evening. And I would have had my husband to have heard them all, and satisfied himself further about them, because they [i.e. the neighbours] had so prepossessed him against them of such dangerous fearful things in his first coming home. And then he was pretty moderate and quiet, and his dinner being ready he went to it, and I went in, and sate me down by him. And whilst I was sitting, the power of the Lord seized upon me, and he was struck with amazement, and knew not what to think; but was quiet and still. And the children were all quiet and still, and grown sober, and could not play on their musick that they were learning; and all these things made him quiet and still.'

'At night George Fox came; and after supper my husband was sitting in the parlour, and I asked him, "if George Fox might come in?" And he said, "Yes." So George came in without any compliment, and walked into the room, and began to speak presently; and the family, and James Nayler, and Richard Farnsworth came all in; and he spoke very excellently as ever I heard him, and opened Christ's and the apostles' practices, which they were in, in their day. And he opened the night of apostacy since the apostles' days, and laid open the priests and their practices in the apostacy that if all England had been there, I thought they could not have denied the truth of these things. And so my husband came to see clearly the truth of what he spoke, and was very quiet that night, said no more and went to bed. The next morning came Lampitt, priest of Ulverston, and got my husband in the garden, and spoke much to him there, but my husband had seen so much the night before, that the priest got little entrance upon him.... After awhile the priest went away; this was on the sixth day of the week, about the fifth month (July) 1652. And at our house divers Friends were speaking to one another, how there were several convinced hereaways and



we could not tell where to get a meeting: my husband being also present, he overheard and said of his own accord, "You may meet here, if you will:" and that was the first meeting that we had that he offered of his own accord. And then notice was given that day and the next to Friends, and there was a good large meeting the first day, which was the first meeting that was at Swarthmoor, and so continued there a meeting from 1652 till 1690 [when the present Meeting-house, given by George Fox, was built]. And my husband went that day to the steeple-house, and none with him but his clerk and his groom that rid with him; and the priest and the people were all fearfully troubled; but praised be the Lord, they never got their wills upon us to this day.'

George Fox in his Journal also records his first eventful interview with Judge Fell as follows:

'I found that the priests and professors and Justice Sawrey had much incensed Judge Fell against the truth with their lies; but when I came to speak with him I answered all his objections, and so thoroughly satisfied him by the scriptures that he was convinced in his judgment. He asked me "if I was that George Fox whom Justice Robinson spoke so much in commendation of among many of the parliament men?" I told him I had been with Justice Robinson and Justice Hotham, in Yorkshire, who were very civil and loving to me. After we had discoursed a pretty while together, Judge Fell himself was satisfied also, and came to see, by the openings of the spirit of God in his heart, over all the priests and teachers of the world, and did not go to hear them for some years before he died. He sometimes wished I was awhile with Judge Bradshaw to discourse with him.'

This was Judge Bradshaw the regicide, and, coming as it did from such a friend of Cromwell's as Judge Fell, the remark was probably a high compliment.

The following year, 1653, George Fox came again to Swarthmoor, where he says he had 'great openings from the Lord, not only of divine and spiritual matters, but also of outward things relating to the civil government. Being one day in Swarthmoor Hall when Judge Fell and Justice Benson were talking of the news in the newsbook, and of the Parliament then sitting, (called the long Parliament) I was moved to tell them, "before that day two weeks the Parliament should be broken up, and the speaker plucked out of his chair"; and that day two weeks Justice Benson told Judge Fell that now he saw that George was a true prophet, for Oliver had broken up the parliament.' Although Judge Fell never actually joined Friends he was their constant protector and helper, and, in the words of Fox, 'A wall to the believers.' If he did not himself attend the meetings in the great Hall at Swarthmoor, he was wont to leave the door open as he sat in his Justice's chair in his little oak-panelled study close at hand, and thus hear all that was said, himself unseen. How entirely his wife had regained his confidence, and how entirely Lampitt and Sawrey had failed to poison his mind against her or her new teacher, is shown by the following letter written about this time, when the Judge was away on one of his frequent absences.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

It is the only letter to Judge Fell from his wife that has been preserved, but it is ample assurance that no shadow had dimmed the unclouded love of this devoted husband and wife.

'Dear Husband,' Margaret writes, 'My dear love and tender desires to the Lord run forth for thee. I have received a letter this day from you, and am very glad that the Lord carried you on your journey so prosperously.... Dear Heart, mind the Lord above all, with whom is no variableness nor shadow of turning, and who will overturn all powers that stand before Him.... We sent to my dear brother James Nayler and he is kept very close and cannot be suffered to have any fire. He is not free to eat of the jailor's meat, so they eat very little but bread and water. He writ to us that they are plotting again to get more false witnesses to swear against him things that he never spoke. I sent him 2 lb., but he took but 5 [shillings?]. They are mighty violent in Westmorland and all parts everywhere towards us. They bid 5 lb. to any man that will take George anywhere that they can find him within Westmorland.... The children are all in health, praised be the Lord. George is not with us now, but he remembered his dear love to thee....

'Thy dutiful wife till death,

MARGARET FELL.'

'Swarthmoor, Feb. 18, 1653.'

But whether Margaret Fell ever entirely forgave Justice Sawrey for the part he had played in trying to alienate her husband from her, is, to say the least, doubtful. Anyhow, later on she wrote of him as 'a catterpillar which shall be swept out of the way.' And 'swept out of the way' he eventually was, some years later, when it is recorded that 'he was drowned in a puddle upon the road coming from York.' But he was to have time and opportunity to do much harm to Friends, and especially to George Fox, before that happened, as the next two stories will show.

January 26: Francis Gawler of Cardiff had written to [George Fox](#) that Lieutenant General Charles Fleetwood had offered to name his brother John Gawler, who was a justice, a Lieutenant-Colonel in a regiment of militia-foot that was being raised. Friend John Gawler did not wish to be involved in this if there was any objection from the [Quakers](#). His colonel was loving to Friends and very desirous to have them in his regiment, but this was felt at this point by Fox to be “contrary to our principles,” for, Fox pointed out to his correspondent, “our weapons are spiritual and not carnal.” (Fox also advised his correspondent that this was not an appropriate season for tax protests.)

May: Friend [Mary Dyer](#), mother of six, banished from Massachusetts for preaching in the [Quaker](#) mode, returned to Boston to continue her outreach and was condemned to be [hanged](#).⁷⁰



CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

May 24: In Medfield MA, [Friend John Ellis, Sr.](#) and [Joan Clapp Ellis](#) had [Samuel Ellis](#).

70. In general, it was the custom in Massachusetts to dispose of troublesome [Quaikers](#) by [hanging](#) for only three years, from 1659 through 1661. In 1945, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts would rectify this error in this one egregious case by spending \$12,000.⁰⁰ to erect a statue in the memory of this preacher.



“THE LORD HATH SENT ME HERE TO DIE LIKE STEPHEN AT THE FEET OF SAUL”

May 29: Charles II came back, riding on a wave of revulsion against the “immense and boundless liberty” of 1659. For the [Quakers](#) of the realm this year of the return of kingship would prove disastrous.

THIS DAY IN PEPYS'S DIARY

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:

John Evelyn's Diary

This day came in his Majestie Charles the 2d to London after a sad, & long Exile, and Calamitous Suffering both of the King and Church: being 17 years: This was also his Birthday, and with a Triumph of above 20000 horse and foote, brandishing their swords and shouting with unexpressable joy: The wayes straw'd with flowers, the bells ringing, the streetes hung with Tapissry, fountaines running with wine: The Major, Aldermen, all the Companies in their liver[ie]s, Chaines of Gold, banners; Lords & nobles, Cloth of Silver, gold and vellvet every body clad in, the windos and balconies all set with Ladys, Trumpets, Musick, & [myriads] of people flocking the streetes & was as far as Rochester, so as they were 7 houres in passing the City, even from 2 in the afternoone 'til nine at night:

I stood in the strand, & beheld it, & blessed God: And all this without one drop of bloud, & by that very army, which rebell'd against him: But it was the Lords doing, et mirabile in oculis nostris: for such a Restauration was never seene in the mention of any history, antient or modern, since the returne of the Babylonian Captivity, nor so joyfull a day, & so bright, ever seene in this nation: this hapning when to expect or effect it, was past all humane policy.

[Abraham Cowley](#) contributed “Upon the Blessed Restoration and Return of His Sacred Majesty Charles the Second.”



[John Birkenhead](#) had been imprisoned several times during the Commonwealth for his Cavalier royalist loyalty and the incisiveness of his published comments about the vagaries of the Roundhead Parliamentarians. With the Restoration, the ultimate triumph of the Royalists under Charles II, he would be rewarded for his loyalty to the monarchy by being made licenser of the press and joint editor, with Henry Muddiman, of the new official gazette *MERCURIUS PUBLICUS*,

June 1: Friend [Mary Dyer](#) of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) was escorted along a back way about a mile from the jail near what is now Dover Street at Washington Street to the municipal gallows on Boston Neck, at the edge of town on the path leading to Roxbury and life and freedom,



Friend Mary was once again asked politely, whether she could commit that she would go away and stay away.

Nay, I cannot, for in obedience to the will of the Lord, I came, and in his will I abide faithful to the death.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

As Friend Mary's body swung on the [gallows](#) a local wit, [Major-General Humphrey Atherton](#), came up with something to yell out to the rubberneckers. If the minister was not yet strangled into unconsciousness at that point, we may hope that the marvelous and spontaneous summation this Major-General unintentionally uttered could be the last thing she heard.⁷¹

She hangs there as a flag!

71. One wonders whether her husband [William Dyer](#) and her five boys William, Jr., Samuel, Henry, Mahershallalhashbaz, and Charles were present on the occasion of this scheduled public ceremony — the record we have of their lives is entirely silent on this score so the presumption unfortunately may need to be that they had absented themselves, deliberately leaving their errant wife and mother to face the Boston gallows entirely alone; I also do not know whether her Quaker son William, Jr. was at this point already convinced, or became a [Quaker](#) only later. This is the way, however, that historians today fudge the probability that Friend Mary had in her extremity been deserted not only by her husband but also by her offspring: “A small group of colonists had gathered around the walls of the prison in the vain hope of getting word to the prisoner. Earlier, when she had been found talking with friends gathered around her prison window, she had been moved to a remote part of the prison where none could speak or signal to her. All night the faithful band of friends remained outside the walls” (Page 1 of Robert S. Burgess's TO TRY THE BLOODY LAW / THE STORY OF MARY DYER (Burnsville NC: Celso Valley Books, 2000).

Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."



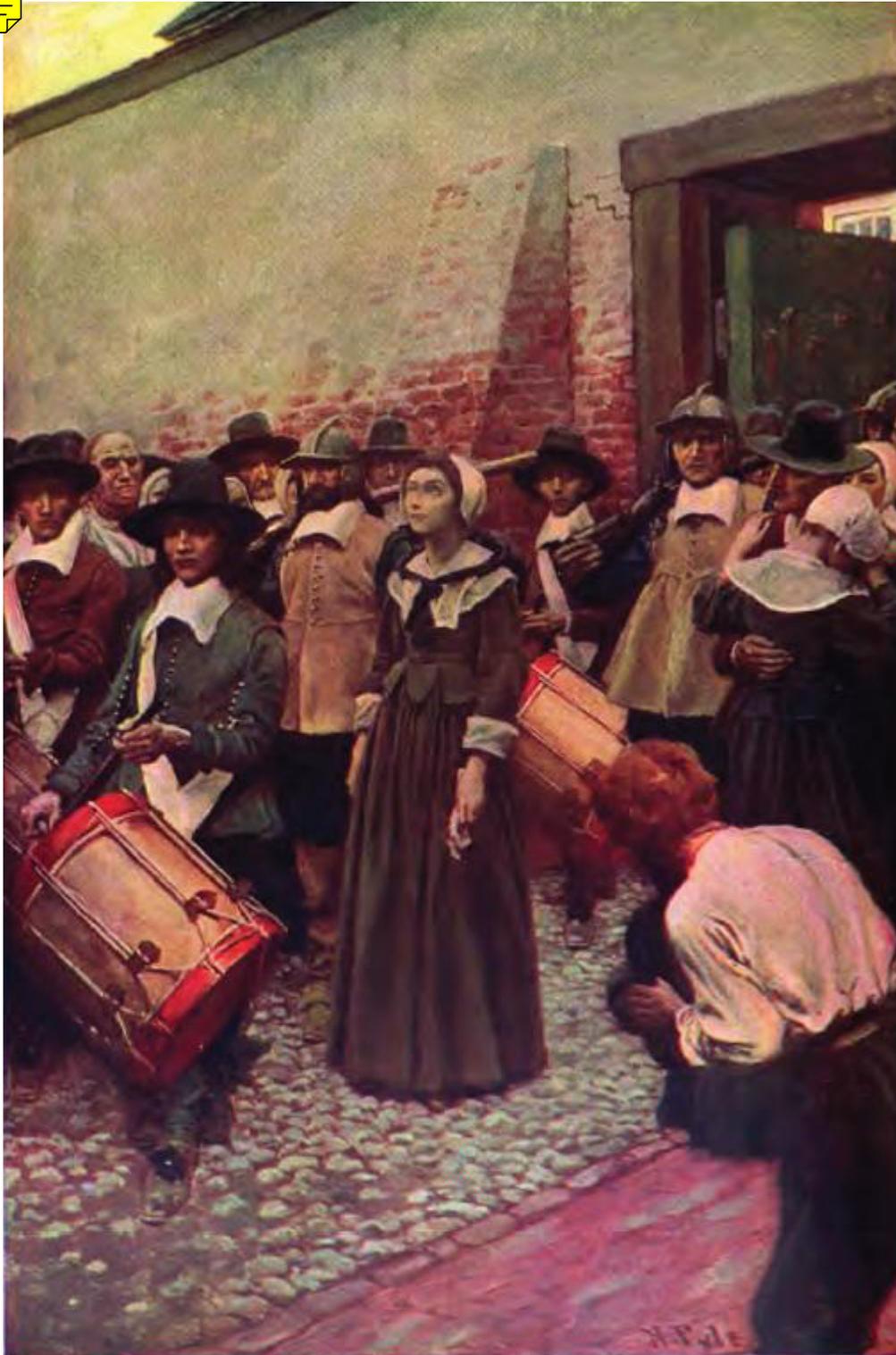
– A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787

"The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows."

—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1601	Tycho Brahe	unsolicited comment	<i>"Let me not seem to have lived in vain."</i>
1618	Sir Walter Raleigh	his wife would embalm his head and keep it near her in a red leather bag	<i>"Strike, man, strike."</i>
1649	Charles I	the chopper was to wait for a signal that the king had prepared himself	<i>"Stay for the sign."</i>
1659	Friend Marmaduke Stevenson and Friend William Robinson	unsolicited comments made over the muting roll of a drum intended to prevent such remarks from being heard	<i>Friend Marmaduke: "We suffer not as evil-doers but for conscience' sake." Friend William: "I die for Christ."</i>
1660	Friend Mary Dyer	asked at her execution whether they should pray for her soul	<i>"Nay, first a child; then a young man; then a strong man, before an elder of Christ Jesus."</i>

... other famous last words ...



'AT HER APPEARING THE MULTITUDE WAS HUSHED, AWED BY THAT AIR SHE WORE''

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SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

They buried the body near where they hanged her, south of Dover Street on the east of what is now Washington Street. Perhaps it is there still — or perhaps not, for an undiseased fresh female cadaver would have been quite a prize for the “resurrectionists” who regularly exhumed such for sale to local physicians.⁷²

A Boston sheriff at the scene, Edward Wanton, after going home and discussing the events of this day with his mother, became a [Quaker](#).⁷³

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August: [Friend](#) Alexander wrote to [Friend](#) [George Fox](#), “better had it been if all had been kept still and Quiet in those times, for because of ye forwardnesse, and want of wisdome in some is one great cause of our present sufferings.”

1661

The Sandwich constable seized (distrained) some whale oil belonging to Lieutenant [John Ellis, Sr.](#), on grounds that Ellis was committing the offense of attending [Quaker](#) meeting.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

When [Friend](#) George Wilson arrived in Massachusetts, he found that [Quaker](#) missionaries were not tolerated. Exiled, he headed south — and in the following year would die in a Virginia prison.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

In a later timeframe, the Reverend William Hubbard would have his own imitable comments on this “lustre of years” in the history of New England.

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

READ HUBBARD TEXT

- Chapter LXIII. The general affairs of New England, from 1656 to 1661.
- Chapter LXIV. Ecclesiastical affairs in New England, from the year 1656 to the year 1661.
- Chapter LXV. The Plantation of New England troubled with the Quakers; Laws made against them by the General Court of the Massachusetts, within the space of this lustre, from 1655 to 1660.
- Chapter LXVI. General affairs of the Massachusetts, from the year 1661 to 1666.

72. I have been indignantly informed via email that [Friend](#) [Mary Dyer](#) was hanged from the Great Elm on Boston Common, because near the Common now there’s a sort of officious monument (but not at the spot where the Great Elm had been located), and the inscription at the base of said monument reads in part: “Witness for Religious Freedom — Hanged on Boston Common 1660 — ‘My life not availeth me in comparison to the Liberty of the Truth.’” QED, this email concluded, the historical record that she was hanged at the gallows on Boston Neck, and her body discarded there, can only be in error.



Chapter LXVII. Ecclesiastical affairs in New England, from the year 1661 to 1666.

[Friend](#) George Rofe, visiting the New World colonies from England, called for all the [Quakers](#) of New England to assemble for a “genrall meeting” on [Aquidneck Island](#). This meeting would last four days and it has been said that this was the origin of the tradition of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).⁷⁴

First publication of [Friend James Nayler](#)’s tract “Milk for Babes, and Meat for strong Men, Treated of. A Feast of Fat Things, and Wine well refined on the Lees, They may come to be made Partakers of.”

MILK FOR BABES, AND MEAT FOR STRONG MEN, TREATED OF. A FEAST OF FAT THINGS,

73. Major-General Atherton would be on his way somewhere on horseback on September 16, 1661,  when he would pass by the spot at which Quakers had ordinarily been being cut loose from the cart behind which they had been lashed through the colony, just before being turned out into the wilderness. At this spot his horse was spooked by a cow and Atherton was thrown hard, striking his head. The bloody-minded among the [Quakers](#) would note with satisfaction as a punishment by God that the officer’s eyes were out of their sockets, he had brain tissue coming out of his nose and blood dripping out of his ears, and his tongue was protruding from between his teeth. (Watch out, ye blasphemers, God’ll get you!)

Michael Crook <mcrook@IGC.APC.ORG> of the Annapolis Friends Meeting has sent me an email of his oral family history to the effect that “A man named Stanton, I’m forgetting whether it was William or John, was captain of the guard that escorted Mary to the gallows. He’s one of my wife’s ancestors. That day, after the hanging, because of the accepting, compassionate and forgiving demeanor of Mary and other Friends, he said to his mother, ‘Mother, we are persecuting the people of God.’ He became a Friend, was persecuted himself, and eventually moved to Rhode Island, where he married into the Gould family.” This could **not** have been a William Stanton, for the only person of this name on the record would have been much too young during 1660 to have served in such an official capacity, and could **not** have been a John Stanton, for there was such a man attending Harvard College during 1661 but in 1676 this man was a soldier rather than a [Quaker](#). We know of a John Stanton but his only recorded marriage was to a Mary Clark. If this man had married into the Gould family, he would have married a daughter of Representative Daniel Gould of [Newport](#), the gentleman who had accompanied Stephenson and Robinson to encourage them as they were being hanged and for that act of sympathy had been “tied to a big gun” and rewarded with thirty lashes in Boston during November 1659. The putative daughter might have been a Mary born on 2 March 1653, or a Priscilla born on 20 June 1661, or a Content born on 28 April 1671 or a Wait born on 8 May 1676 — but we know nothing of any of the marriages of any of these Gould daughters. The name the Kouroo database has, for the sheriff who went home and spoke to his mother after the hanging and turned Quaker, is Edward Wanton. We do not have the names of his parents. This Boston sheriff was by trade a ship-carpenter and in 1660 was of an age to have a young child and another on the way, and shortly after this hanging of Mary Dyer removed from Boston to [Scituate RI](#). Later, the three of his sons whom we have track of lived in three towns in [Rhode Island](#), and one of them became a long-term governor of the colony at a time when many of that colony’s governors were Quakers, but we do not know of any connection between the Wanton family and the Gould family. Thus, this proffered family history seems to be entirely unsupported.



AND

WINE WELL REFINED ON THE LEES,
THEY MAY COME TO BE MADE PARTAKERS OF.

O come young men and maidens, old men and babes, and drink abundantly of the streams that run from the Fountain, that you may feel a well-spring of living water in yourselves, springing up to eternal life; that as He lives (even Jesus Christ) from whence all the springs do come, so you may live also, and partake of His glory that is ascended at the right hand of the Father, far above principalities and powers.

To you tender hearted ones, who have felt the call of the Father's love, who now see more desirableness and beauty in the innocency and meekness, than in the mountains of prey, or self-conceited exaltations arising from the airy knowledge: My soul is with you herein; and in that which has given you a sight of this excellency, wait low, and diligently hearken thereto, until the thing itself spring up, which naturally hath this riches in it, which comes from above, and yet is felt far below all fleshly affections, high thoughts, and hasty desires, and by these is veiled and hid from you; so that you cannot come to the life and spring of it, but as you deny these, and put them off, by sinking down through them, all these earthly foundations and ends, to rise up: For under all these your Beloved suffers, while these are above in your minds, and through the fall of all these must He arise, and over all these take the Kingdom, e're you come to have a quiet dwelling place in Him, and He in you. So under all these must you pass, and into the likeness of His death you must come, and be planted therein, that the fellowship of His sufferings you may feel, and partake of His meekness and patience therein, who bears all things; and your faithfulness with Him therein must be thoroughly proved: In which faith and patience you shall learn Him whom you love, His reproach without, His temptations within, even such trials as cannot be declared to another, shall you learn in Him, with His love, obedience, patience, meekness and long-suffering under all: and how through all these He riseth, in which resurrection He chaineth His enemies, and takes them captive whose captives you were: and thus shall you have fellowship in His resurrection, wherein you shall attain to the resurrection of the dead, and the inheritance of eternal life.

74. The oldest yearly meetings in America other than this one are:
Baltimore (1672)
Philadelphia (1687)
New York (1695)
North Carolina (1698)
Virginia (1702)
Ohio (1813)
Indiana (1821)

The first remaining account we have in our Yearly Meeting Record Book is in the year 1683, which is to say, after 21 years of meetings. Is it possible that these early meetings had gone unrecorded, or have the records merely been lost to the ravages of time?



But dear children, who seek this to attain, think it not strange, when for the attaining hereof you come to be rejected of all, denied, condemned, contradicted, and tempted with all manner of spirits and evils; assaults within and without, with fears and dread, in weakness, watchings and fastings, with tears of sorrow night and day; to be led into the wilderness, and there tempted, tried in the night with great temptations, and see no way out; led on a way you know not, a way of wrath and terror, and passing by the gates of hell, and none to pity you, nor take your part; chastened alone, that you may be proved to the uttermost: And when this you come into, then faint not, nor look back, but lift up your head through all, and know, that now He deals with you as sons and daughters of His love: Take heed you murmur not, nor measure Him with yourselves, nor repine at the rod; cast not your evil eye upon the instruments, who, or what they may be; for that will beget wrath in your minds, and then you will lose the life you aim at, and suffer in vain; but in the greatest floods keep your eye to your Beloved, retain patience and meekness in longsuffering, with faith: Let these be ever in your heart as the end of all; and still believe, that all that befalls you is but to waste that which would hinder you from being joined unto Him you so highly prize. So in all things keep with Him, let His joy be strength unto you in all, and the appearance of His beauty will refresh you in the new, as the old doth waste; and with Him make war against the enmity, and let His love quench all wrath that would arise, let Him be your shield of faith; and whatever you are led into while you retain Him single in your minds, it shall be profitable to the end expected; but without Him you can do nothing: So if you pray to the Father, let it be by Him: in all your wrestlings, His meekness, patience and long-suffering, with faith, prevails much with God. If you resist the tempter, let it be in Him, its His good that only hath power to overcome the evil; and here is your strength in all, if you hold Him steadfast in your minds; in the fire and in the floods He will be with you, and be your power and peace, and make your way through all.

Though at some times the clouds may be so thick, and the powers of darkness so strong in your eye that you see Him not, yet love Him, and believe, and you have Him present; you shall feel His patience calling you down out of the storm, and His meekness leading you to follow Him who hath gone the same way before in all His Saints. This is your Beloved, who now goes before you, hear Him alone; then are you faithful, when you look for no other to be with you in all, not to redeem you out of all but Him who you love: So that though the tempter should tender your relief some other way (for herewith he will prove you, if he see he cannot drive you from the meek and patient One by sufferings and threatening, then will he flatter and promise, to draw you from Him) yet this is your faithfulness, that you abide till meekness and patience bring you out.

For whatever you own for your Redeemer out of trouble, that must be your lord and master, and you're its servant: Wherefore take heed you own none for a helper, but Him whom you look to inherit; so that he that makes flesh his arm, inherits the curse; and the earth comes over him, and he must serve it: But stay you in the meekness of Christ, His peace and patience, and receive the earnest of your inheritance in the day of your trouble; and when you come out, none shall be able to take it from you, nor any contrary nature shall be lord in you, and He shall become your Life and Leader forever.

And being faithful in this trial, you shall learn Christ, and find out the wiles of satan, and perfectly feel what he has of his own in you, to work upon, even by their present working in your minds; For that which thinks sufferings hard, and time long; that is not to be trusted; for it will work in the reasonings a distrust, and tempt to look out for freedom and ease by some visible help; or if it cannot prevail to hunt for freedom, yet if any carnal way be opened, it will form a fair pretence as though it were of God; and this seeks to betray you from the Just and Faithful One, and would part you from your chaste waiting upon Him whom you love, taking his advantage by your haste, weariness and weakness in the journey. But that which only minds to be obedient to God in suffering and acting with faith and diligence, hearkening with all long-suffering, meekness and patience, what He saith, thinking it a greater thing to obtain Counsel from Him, than ease from another, believing that no other can give an expected end but Him, to wit, an inheritance in that you wait for; and therefore count nothing dear that you



may win Him, thinking no time long, nor any thing hard to endure, for the joy and beauty that is set before you: This will never deceive you of the redemption of truth; your Beloved and Redeemer, and Lord, is One, and you shall not be put to your slight shifts as they that go out from the Spirit are; for you shall feel and see your Redeemer in the midst of you, and with His body shall you rise and live, and you shall not be ransomed with silver or gold from the hand of the oppressor, but by the precious blood of Christ, as a Lamb without spot; not with any corruptible thing, but His long-suffering, faith and patience, His love and meek Spirit shall set you out of darkness, and above all fears; and your freedom will be perfect, and inheritance large, when all that would not stay upon Him alone, are consumed in the fiery trials, which haste, ease and distrust, will never bring to an end; till which you are not fit to be joined to Him you love, in everlasting obedience and everlasting praises, the portion of all who have waited on Him, and have found Him faithful to the end.

And having learned this mystery of godliness, and found the worth of it, you having found His way perfect and pure, and Him faithful to such as walk therein, you may be able to direct the simple and unlearned in the desirable way to rest, and your words have in them a manifestation of life, and quickening power is with you, and this shall be your everlasting strength, that you are redeemed with that you so dearly loved.

And this you shall feel in the way, that the more diligently you wait upon Him in all conditions you pass through, even so the more do you receive Him, by drinking in of the heavenly virtue that is in Him, who is the meek and patient One; and by supping continually with Him, and He with you, will you come to be filled with Him, that all haste, and impatience and distrust will be overcome by Him, till He become your whole life; and all your thoughts, words and actions have their rise and being therein; so that self be seen no more, nor that appear in which death and condemnation have any entrance or power. And this shall you find to be the house from above and heavenly city, in which the holy spirits live and walk, and have communion as they come to be perfected; of which the Lamb is the light and salvation, into which none enter, but through His meekness and long-suffering are ransomed, and by faith therein redeemed.

Who being thus builded, see no more sorrow nor fear of falling, the foundation being everlasting, elect and precious, and every stone therein tried in the fire, and in faithfulness chosen for that end.

So with all diligence sink down to feel the election, not minding that which boasts in high words before it be tried, but when it comes into the fore will not stand patient in the trial, but through that being given up to death, seek for that which lies under the suffering, which calls you down from every high thought: To Him come down into the low valley, who bears all things without complaining, that with Him you may suffer, and with Him you may obey, and in all things He may be with you, and you with Him. This is the election, make Him sure to yourselves in life and death; so shall you be changed by Him: And though you go down into a low estate with Him, He shall raise you spiritual; though you are sown weak, yet shall you be raised in power; if you rise not but with Him, as He raises you; if you cast not off the yoke, nor flee the cross, nor heal your own wound; though your wound be mortal, yet the cure is immortal; though you go down in shame and reproach, yet raised in glory, and covered with immortal honor and eternal life, with power and strength to fulfill the will of God, and the answer of a good conscience; through this baptism and resurrection you shall attain, and so become one in spirit with Him that dwells in the light, in death, in suffering, in patience, in faith and in obedience, which otherwise no mortal man can approach to, there being that to be fulfilled which the light requires, which the first man has not in power, so by that law (his life he must lose) which hath power over the transgressor as long as he lives, and cannot be joined to Christ till to that law he be dead; So the first which is earthly the law kills because of sin and want of obedience; but he that is born again of the Spirit, lives because of righteousness and obedience. So the boaster is excluded, being clouded under sin, that the mercy may arise in the meek principle over all, to fulfill all.



The light saith, Love your neighbor as yourself: This the first birth cannot do, so the boaster is excluded, and the law lays hold on that life, which wants this love, and the creature must give up that to death that he may come to the meek Spirit, for the power of that life and obedience that has righteousness in it; and the creature drawing his mind and affections, and faith from the first, who has words without power, and giving these to the second, the first falls, withers, and dies in that vessel, and as the mind is diligent in the second, he rises in the faith, and Christ raises the power of obedience in that vessel, and so as he rises through the law, he brings forth fruits above the law, against which there is no law. So he in whom the covenant is, has the power of obedience to righteousness, puts an end to the law: So he being denied, dead and buried, whose life arose through disobedience, who is the transgressor, and because of whom the law was added, that law becomes dead also. He that fulfills the law is He that gave it forth, and is the end thereof, in whom by faith you live, and inherit this righteousness, as you put Him on through death who is this life. So being faithful to the light, shall you learn Him that kills and makes alive, that casts down and raises up, that condemns and justifies, and so shall know the way of death and the way of life; and who that is that is hardened by the law, and who fulfills it, and the life and end of both; and you will see the cause and end of all tribulations, earthquakes and thunders, and several voices, clouds, smoke and darkness, and great temptations, and the trial of your faith herein will be as that of gold, and will bring to inherit the knowledge of God and eternal life, and power to judge the prince of the air, and over the mystery of iniquity, and to deny the god of this world, with all his snares and traps, wherein the unlearned professors are caught, and held captive at his will, though some of them have a knowledge and form of the truth taught from what others have thus learned, all which you shall judge and have power over, and all ministration under the Son shall with this be comprehended, whether angels or spirits; even he that is faithful and diligent unto the end of this great tribulation, shall be made white, and have judgment committed to him, and the key of David's house, to bind and loose, and shall sit in the Lamb's throne of judgment and righteousness in heaven, and the grave nor hell shall have no more power, nor shall his old iniquities have any more power over him, the strength of sin being dead.

Wherefore, brethren, in the light be faithful when you come into this condition; take heed of unbelief, and haste not out of it, lest you tempt the Lord of your life, and grieve His meek Spirit, and provoke Him to leave chastening, so your spot remain, and you prove but bastards, and not free-born children of His kingdom, power and glory; and so in time your old iniquities overtake you again.

For whatever of the old man comes out of the fire unconsumed, dead and buried in this baptism, will be a continual canker, seeking to eat, and an enemy, daily waiting his opportunity upon all occasions to get up, and overspread the pure Plant of innocency, and so spoil you of your Beloved, and so make void all your sufferings past, and bring in the old evils like a flood upon you, as it has befallen many at this day; but be faithful to the end of all iniquity, the root as well as the branch: So shall your righteousness arise clear and unspotted, and your old sins shall therewith be buried, and never rise again, neither to accuse nor reign. And this is your victory over death.

And this know (whatever others imagine, let none deceive you) that though the evil seed be sown when men sleep, and take root with pleasure, and spring up with ease and delight, yet the end thereof is bitterness and great tribulation, but the precious seed is sown with tears, conceived in sorrow, and brought to light with sighing, nights of watchings, days of mourning, and much labor of spirit; and travail of soul, must you come to see your desire; for though the world have come to conceive a faith in the air, and so brings forth naught but several sorts of winds striving upon the earth, without foundation, and so builds nothing to perfection; yet with you it must not be so, for to you the light is sprung up, which leads to the foundation of God; and you have received a faith that gives you a sight of the Stone which the builders see not; and to you it is given, not only to believe in Him, but to suffer for His sake in the behalf of Him, and so to run as to win Him; so to strive as to obtain Him, His name, His power, His nature; for this is that your souls groan for, to possess and inherit His power, His love, His meekness, His patience in all tribulations, His faith in all fears, and to have the power of His grace and virtue living in you,



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whereby you may be men of able spirits, rightly furnished to every good work, and against all evil, that in Him you may overcome when you are tried, and be more than conquerors. And your work is to war against whatever would keep you from coming to this Foundation and Cornerstone. And it is not beating the air that will fight your battle; for it is against all deceits you are to fight, and airy notions, and all spirits that would possess you with words and forms, without the power of righteousness, and whatever lies under the power of sin; the true light gives you to see the cursed deceit that lies in all this, and that these are the subtle paths of the destroyer; and nothing less than victory over sin and subtlety will satisfy your souls. So that it's only life and power that can give you peace; and therefore yours is work, and not vain words; and that which strikes at the root of sin is your best weapon. So it is not flesh that profits you, it's the Spirit that must quicken through hardship, that which ease has slain, e're you come to perfect peace.

For though the scriptures speak of a child that is heir of all things, and gives this inheritance to all in whom He is formed, whose name is wonderful in counsel and strength, yet is not this brought forth without hard labor and travail, and the pangs of death gone through; for when you come to the Lord for counsel, and feel that there is two manner of seeds in the womb, then will you see that great work is to be done e're you come to rest; There is the strong man to be bound, before the Babe can reign; and strongly is he armed with all manner of wiles to save himself; and it's not words and thoughts that will cast out the Mother and her son, which must not inherit: And this must be done, or all is in vain. He that is born of the flesh is in bondage to things here below; this cannot inherit immortality, for sin hath power in him; and die he must that the Son of righteousness may arise to life in you, and bring your life to light with Him, as He appears; and though the light be above the transgressor, yet the Son is lowly that gives it.

So being faithful in the light, which from the Son comes, which condemns all the lofty ways of the first born, you will be led thereby into ways lowly, to cross your life in the first birth, through watchings and fastings, and great tribulations (into which the Spirit will lead you) whereby the false birth must be famished; for there is nothing for the lust to live on, nor for that wisdom to walk in that loves itself, or seeks its ease and pleasure. Then be faithful to your Guide, however he storms that is to be destroyed.

And with all diligence press into that which calls the wandering mind, and give heed with watching and wrestling to get abiding therein, which as you are faithful therein, it will be enlarged, till it become a habitation for your pure minds to dwell in, and take up its rest, which has been tossed to and fro as in a wilderness, and by killing in the watch all that would draw you out, and sinking down into this meekness and steadfast lowliness, you will come to feel the Plant of God that brings forth this meekness and holiness, and springs of living virtue; and there will you meet the Lord in His kingdom on earth, where He delights to walk, as in a garden; for in these things He delights, and in such as delight therein; and there wait to feel His fellowship, and to receive His counsel in purity and coolness, in which He will let you see whatever it be that would break His covenant with you, and whatever leadeth out from the eternal life; and will, with His Spirit lead you out to war against it, in which spiritual war being faithful, you shall not fail of victory, till every cumbrance in your minds be cast out, and so heavenliness become a quiet habitation, that in the meek Spirit you may feed upon the heavenly food, and not to have that ravenous earthly spirit to steal and devour it from the soul.



And as you get an entrance into this heavenly mansion, so diligently watch, and in the light stand armed against the thief, and keep out whatever of his would enter into your affections or desires, under what pretence soever; for if it enter into your affections, it will steal away your minds from this pure innocent Plant, and this is adultery, treachery and whoredom, which you must wrestle against in the power of His love. And with willingness of mind to put off all the old idols out of your affections, whatever has any place there; for by the entrance of that through lust, has the Son of righteousness suffered, and the innocent been slain; and until that be condemned and cast out, which has come over the Just in your affections, the Son of righteousness arises not into His kingdom, who must give you entrance into His holy habitation, and must fulfill all righteousness before the full enjoyment be: which work you stop, while you retain the unrighteous, having a seat in your heart uncondemned and cast out. And hence it is that many seek to enter, but are not able, the cursed thing not being cast out, which can have no place in God's kingdom, with which the Just has not communion, nor the temple of God with idols.

And this I say to you, which is a learned truth in this journey, that if you either retain your old lovers, or suffer any thing now to enter your affections, or draw out your mind from this pure plant of righteousness and truth, you shall in no wise in that state enter into the kingdom of heaven; for this is the Way, and you must make your entrance: Therefore fight against whatever would draw you from it, and with violence break through it, and take the kingdom; for only he that has been faithful in the baptism of John, in order to fulfill all righteousness, shall receive power to press into the kingdom. And when you come here, you will find violent powers to keep you out, which with the Lamb in war must be overcome violently; for the strong man having got a possession within, is not easily bound and cast out, for it is a spiritual wickedness, and in high places, with which you are to wrestle: Therefore a heavenly virtue contrary thereto, and of greater power must give you the victory.

So press into the heavenly Spirit with its power, to overcome the earthly spirit with its powers; strive earnestly in the meek spirit, to obtain a measure of faith and patience, larger than the temptation, and that will endure to the end of it, a meekness and love to cover all strife and wrath, a long-suffering to famish all haste, and that which seeks its own ease; and so in all things with desire, drinking in of the heavenly virtue from above, whereby you may become strengthened with all might to stand all assaults of the enemy, within or without; and so in the cross come to put on Christ Jesus, the great power of God unto salvation, and Well-spring of eternal life and glory; which is done by sinking down into the heavenly feeling, contrary to the will of the exalted life, whereby you will be overshadowed from above, from whence the Savior is looked for, to overcome things below.

And as you come into the feeling of these virtues, hold them fast, till He come who is the fullness, and with that you have, wrestle against whatever would draw out your minds from it; for with that of Him must you make war against whatever is contrary thereto. And as you are faithful to abide therein, you will feel every high thing fall before you; for that which cleanses the vessel of all corrupt things, is your weapon, and that which springs up in a contrary nature to the corrupt, is your life; the beholding whereof, as it arises, and keeping your eye constant in the faith and hope of attaining His fullness, will make your work the work of love, your obedience delightful, and all your sufferings easy, and your loss of your former glory will, in that eye, appear great gain. And this is your acceptable service, and that faith which works by love, which avails much with God, and being followed, overcomes the world, and sets free from it in all things.

So with the light mind to be led down into that life that is not of this world; come to Him that seeks not Himself, who has not His rest in things on earth, who is rejected of men, denied of His own kindred, and forsaken of all; and as you come to Him, you will come to be proved, whether you can forgo all these for Him alone, and that He may make His appearance in you, and cover you with Himself, His contempt and reproach, and His patient power to bear all; for it's He that can bear all things, that shall never be moved; And he that thus overcomes, shall know the White Stone, and that Rock which breaks the nations, but builds the house of God.



But in all your journey take heed of the adulterous mind, for it secretly devours the precious life: wherefore take heed of that which looks out, give not way to that eye not for a moment; for if you consent to it upon any pretence whatsoever, you enter into a covenant therewith against the holy seed, to destroy the chaste mind; but whether it be rough or smooth, yet hold it as an enemy; and that which if it get in by consent, must be got out by suffering double to the delight it brings with it: But if as an enemy you withstand it, by constant and patient resistings, it will flee, and grow weaker upon every assault, and He that gives you victory will grow more in your esteem and delight.

Wherefore think it not strange (so long as any of the old leaven is within, unpurged out) that the nearer you draw to God in the lowly suffering meekness, the deeper you sink into tribulation, and your sufferings increase upon the fleshly part, for that is the Son's way to perfection; and the wondrous works of the Father are learned in the deep; for by the hand of God upon you (being faithful in suffering to the end) shall you see the old foundation of the world, the root and off-spring of all wickedness, how it came to be laid, and how the Lamb was slain, and what He is, and the Foundation of God shall you see and feel, upon which the Saints were raised up, and built in the Spirit; and how all the chaff, hay and stubble comes to be cleansed off, for His fan is in His hand, and the words of His mouth are a consuming fire to that nature, which refines the gold and quickens the soul, and divides the clean from the unclean. And the nearer you draw to God, the nearer will He draw to you in righteousness, and judgment, and truth, to make an end of sin, and bring in everlasting righteousness, and to establish you in His inheritance, who appear in His temple through the refiners fire and fullers soap, the end of all sufferings, and entrance into everlasting joy, purity and peace, and weight of eternal glory, to which there is no other way but through affliction.

But as you come down to the Foundation of God, watch with all fear and diligence, that nothing exalt you, or lift you up in mind, conceit or comprehension, above the foundation you are builded upon; for many temptations of haste, will present themselves with fears and distrust, to get you from off the Foundation of life: But if you keep lowly, steadfast and faithful thereto, by it you shall be raised out of the pit, and set above the earth. And for that end it is laid within you, that in Spirit you may be built thereon in order like the Cornerstone, a new man, not the same that goes down; and none know the way of His rising, but as he keeps to the Foundation, and minds the Head of the corner, which as you diligently mind, you shall know the sure foundations of the holy city, even from the word of the beginning of Christ, as you grow to perfection, not laying again the foundation of repentance, and of faith towards God, the doctrines of baptisms, and of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment.

And as with the foundation of life and power you come to be edified, you will be led out of the dominions of death, where you shall learn wherein it has its power; and so come to see what binds and what looses, kills and makes alive; the life of the law, the life of the Prophets, and the life of the Apostles, as they passed before you, will you come to know, there inheritance therein to possess, and with them in spirit have fellowship, as they passed the time of their pilgrimage here, that to the life of Christ you may come, for the fulfilling of the word of God, which endures from generation to generation; This being the end of all the travels of the souls of righteous men and women here below, which that they might attain the fulfilling thereof, and so return in peace to Him that made them, clothed on with their heavenly house, for which prize they counted all things loss here below, casting off earthly pleasures, and killing every affection thereto, estranged therefrom in all their walking while they are here, knowing that the love to earthly things is the enemy of their spiritual ascending, and that the earthly adulterous spirit daily hunts to devour the precious life, and to keep the soul in things below, presenting daily its carnal delights, and opening the paths of the destroyer, with pleasures to the carnal eye, which whosoever joins to, cannot ascend into the heavenly inheritance, but with the dark world daily go downward, who are degenerated from the life of God, and estranged from it even from the womb: So that they in that state are never able to attain the knowledge of God, nor in truth and righteousness to call Him Father, nor to say they came out from Him, nor even to Him can return; this they being willingly ignorant of, that as no man has ascended up to heaven, but He that came down from heaven, so no more shall any man so ascend, but he who is born not of the corruptible seed, nor begotten by the word of God, which lives and abides forever.



But with you it is not so, who feel the heavenly motion, drawing your minds out of all earthly delights, the taste of the heavenly life overcoming the earthly in your affections; so that to the world you die daily; you feel something quickened in you, that cannot feed on earthly pleasures, but hungers after righteousness, and sees a beauty in holiness, and thirsts daily after the heavenly virtue. So to that sink down into its likeness, which is yet in suffering, and suffer and hunger with it, and join to it in all its counsel; so that in it you may be raised; for that is it which is on the Foundation of God, and coming to Him as a Living Stone, you will be built on the same Foundation, the Same Spirit being your Head, by whose arising all veils will be done away, the veil of death, the veil of the law and prophets, and the whole mystery of godliness will be unsealed, and the way to heaven opened by Him, even the slain Lamb, who has His power from the midst of the throne of God, even for you, if you join with Him in His sufferings and ascendings, who makes the way between heaven and earth, and keeps it open in all them who mind Him, therewith to possess the vessel in holiness and fear towards God; so that nothing shall hinder your prayers from coming to the throne of God, nor the dew and blessing of heaven from falling upon the seed. And here is heaven opened, and the way of grace and salvation, for the wayfaring man here on earth to walk in; in which if you wholly exercise your minds, you shall not err, nor shall anything be able to hinder you from receiving gifts from the Father, so long as nothing of a contrary nature stops His Own from arising to Him in praises, and you with it.

So let nothing cut off your communion with God in that measure you already have received, but let the breathings of your souls and your hearts be continually opened towards Him, and therein you shall not only receive, but become faithful improvers of what you have, by the blessing that is in the covenant, that is with all that love Him that dwell in the light: For where the conversation is in heaven, there the earth becomes fruitful.

Wherefore give all diligence, that nothing entangle your affections here below, or stop your heavenly mind from its constant ascending; for that which would be the spirit of bondage which has got power, by letting some carnal thing in upon you, to press you down: Which spirit waits upon you continually, to oppose the heavenly life, and get above it in your minds, and so as a weight beset you in your way, lest that which comes from heaven should have free passage through a clear vessel to heavenly Seed, free from cares, cumbrances and earthly pleasures, and from earth to the heavens; for it is He that comes from above, which declares to man his way and his wants, presents his prayers, and receives the answer; and by Him alone does God work all His works in you, and for you, in heaven and in earth. Now if you join to another, and give your strength of heart and mind to His enemy, then the work of God ceases, the way being stopped; for the adulterer, the covetous, the idolater, the wanton, the slothful, or whatever of that nature you join to, your consent gives him strength to stop the way of life: And this is your condemnation, witnessed with the light; and herein had death its power at the first, which can be no head, but where he is hearkened to, let in or obeyed (but being resisted, flees) but being let in, he seats himself in the heavenly place, with much policy and power, and is not easily got out, nor seen to be what he is. So when you feel your way darkened, or affections grow cold towards heaven, then take heed with all diligence in the pure light to search, for your enemy has got some entrance, which by faithful and patient waiting in the light you will come to see, and through the power of the cross to kill that life, and cast out that in which it was conceived, for that must not abide in the house with Him, that is Heir of the heavenly inheritance, but is an enemy to His coming; for it is he that lets, till he be taken out off the way, which while he is in the way, dulls the affections, and clogs the heavenly mind, that it cannot ascend. Wherefore that which you have received of the Holy One, His Unction, hold fast till He come, and with it stand armed against whatever would enter, to lead out to any outward observations; but with all diligence observe that which you have of His in spirit, which the adversary seeks so



much to draw you forth from, lest you should increase your Lord's money, and herein you maintain your daily watch, and war with that you have of life and power, and not with that you have not: So are you faithful stewards, and are accepted in what you have, and not in what you have not; for the world is in darkness, and so wait for they know not what, and have no ground for their faith, nor power to prepare His way to His coming, further than words of others, or their own conceivings, but are not in Him that is true; but you are in Him that is true, who have His light received, and are in it to observe His appearance in all things; and the messenger of His covenant you know, who goes before His face to prepare His way, turning your heart from every evil way, and out of the paths of the destroyer, that you may be fruitful upon earth, that so He may receive you into Himself, when He comes to smite the earth with a curse, which that which brings forth briers and thorns is nigh unto, whose seed is not of himself, his root and off-spring, but is begot in the adulterous mind.

For the mind feeding from without upon any knowledge, form, or observation (but what the Life leads to in spirit and power) is the ground of the mystery of iniquity, and the woman of witchcraft, which hunts for the precious life of the holy Child, seeking to draw your strength of affections from Him after the harlot, that so He may fall and die daily in your hearts and affections, while the lust goes out to another, covered with some fair pretence, whereby the worldly spirit gathers strength daily, as you shall feel who are watchful and diligent in the spiritual war, so shall that truth appear to you; that as your love waxes cold, so will iniquity abound, with an unresistable power, whatever you think to the contrary, which is not in the Life; Or whatever you believe without that faith which works by love to the life of truth: So let your wrestling be into the power and life of God, and thereon feed, and your life shall endure forever, and your strength and virtue shall be daily renewed. But you read of some who had the form of knowledge, and of the truth, but being out of the life of this truth, held the truth in unrighteousness; and such when they knew God did not glorify Him as God in their life: So He gave them up, who became vain in their imaginations, who retained not the life in the knowledge, turned the truth of God into a lie: So that knowledge could not keep them from being filled with unrighteousness, which stood not in the life and power of righteousness, and who received not that truth in that faith which loves to live the life of it.

Wherefore let your food be in the life of what you know, and in the power of obedience rejoice, and not in what you know, but cannot live, for the life is the bread for your souls, which crucifies the flesh, and confounds that which runs before the cross. So let your labor and diligence be in that which presses into the heavenly Being, and seeks a conformity to Christ in obedience of what you believe, and hearken in love to that, not in that mind which would save your own lives, nor feed you where you are; but in love to that which separates you from self-life, and changes you into His life whom you wait for from above; so in receiving His commands in that which loves to be like Him in life, your faith works by love: That faith works obedience, quickness and willingness, it works out the old, and works into the new; and so through the hope of that which you love, and obedience of faith, the entrance is made with the life, into the holy kingdom, and the immortal glory is put on, which in the light is seen, and in the life is obtained, as with the word of faith the separation is made, and the first birth put off, whose life is without the vail, and is for death, with that life which makes the entrance through His blood, and through His flesh, a living way, a way of life, a new way to all who are seeking the door in old ordinances and traditions, and outward observations, feeding their minds with thinking or talking of what others did long since, or what may be done in times to come, and so are in times, but out of that life which endures forever, and only has the promise of the Father, and power to make the entrance to Him, from whom all the world are driven, who are in the lust, and in that nature which loves itself, and works iniquity; yet wearying themselves to find the door, without the light of that life which is not of this world.



And as you mind only to feed on the Plant of life, you will come to know the work of the Father in His vineyard, and who the faithful laborer is, and what must be his work; and the slothful servant, and what his work brings forth; and the cause why the field of the sluggard is over-grown with evil fruits, and why his vineyard brings not fruit to perfection. For you will find many plants besides the tree of life, all which seek to be fed and strengthened in the mind and affections, and many grown trees tall and strong, who have got fast rooting, spread and bring forth abundantly after their several kinds; and all these present themselves to the eye of the mind, to be fed from thence, which is as the feet fetching food from far, without which they cannot live long, but must pine away and fall, as they die in the affections, and as the mind is withdrawn from such objects as they are fed withal. So the work of him that is faithful is to number these to the ax, and to the fire, and not to suffer these any place in the mind, how strongly soever they tempt, and try every way to spread root to keep life; that so through the death of these, the vine may grow alone in the clean affections, and holy mind, and honest chaste heart, which is the good ground, and where the pure Plant will bring forth of itself in all, where it is not cumbered with that which is contrary to it; which contrary fruits all that mind the light may see: But the sluggard not being diligent to dig up the root, as well as to condemn the fruit, therefore they are daily growing, and the good ground is cumbered with them; and such know what they should do, but are not able to abide therein, their life being lost in the midst of this wilderness, and over-grown with wild plants.

But you being diligent in your watch, you will see that the cause of all your troubles and confusion (when you come to the true labor indeed) is nor for nothing; for you will find many plants of several kinds (for the world is in the heart of man, and the heart in the earth, as he is driven out from God.) And every kind has its several life, which lives have their several feedings, all which you may feel in the light, by their temptings to lead out your minds; and though they are of several motions, and live upon several objects, yet the least of them being fed by consent in your mind, will overrun the vine, and in time bury it, by growing up in your affections: Wherefore all must come down, that truth alone may arise in your affections, and the word of life have place in your hearts, who is purer then to dwell in the adulterous mind, and whose eye cannot behold iniquity, who hath no communion with darkness, nor fellowship where any idol stands in the temple.

So this is your faith in your labor, even that which overcomes the world, and suffers nothing thereof to take place in your minds, but with the Spirit of life to watch, and wrestle against every lust, and kill every affection that would go out for food; for whatever goes out, betrays the innocent; and every pleasure of the flesh, as a canker, does eat out the life of the Holy and Just One; but by faith the Just lives; and in faithfulness does He judge, and make war against all His enemies, in every one who are exercised therewith.

And in this work mind what you follow; follow nothing rashly, but prove all things with fire; and that which will not endure the temptation, and bear the cross, is the adulteress who will look out every way for ease; and the serpent will present many likely ways to her under fair pretences, which she that would live at ease, will hastily hearken to; and if you hearken to her, you will betray the work of life, which is bringing forth in hard travail and labor, which is slain in the birth, where ease and sloth is consented to; and with living at ease and pleasure, has the life been slain from the beginning of the world, and has been kept under by her sorceries, who fares deliciously upon earth; and by consenting to her pleasures has the election been lost, and covered with the seed of wickedness, which God hates, which wars after the flesh, and lusts after the flesh, to strengthen itself above the holy spiritual Seed; but minding to make that sure to you which calls in your mind, and being obedient thereto, it will lead down by the power of the cross, through that which is above, to the feeling of the election; and a separation being made between that which God chooses in His working-power, and what He condemns, you will come thereby to know to what to join, and from what to withdraw, that you may be workers together with Him, and not against Him, which the subtle one will lead you to do, till with the light the separation be made; and so joining to it in faith and obedience, the election will arise, and by diligence thereto it will be made sure.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

And once feeling the innocent to move under the Oppressor, give yourselves no rest until the strong man bow; for with great plagues upon that nature, and with a strong hand against that will, must the Seed of promise be redeemed from under his power, which like Pharaoh, if he get but rest, will not let Israel go from under his power; and if you keep with the Spirit, and hearken low, it will let you see what must be the plagues you must pour upon him, till he be brought down, that a little Child may lead him, and reign over him; and he that was oppressed by the beast, may ride upon him: And as that nature got head and strength by having its lusts fulfilled, so it must be subdued by having its lusts famished, which if you be not faithful to the Seed of God herein, you sell your birth-right, and betray your own redemption, and are found deceitful workers against God and your own souls.

Wherefore run not with that which is in haste, but lie down in that which is meek, lowly and patient, that which is willing to wait the Father's time, and seeks to obtain by the obedience of faith, and not in the will that would have its own hand: For a nature there is which runs for help, and ravens abroad to be satisfied, which God will famish; and this will seek to lead the mind, if it be followed, and will hunt about and murmur if it be not satisfied: This goeth about the city, but enters not; and this must suffer hunger, and feel the Lamb's wrath, and plagues upon the head thereof, what way soever it turns, till it bow and come under, which it will not till it be pined with famine, and wearied upon the mountains of prey; then shall the lion lie down with the lamb, and a little Child lead to rest, and no ravenous beast shall take his feeding from him. But in this work take heed that you be not betrayed with that spirit, for it is very subtle, to run to the one hand or the other, either into eagerness and haste, which is its first way after convincement; Or else, when it gets not its ends there, then into sloth and idle carelessness, and both these keep it alive in strength above the Seed; but a straight way there is between these, in which the Seed arises; which is a diligent, watchful, patient, meekness, feeling the godly principle moving and following it in faith and obedience in all things without haste or ends, further than what is opened in the life of obedience, constantly diligent lest anything slip out of the mind, which is freely given for practice or teaching; for only the diligent mind holds the true living treasure; but the slothful and disobedient are leaking vessels.

So as wise in the light, prove your freedom, from that nature which is high, and fierce, and hasty, or any way above the meekness, for therein stands your perfect redemption, to know that you are not servants to that nature; for it's the same that hastens into the greediness after worldly things, and fears, and distrusts, if it has not in its sight and possession what it lusts after; which being convinced of an inheritance in heaven, would have that also in all haste by sight; but not through faith, patience and obedience; which if it may not obtain into its own sight, and in its own way and time, it will be ready to faint and distrust, and this will never strip himself of all, in hopes of an inheritance it has not seen; so this is in bondage, and not to be heir: But the just live by faith, whose birth is free from this world, and your redemption for the other into the leadings of this, which will bring to the inheritance of the purchased possession.

Wherefore prove your freedom in all things, that you may not glory in vain, but in the liberty of Sons: Do not say, All things are lawful, all things are pure, &c. And so sit down and say, You are redeemed, and have right to all; but first pass through all things, one after another, as the light leads you; and with a true measure see, if you be from under the power of any; when you have proved this throughout all things, and found your freedom, then may you say, All things are lawful, and know what is expedient, and what edifies yourselves and others, and the rest to reign over, without bondage thereto: And this is the liberty of the Sons of the new creation, born again, not in bondage; whose liberty is glorious above all visible things; and these are the pure, to whom all things are pure, and hold fast only that which is good, and the rest are free from.



And this ever mind, that whatever freedom you obtain through the suffering and patience of Christ in spirit, you part not with it to please the flesh, but hold it as your everlasting possession purchased for you, not with corruptible things; so that which is dearly purchased, let not lightly go, but remember Israel, who was redeemed out of Egypt with much hardships, and many signs and sufferings, but soon in haste got up that which said, Let us return back again; and this grieved God above all: And this you will find ready to rise upon every further hardship and want, as it was with them. Wherefore stand fast in that which you have proved to be liberty indeed, and by no means look back nor hanker to that which is behind, to let it overtake you again: Remember Lot's wife; and the wrath of God will ever be upon that mind which looks back into old things, which are judged in the light, and led out of with the life: Wherefore stand single in your minds to follow nothing new or old, but what the Holy Spirit leads into; for the work is a work you know not, nor the way do you know, but as it is learned in the obedience by which the soul is purified and cleared by purging out the old earthly leaven, which has darkened the temple of God, and God's work is not seen in that nature.

Wherefore give all diligence to the Spirit's motion and leadings, what it moves against, and what it leads to; for now will God make all things new: A new creation, new heavens, and new earth, and new heart and mind, and a new law, a new man to walk therein with his Maker with cheerfulness, and the old bonds are broken by the Spirit's leading, and to serve in newness of spirit. And as you mind the pure leadings of the Spirit, and willingly follow and obey, you will come to know your Creator in the days of your youth, and how He made the worlds by His holiness; and how He is your Father, and in what: and how He begets you again into the heavenly delights, who was gone out from Him, and drove into the earth with your hearts and affections, and so those will lead out still further from God, if you look into them, but can never come into God again, but must die, and be changed by the Spirit; and the New Creature is accepted of God, the new heart and mind, and spirit, which is renewed after God, by following of His Spirit who creates Him.

And this work will be darkened to your understand, if your minds come not clear out of the old, into the new: For wrath will arise, and confusion will be to that mind which is double, where the eye is not single, kept forward in the belief of the Spirit only, but looks back into the loss, and to that which is dying and condemned; there is the smoke, and darkness, and torment, and temptations, being enticed back into the old: But if the eye be single, the whole body is full of light, and the faith arises to endure to the end of the world, and to look to the beginning and finishing of the new work of regeneration. And standing single to God herein, though the world pass away with thundering, earthquakes, and a mighty noise, yet shall ye not fear nor faint, abiding in the meek, patient, and suffering Spirit, and the leadings of that which endure all things to win Christ: And coming out of Babel, you shall not fall with her, nor be darkened with the smoke of her torments, as all that abide in her must, and of her plagues must partake: but the pure mind rejoices over her in the midst of all.

**“Thou shalt guide me with Thy counsel,
and afterward receive me to glory.”
(Psalm 73:24)**



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

The Clarendon Code: the “Cavalier” Parliament of King Charles II enacted a series of repressive laws against the English Nonconformists. (Meanwhile, on the opposite side of the globe, the English were acquiring Bombay.) During this year and the following one, Friend [George Fox](#) would be experiencing many labors, dangers, and sufferings:

I stayed at Pall-Mall, intending to be at the meeting there; but on Seventh-day night a company of troopers came and knocked at the door. The servant let them in. They rushed into the house, and laid hold of me; and, there being amongst them one that had served under the Parliament, he put his hand to my pocket and asked whether I had any pistol. I told him, "You know I do not carry pistols, why, therefore, ask such a question of me, whom you know to be a peaceable man?" Others of the soldiers ran into the chambers, and there found in bed Esquire Marsh, who, though he was one of the King's bedchamber, out of his love to me came and lodged where I did. When they came down again they said, "Why should we take this man away with us. We will let him alone."

"Oh," said the Parliament soldier, "he is one of the heads, and a chief ringleader."

Upon this the soldiers were taking me away, but Esquire Marsh, hearing of it, sent for him that commanded the party, and desired him to let me alone, for he would see me forthcoming in the morning.

In the morning, before they could fetch me, and before the meeting was gathered, there came a company of foot soldiers to the house, and one of them, drawing his sword, held it over my head. I asked him why he drew his sword at an unarmed man, at which his fellows, being ashamed, bade him put up his sword.

These foot soldiers took me away to Whitehall before the troopers came for me.

As I was going out several Friends were coming in to the meeting. I commended their boldness and cheerfulness, and encouraged them to persevere therein.

When I was brought to Whitehall, the soldiers and people were exceedingly rude, yet I declared Truth to them. But some great persons came by, who were very full of envy. "Why," said they, "do ye let him preach? Put him into a place where he may not stir."

So into such a place they put me, and the soldiers watched over me. I told them that, though they could confine my body and shut that up, yet they could not stop the Word of life. Some came and asked me what I was. I told them, "A preacher of righteousness."

After I had been kept there two or three hours, Esquire Marsh spoke to Lord Gerrard, and he came and bade them set me at liberty. The marshal, when I was discharged, demanded fees. I told him I could not give him any, neither was it our practice; and I asked him how he could demand fees of me, who was innocent.

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EARLY QUAKERISM

Then I went through the guards, the Lord's power being over them; and, after I had declared Truth to the soldiers, I went up the streets with two Irish colonels that came from Whitehall to an inn where many Friends were at that time prisoners under a guard. I desired these colonels to speak to the guard to let me go in to visit my friends that were prisoners there; but they would not. Then I stepped up to the sentry, and desired him to let me go up; and he did so.

While I was there the soldiers went again to Pall-Mall to search for me; but not finding me they turned towards the inn, and bade all come out that were not prisoners; so they went out. But I asked the soldiers that were within whether I might not stay there a while with my friends. They said, "Yes." I stayed, and so escaped their hands again. Towards night I went to Pall-Mall, to see how it was with the Friends there; and, after I had stayed a while, I went up into the city.

Great rifling of houses there was at this time to search for people. I went to a private Friend's house, and Richard Hubberthorn was with me. There we drew up a declaration against plots and fightings, to be presented to the King and Council; but when finished, and sent to print, it was taken in the press.

On this insurrection of the Fifth-monarchy men, great havoc was made both in city and country, so that it was dangerous for sober people to stir abroad for several weeks after. Men or women could hardly go up and down the streets to buy provisions for their families without being abused. In the country they dragged men and women out of their houses, and some sick men out of their beds by the legs. Nay, one man in a fever, the soldiers dragged out of bed to prison, and when he was brought there he died. His name was Thomas Pachyn.

Margaret Fell went to the King and told him what sad work there was in the city and nation, and showed him we were an innocent, peaceable people, and that we must keep our meetings as heretofore, whatever we suffered; but that it concerned him to see that peace was kept, that no innocent blood might be shed.

The prisons were now everywhere filled with Friends and others, in the city and country, and the posts were so laid for the searching of letters that none could pass unsearched. We heard of several thousands of our Friends that were cast into prison in several parts of the nation, and Margaret Fell carried an account of them to the King and Council. The next week we had an account of several thousands more that were cast into prison, and she went and laid them also before the King and Council. They wondered how we could have such intelligence, seeing they had given such strict charge for the intercepting of all letters; but the Lord did so order it that we had an account notwithstanding all their stoppings.

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Soon after the King gave forth a proclamation that no soldiers should search any house without a constable. But the jails were still full, many thousands of Friends being in prison; which mischief was occasioned by the wicked rising of the Fifth-monarchy men. But when those that were taken came to be executed, they did us the justice to clear us openly from having any hand in or knowledge of their plot.

After that, the King being continually importuned thereunto, issued a declaration that Friends should be set at liberty without paying fees. But great labour, travail, and pains were taken before this was obtained; for Thomas Moore and Margaret Fell went often to the King about it.

* Much blood was shed this year, many of the old King's judges being hung, drawn and quartered. Amongst them that so suffered, Colonel Hacker was one. He had sent me prisoner from Leicester to London in Oliver's time, of which an account is given before. A sad day it was, and a repaying of blood with blood. For in the time of Oliver Cromwell, when several men were put to death by him, being hung, drawn and quartered for pretended treasons, I felt from the Lord God that their blood would be required; and I said as much then to several.

And now, upon the King's return, several that had been against him were put to death, as the others that were for him had been before by Oliver. This was sad work, destroying people; contrary to the nature of Christians, who have the nature of lambs and sheep. But there was a secret hand in bringing this day upon that hypocritical generation of professors, who, being got into power, grew proud, haughty, and cruel beyond others, and persecuted the people of God without pity.

When Friends were under cruel persecutions and sufferings in the Commonwealth's time, I was moved of the Lord to write to Friends to draw up accounts of their sufferings, and lay them before the justices at their sessions; and if they would not do justice, then to lay them before the judges at the assize; and if they would not do justice, then to lay them before the Parliament, the Protector and his Council, that they might all see what was done under their government; and if they would not do justice, then to lay it before the Lord, who would hear the cries of the oppressed, and of the widows and fatherless whom they had made so.

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For that for which we suffered, and for which our goods were spoiled, was our obedience to the Lord in His Power and His Spirit. He was able to help and to succour, and we had no helper in the earth but Him. And He heard the cries of His people, and brought an overflowing scourge over the heads of all our persecutors, which brought a dread and a fear amongst and on them all. So that those who had nicknamed us (who are the children of Light) and in scorn called us Quakers, the Lord made to quake; and many of them would have been glad to hide themselves amongst us; and some of them, through the distress that came upon them, did at length come to confess to the Truth.

Many ways were these professors warned, by word, by writing, and by signs; but they would believe none till it was too late. William Sympson was moved of the Lord to go at several times for three years naked and barefooted before them, as a sign to them, in markets, courts, towns, cities, to priests' houses, and to great men's houses, telling them, "So shall ye be stripped naked as I am stripped naked!" And sometimes he was moved to put on hair-sackcloth, and to besmear his face, and to tell them, "So will the Lord God besmear all your religion as I am besmeared."

Great sufferings did that poor man undergo, sore whippings with horse-whips and coach-whips on his bare body, grievous stoning and imprisonments, in three years' time, before the King came in, that they might have taken warning; but they would not, and rewarded his love with cruel usage. Only the mayor of Cambridge did nobly to him, for he put his gown about him and took him into his house.

Another Friend, Robert Huntingdon, was moved of the Lord to go into Carlisle steeple-house with a white sheet about him, amongst the great Presbyterians and Independents there, to show them that the surplice was coming up again; and he put an halter about his neck to show them that an halter was coming upon them; which was fulfilled upon some of our persecutors not long after.

Another, Richard Sale, living near Westchester, being constable of the place where he lived, had sent to him with a pass a Friend whom those wicked professors had taken up for a vagabond, because he travelled up and down in the work of the ministry. This constable, being convinced by the Friend thus brought to him, gave him his pass and liberty, and was afterwards himself cast into prison.

After this, on a lecture-day, Richard Sale was moved to go to the steeple-house in the time of their worship, and to carry those persecuting priests and people a lantern and candle, as a figure of their darkness. But they cruelly abused him, and like dark professors as they were put him into their prison called Little Ease [this was a hole hewed in a rock with a door fitted over the hole, generally seven inches deep but at the shoulders eight inches and at the chest nine and a half inches, seventeen inches wide and a yard and a half high but with a device to lessen this height for purposes of torture], and so squeezed his body therein that not long after he died.

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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



Although those Friends that had been imprisoned on the rising of the Fifth-monarchy men were set at liberty, meetings were much disturbed, and great sufferings Friends underwent. For besides what was done by officers and soldiers, many wild fellows and rude people often came in.

One time when I was at Pall-Mall there came an ambassador with a company of Irishmen and rude fellows. The meeting was over before they came, and I was gone into a chamber, where I heard one of them say that he would kill all the Quakers. I went down to him, and was moved in the power of the Lord to speak to him. I told him, "The law said, 'An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth'; but thou threateneth to kill all the Quakers, though they have done thee no hurt. But," said I, "here is gospel for thee: here is my hair, here is my cheek, and here is my shoulder," turning it to him. This so overcame him that he and his companions stood as men amazed, and said that if that was our principle, and if we were as we said, they never saw the like in their lives. I told them that what I was in words, I also was in my life. Then the ambassador who stood without, came in; for he said that this Irish colonel was a desperate man that he durst not come in with him for fear he should do us some mischief. But Truth came over the Irish colonel, and he carried himself lovingly towards us; as also did the ambassador; for the Lord's power was over them all.

At Mile-End Friends were kept out of their meeting-place by soldiers, but they stood nobly in the Truth, valiant for the Lord's name; and at last the Truth gave them dominion.

* About this time we had an account that John Love, a Friend that was moved to go and bear testimony against the idolatry of the Papists, was dead in prison at Rome; it was suspected he was privately put to death. Also before this time we received account from New England that the government there had made a law to banish the Quakers out of their colonies, upon pain of death in case they returned; that several of our Friends, having been so banished and returning, were thereupon taken and actually hanged, and that diverse more were in prison, in danger of the like sentence being executed upon them. When those were put to death I was in prison at Lancaster, and had a perfect sense of their sufferings as though it had been myself, and as though the halter had been put about my own neck, though we had not at that time heard of it.

As soon as we heard of it, Edward Burrough went to the King and told him that there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions which, if it were not stopped, would overrun all. To this the King replied, "But I will stop that vein." Edward Burrough said, "Then do it speedily for we know not how many may soon be put to death." The King answered, "As speedily as ye will. Call," (said he to some present) "the secretary, and I will do it presently."

The secretary being called, a mandamus was forthwith granted. A day or two after, Edward Burrough going again to the King to desire the matter might be expedited, the King said he had no occasion at present to send a ship thither, but if we would send one we might do it as soon as we would. Edward then asked the King if it would please him to grant his deputation to one called a Quaker to carry the mandamus to New England. He said, "Yes, to whom ye will."



Whereupon Edward Burrough named Samuel Shattuck, who, being an inhabitant of New England, was banished by their law, to be hanged if he came again; and to him the deputation was granted. Then he sent for Ralph Goldsmith, an honest Friend, who was master of a good ship, and agreed with him for three hundred pounds (goods or no goods) to sail in ten days. He forthwith prepared to set sail, and with a prosperous gale, in about six weeks' time, arrived before the town of Boston in New England, upon a First-day morning.

With him went many passengers, both of New and Old England, Friends, whom the Lord moved to go to bear their testimony against those bloody persecutors, who had exceeded all the world in that age in their bloody persecutions.

The townsmen at Boston, seeing a ship come into the bay with English colours, soon came on board and asked for the captain. Ralph Goldsmith told them he was the commander. They asked him if he had any letters. He said, "Yes." They asked if he would deliver them. He said, "No; not to-day."

So they went ashore and reported that there was a ship full of Quakers, and that Samuel Shattuck, who they knew was by their law to be put to death if he came again after banishment, was among them, but they knew not his errand nor his authority. [Friend [Mary Dyer](#), Friend [William Ledra](#), Friend [Marmaduke Stevenson](#), and Friend [William Robinson](#) had already been executed.]

So all were kept close that day, and none of the ship's company suffered to go on shore. Next morning Samuel Shattuck, the King's deputy, and Ralph Goldsmith, went on shore, and, sending back to the ship the men that landed them, they two went through the town to Governor John Endicott's door, and knocked. He sent out a man to know their business. They sent him word that their business was from the King of England, and that they would deliver their message to no one but the Governor himself.

Thereupon they were admitted, and the Governor came to them; and having received the deputation and the mandamus, he put off his hat and looked upon them. Then, going out, he bade the Friends follow him. He went to the deputy-governor, and after a short consultation came out to the Friends, and said, "We shall obey his majesty's commands."

After this the master gave liberty to the passengers to come on shore, and presently the noise of the business flew about the town; and the Friends of the town and the passengers of the ship met together to offer up their praises and thanksgivings to God, who had so wonderfully delivered them from the teeth of the devourer.

While they were thus met, in came a poor Friend, who, being sentenced by their bloody law to die, had lain some time in irons expecting execution. This added to their joy, and caused them to lift up their hearts in high praise to God, who is worthy for ever to have the praise, the glory, and the honour; for He only is able to deliver, to save, and support all that sincerely put their trust in Him.



Here follows a copy of the mandamus.

CHARLES R.

Trusty and well-beloved, We greet you well. Having been informed that several of our subjects amongst you, called Quakers, have been and are imprisoned by you, whereof some have been executed, and others (as hath been represented unto us) are in danger to undergo the like, we have thought fit to signify our pleasure in that behalf for the future; and do hereby require that if there be any of those people called Quakers amongst you, now already condemned to suffer death or other corporal punishment, or that are imprisoned and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any further therein; but that you forthwith send the said persons (whether condemned or imprisoned) over into this our kingdom of England, together with the respective crimes or offenses laid to their charge, to the end that such course may be taken with them here as shall be agreeable to our laws and their demerits. And for so doing, these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge. Given at our court at Whitehall the ninth day of September, 1661, in the 13th year of our reign. Subscribed: To our trusty and well-beloved John Endicott, Esquire, and to all and every other the Governor or governors of our plantations of New England, and of all the colonies thereunto belonging, that now are or hereafter shall be, and to all and every the ministers and officers of our plantations and colonies whatsoever within the continent of New England.

By his majesty's command, WILLIAM MORRIS.

Some time after this several New England magistrates came over, with one of their priests. We had several discourses with them concerning their murdering our Friends, the servants of the Lord; but they were ashamed to stand to their bloody actions.

On one of these occasions I asked Simon Broadstreet, one of the New England magistrates, whether he had not had a hand in putting to death those four servants of God, whom they hung only for being Quakers, as they had nicknamed them. He confessed that he had. I then asked him and the rest of his associates that were present whether they would acknowledge themselves to be subject to the laws of England; and if they did, by what laws they had put our Friends to death. They said they were subject to the laws of England, and had put our Friends to death by the same law that the Jesuits were put to death in England.

I asked them then whether they believed those Friends of ours whom they had put to death were Jesuits or jesuitically affected. They said, "Nay." "Then," said I, "ye have murdered them, if ye have put them to death by the law by which Jesuits are put to death here in England, and yet confess they were no Jesuits. By this it plainly appears ye have put them to death in your own wills, without any law."



Then Simon Broadstreet, finding himself and his company ensnared by their own words, asked if we came to catch them. I told them they had caught themselves and might justly be questioned for their lives; and if the father of William Robinson, one of them that were put to death, were in town, it was probable he would question them, and bring their lives into jeopardy.

Here they began to excuse themselves, saying, "There is no persecution now amongst us." But next morning we had letters from New England telling us that our Friends were persecuted there afresh. We went again and showed them our letters, which put them both to silence and to shame; and in great fear they seemed to be lest some one should call them to account and prosecute them for their lives. Especially was Simon Broadstreet fearful; for he had before so many witnesses confessed that he had a hand in putting our Friends to death, that he could not get off from it; though he afterwards through fear shuffled, and would have unsaid it again. After this, he and the rest soon returned to New England again.

I went also to Governor Winthrop, and discoursed with him on these matters. He assured me that he had no hand in putting our Friends to death, or in any way persecuting them; but was one of them that protested against it.

About this time I lost a very good book, being taken in the printer's hands; it was a useful teaching work, containing the signification and explanation of names, parables, types, and figures in the Scriptures. They who took it were so affected with it, that they were loth to destroy it; but thinking to make a great advantage of it, they would have let us have it again, if we would have given them a great sum of money for it; which we were not free to do.

Before this, while I was prisoner in Lancaster Castle, the book called the "Battledore" was published, which was written to show that in all languages Thou and Thee is the proper and usual form of speech to a single person; and You to more than one. This was set forth in examples or instances taken from the Scriptures, and books of teaching, in about thirty languages. J. Stubbs and Benjamin Furly took great pains in compiling it, which I set them upon; and some things I added to it.

FOX'S JOURNAL:

Here is the title page of this "Battledore" which Fox was describing:

A BATTLE-DOOR FOR TEACHERS & PROFESSORS TO LEARN SINGULAR AND PLURAL; YOU TO MANY, AND THOU TO ONE: SINGULAR ONE, THOU; PLURAL MANY, YOU, WHEREIN IS SHEWED FORTH BY GRAMMAR, OR SCRIPTURE EXAMPLES, HOW SEVERAL NATIONS AND PEOPLE HAVE MADE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN SINGULAR AND PLURAL, AND FIRST. IN THE FORMER PART OF THIS BOOK, CALLED THE ENGLISH BATTLE-DOOR, MAY BE SEEN HOW SEVERAL PEOPLE HAVE SPOKEN SINGULAR AND PLURAL, AS THE APHARSATHKITES THE TARPELITES, THE APHARSITES, THE ARCHEVITES, THE BABYLONIANS, THE SUSANCHITES, THE DEHAVITES, THE ELAMITES, THE TEMANITES, THE NAOMITES, THE SHUITES, THE BUZITES, THE MOABITES, THE HEVITES, THE EDMITES, THE PHILISTINES, THE AMALEKITES, THE SODOMITES, THE HITTITES, THE MIDIANITES, &C. ALSO, IN THIS BOOK IS SET FORTH EXAMPLES OF THE SINGULAR AND PLURAL ABOUT THOU, AND YOU IN SEVERAL LANGUAGES DIVIDED INTO DISTINCT BATTLE-DOORS, OR FORMS, OR EXAMPLES; ENGLISH, LATINE,



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

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ITALIAN, GREEK, HEBREW, CALDEC, SYRIACK, ARABICK, PERSIACK, ETHIOPICK, SAMARITAN, COPTICK OR EGYPTICK, ARMENIAN, SAXON, WELCH, MENCE, CORNISH, FRENCH, SPANISH, PORTUGAL, HIGH-DUTCH, LOW DUTCH, DANISH, BOHEMIAN, SLAVONIAN, AND HOW EMPERORS AND OTHERS HAVE USED THE SINGULAR WORD TO ONE; AND HOW THE WORD YOU (TO ONE) CAME FIRST FROM THE POPE. LIKEWISE SOME EXAMPLES, IN THE POLONIAN, LITHVIANIAN, IRISH AND EAST-INDIAN, TOGETHER WITH THE SINGULAR AND PLURAL WORDS THOU AND YOU, IN SWEDISH, TURKISH, MUSCOVIAN AND CURLANDIAN TONGUES, — IN THE LATTER PART OF THIS BOOK ARE CONTAINED SEVERAL BAD UNSAVOURY WORDS GATHERED FIRST FOR CERTAIN SCHOOL BOOKS, WHICH HAVE BEEN TAUGHT BOYES IN ENGLAND, WHICH IS A ROD AND A WHIP TO THE SCHOOL MASTERS IN ENGLAND AND ELSEWHERE WHO TEACH SUCH BOOKS. GEO. FOX, JNO. STUBBS, BENJAMIN FURLEY. London: Printed for Robt. Wilson, and are to be sold at his Shop at the Signe of the Black-Spread-Eagle and Wind-Mil in Martins le Grand 1660.]



When it was finished, copies were presented to the King and his Council, to the Bishops of Canterbury and London, and to the two universities one each; and many purchased them. The King said it was the proper language of all nations; and the Bishop of Canterbury, being asked what he thought of it, was at a stand, and could not tell what to say to it. For it did so inform and convince people, that few afterwards were so rugged toward us for saving Thou and Thee to a single person, for which before they were exceedingly fierce against us.

Thou and Thee was a sore cut to proud flesh, and them that sought self-honour, who, though they would say it to God and Christ, could not endure to have it said to themselves. So that we were often beaten and abused, and sometimes in danger of our lives, for using those words to some proud men, who would say, "What! you ill-bred clown, do you Thou me?" as though Christian breeding consisted in saying You to one; which is contrary to all their grammars and teaching books, by which they instructed their youth.

About this time many Papists and Jesuits began to fawn upon Friends, and talked up and down where they came, that of all the sects the Quakers were the best and most self-denying people; and they said it was great pity that they did not return to the Holy Mother Church. Thus they made a buzz among the people, and said they would willingly discourse with Friends. But Friends were loth to meddle with them, because they were Jesuits, looking upon it to be both dangerous and scandalous.

But when I understood it, I said to Friends, "Let us discourse with them, be they what they will." So a time being appointed at Gerrard Roberts's, there came two of them like courtiers. They asked our names, which we told them; but we did not ask their names, for we understood they were called Papists, and they knew we were called Quakers.

I asked them the same question that I had formerly asked a Jesuit, namely, whether the Church of Rome was not degenerated from the Church in the primitive times, from the Spirit, power, and practice that they were in in the Apostles' times? He to whom I put this question, being subtle, said he would not answer it. I asked him why. But he would show no reason. His companion said he would answer me; and said that they were not degenerated from the Church in the primitive times. I asked the other whether he was of the same mind. He said, "Yes."

** Then I replied that, for the better understanding one of another, and that there might be no mistake, I would repeat my question over again after this manner: "Is the Church of Rome now in the same purity, practice, power, and Spirit that the Church in the Apostles' time was in?" When they saw we would be exact with them, they flew off and denied that, saying it was presumption in any to say they had the same power and Spirit which the Apostles had.*

I told them it was presumption in them to meddle with the words of Christ and His Apostles, and make people believe they succeeded the Apostles, yet be forced to confess they were not in the same power and Spirit that the Apostles were in. "This," said I, "is a spirit of presumption, and rebuked by the Apostles' spirit."



I showed them how different their fruits and practices were from the fruits and practices of the Apostles.

Then got up one of them, and said, "Ye are a company of dreamers." "Nay," said I, "ye are the filthy dreamers, who dream ye are the Apostles' successors, and yet confess ye have not the same power and Spirit which the Apostles were in. And are not they defilers of the flesh who say it is presumption for any to say they have the same power and Spirit which the Apostles had? Now," said I, "if ye have not the same power and Spirit which the Apostles had, then it is manifest that ye are led by another power and spirit than that by which the Apostles and Church in the primitive times were led."

Then I began to tell them how that evil spirit by which they were led had led them to pray by beads and to images, and to set up nunneries, friaries, and monasteries, and to put people to death for religion; which practices I showed them were below the law, and far short of the gospel, in which is liberty.

They were soon weary of this discourse, and went their way, and gave a charge, as we heard, to the Papists, that they should not dispute with us, nor read any of our books.

** So we were rid of them; but we had reasonings with all the other sects, Presbyterians, Independents, Seekers, Baptists, Episcopal men, Socinians, Brownists, Lutherans, Calvinists, Arminians, Fifth-monarchy men, Familists, Muggletonians, and Ranters; none of which would affirm that they had the same power and Spirit that the Apostles had and were in; so in that power and Spirit the Lord gave us dominion over them all.*

As for the Fifth-monarchy men I was moved to give forth a paper, to manifest their error to them; for they looked for Christ's personal coming in an outward form and manner, and fixed the time to the year 1666; at which time some of them prepared themselves when it thundered and rained, thinking Christ was then come to set up His kingdom, and they imagined they were to kill the whore without them.

But I told them that the whore was alive in them, and was not burned with God's fire, nor judged in them with the same power and Spirit the Apostles were in; and that their looking for Christ's coming outwardly to set up His kingdom was like the Pharisees' "Lo here," and "Lo there." But Christ was come, and had set up His kingdom above sixteen hundred years ago, according to Nebuchadnezzar's dream and Daniel's prophecy, and He had dashed to pieces the four monarchies, the great image, with its head of gold, breast and arms of silver, belly and thighs of brass, legs of iron, and its feet part of iron part of clay; and they were all blown away with God's wind, as the chaff in the summer threshing-floor.

And I told them that when Christ was on earth, He said His kingdom was not of this world; if it had been, His servants would have fought; but it was not, therefore His servants did not fight. Therefore all the Fifth-monarchy men that are fighters with carnal weapons are none of Christ's servants, but the beast's and the whore's. Christ said, "All power in heaven and in earth is given to me"; so then His kingdom was set up above sixteen hundred years ago, and He reigns. "And we see Jesus Christ reign," said the Apostle, "and He shall reign till all things be put under His feet"; though all things are not yet put under His feet, nor subdued.



This year several Friends were moved to go beyond the seas, to publish Truth in foreign countries. John Stubbs, and Henry Fell, and Richard Costrop were moved to go towards China and Prester John's country [Abyssinia]; but no masters of ships would carry them. With much ado they got a warrant from the King; but the East India Company found ways to avoid it, and the masters of their ships would not carry them.

Then they went into Holland, hoping to get passage there, but none could they get there either. Then John Stubbs and Henry Fell took shipping for Alexandria, in Egypt, intending to go thence by the caravans. Meanwhile Daniel Baker, being moved to go to Smyrna, drew Richard Costrop, contrary to his own freedom, to go along with him; and in the passage, Richard falling sick, Daniel Baker left him so in the ship, where he died; but that hard-hearted man afterwards lost his own condition.

John Stubbs and Henry Fell reached Alexandria; but they had not been long there before the English consul banished them; yet before they came away, they dispersed many books and papers for opening the principles and way of Truth to the Turks and Grecians. They gave the book called, "The Pope's Strength Broken," to an old friar, for him to give or send to the Pope. When the friar had perused it he placed his hand on his breast and confessed, "What is written therein is truth; but," said he, "if I should confess it openly, they would burn me."

John Stubbs and Henry Fell, not being suffered to go further, returned to England, and came to London again. John had a vision that the English and Dutch, who had joined together not to carry them, would fall out one with the other; and so it came to pass.

Among the exercises and troubles that Friends had from without, one was concerning Friends' marriages, which sometimes were called in question. In this year there happened to be a cause tried at the assize at Nottingham concerning a Friend's marriage.

The case was thus: Some years before two Friends were joined together in marriage amongst Friends, and lived together as man and wife about two years. Then the man died, leaving his wife with child, and leaving an estate in lands of copyhold. When the woman was delivered, the jury presented the child heir to its father's lands, and accordingly the child was admitted; afterwards another Friend married the widow. After that a person near of kin to her former husband brought his action against the Friend who had last married her, endeavoring to dispossess them, and deprive the child of the inheritance, and to possess himself thereof as next heir to the woman's first husband. To effect this he endeavoured to prove the child illegitimate, alleging that the marriage was not according to law.

In opening the cause the plaintiff's counsel used unseemly words concerning Friends, saying that "they went together like brute beasts," with other ill expressions. After the counsel on both sides had pleaded the Judge (viz., Judge Archer) took the matter in hand, and opened it to them, telling them, "There was a marriage in paradise when Adam took Eve and Eve took Adam, and it was the consent of the parties that made a marriage." And for the Quakers, he said, he did not know their opinions; but he did not believe they went together as brute beasts, as had been said of them, but as Christians; and therefore he did believe the marriage was lawful, and the child lawful heir.



The better to satisfy the jury he brought them a case to this purpose: "A man that was weak of body and kept his bed, had a desire in that condition to marry, and did declare before witnesses that he did take such a woman to be his wife, and the woman declared that she took that man to be her husband. This marriage was afterwards called in question, and all the bishops did conclude it to be a lawful marriage."

Hereupon the jury gave in their verdict for the Friend's child against the man that would have deprived it of its inheritance.

Now, there being very many [not less than 4,500] Friends in prison in the nation, Richard Hubberthorn and I drew up a paper concerning them, and got it delivered to the King, that he might understand how we were dealt with by his officers. It was directed thus:

FOR THE KING:

FRIEND, Who art the chief ruler of these dominions, here is a list of some of the sufferings of the people of God, in scorn called Quakers, that have suffered under the changeable powers before thee, by whom there have been imprisoned, and under whom there have suffered for good conscience' sake, and for bearing testimony to the truth as it is in Jesus, three thousand one hundred and seventy-three persons; and there lie yet in prison, in the name of the Commonwealth, seventy-three persons that we know of. And there died in prison in the time of the Commonwealth, and of Oliver and Richard the Protectors, through cruel and hard imprisonments, upon nasty straw and in dungeons, thirty-two persons. There have been also imprisoned in thy name, since thy arrival, by such as thought to ingratiate themselves thereby with thee, three thousand sixty and eight persons. Besides this our meetings are daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, though we meet peaceably, according to the practice of God's people in the primitive times, and our Friends are thrown into waters, and trodden upon, till the very blood gushes out of them; the number of which abuses can hardly be uttered.

Now this we would have of thee, to set them at liberty that lie in prison in the names of the Commonwealth, and of the two Protectors, and them that lie in thy own name, for speaking the truth, and for good conscience' sake, who have not lifted up a hand against thee or any man; and that the meetings of our Friends, who meet peaceably together in the fear of God, to worship Him, may not be broken up by rude people with their clubs, swords, and staves. One of the greatest things that we have suffered for formerly was, because we could not swear to the Protectors and all the changeable governments; and now we are imprisoned because we cannot take the oath of allegiance. Now, if our yea be not yea, and nay, nay, to thee, and to all men upon the earth, let us suffer as much for breaking that, as others do for breaking an oath.



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We have suffered these many years, both in lives and estates, under these changeable governments, because we cannot swear, but obey Christ's doctrine, who commands we should not 'swear at all,' and this we seal with our lives and estates, with our yea and nay, according to the doctrine of Christ. Hearken to these things, and so consider them in the wisdom of thy God that by it such actions may be stopped; thou that hast the government, and mayst do it. We desire all that are in prison may be set at liberty, and that for the time to come they may not be imprisoned for conscience' and for the Truth's sake. If thou question the innocency of their sufferings, let them and their accusers be brought before thee, and we shall produce a more particular and full account of their sufferings, if required.

FOX'S JOURNAL:

George Fox

* This was given to the King & both houses of Parliament
 in being a brief & plain & true relation of some of the late & sad
 sufferings of the people of god in the County of Middlesex
 for worshipping god & exercising a good conscience towards
 god & man. By reason whereof they have suffered till
 death 32 of which died before the King came into
 England & 57 since of which 27 by hard imprison-
 ment & cruel usage 43 have dyed in the City of
 London & Southward since the act were made
 against meetings the have ^{thus} suffered
 of ~~the~~ you may see in at large in the paper
 that was given with their ~~the~~ names that
 did suffer ~~in the year~~ to the King & Par-
 liament 1661

Friend [George](#)'s epistle entitled "In The Stillness and Silence of the Power of the Almighty Dwell" dates to early in this year:



Dear Friends, - In the stillness and silence of the power of the Almighty dwell, which never varies, alters, nor changes, but preserveth over and out of, and above all the changeable worships, religions, ministers, churches, teachings, principalities, and powers, with the power of God, which keepeth over all this, to the



kingdom of Christ, that is everlasting, in which there is no changing, who is King of kings, and Lord of lords. All power in heaven and earth is given unto him, of whose light, life, power, and wisdom, grace, and riches have ye received, which comes from him, that doth not change. So in that live, that doth not change, the unchangeable life, the unchangeable mind, the unchangeable spirit and wisdom, and the unchangeable worship and church, of which Christ is the unchangeable head, who remains the same yesterday, to-day, and forever; in that ye will feel the blessing and presence of the Lord God of life amongst you, as ye all abide in the unchangeable kingdom, dominion, power, and life, who are heirs of it according to your measures, who have received the light, and received the life and grace, and the power of a kingdom and a word that hath no end. So wait all in it, that ye may be possessors and inheritors of the kingdom, and of the life and power which hath no end, and of the promises, that are yea and amen; and let nothing, that is of the world, alter you, but keep ye in that which keepeth you in the everlasting kingdom of God. The 3d month, 1661.
G.F.

His epistle entitled “Trust Not in Man” also dates to this year:



Friends, - Trust not in man, nor in the arm of flesh, neither put confidence in them, but in the Lord. Judge yourselves, and keep down the boaster, and that which would be high; under judgment keep that down, but the power of God in yourselves, lest the Lord God bring upon you something without you to bring you down, who do not keep that down in yourselves. And therefore keep all that down with the power of the Lord God in yourselves; and then ye will have domino over it all, in the power of the Lord God. And live all in the power of God, which was before the fall, in which ye will have fellowship over all the fellowships in the fall, and above all outward things that have an end; which fellowship seeth over all that which is in the strife. For in the power of God your fellowship there hath no end, which was before the fall and strife was, in which is peace; which fellowship will remain when all that which is in the fall is gone, and in which is the perfect unity, which keeps over all such spirits which run into outward things; from which arise quarrels, and strife, and imperfections. And therefore keep in the power of the Lord God, that is everlasting, in which is the fellowship that hath no end; in that live and dwell. And feel the seed of God over all that which makes to suffer, and it will remain when that is gone, in that ye will feel life over death, and light over darkness. And so in that the Lord God Almighty preserve you, and keep you in the dominion! This day I came into the isle of Ely, where I hear nothing, but things are peaceable, and Friend's minds kept over all the bustlings in the world, and take little notice thereof; but mind the power of God, which was before the fall was; in which fall are bustlings. And so to the Lord God be faithful.
G.F.



'STRIKE AGAIN!'⁷⁵

'Ulverston consisted of thatched one storied houses, many old shops, gabled buildings standing out towards the street on pillars beneath which neighbours sheltered and gossiped. On market days these projections were filled with goods to tempt gentry and yeomanry to open their purse-strings.'—From *'Home Life in North Lonsdale.'*

'By the year 1654 "the man with the leather breeches" as he was called, had become a celebrity throughout England, with scattered converts and adherents everywhere, but voted a pest and a terror by the public authorities, the regular steeple-house clergy, whether Presbyterian or Independent, and the appointed preachers of all the old sects.'—D. MASSON.

'For in those days the high and proud professors and persecutors were generally bitterly set against the people called Quakers, when Presbytery and Independency swarmed and floated in possession, and with their long Lectures against us cried out, "These are the Antichrists come in the last times"'—G. WHITEHEAD.

'For in all things he acquitted himself like a man, yea, a strong man, a new and heavenly-minded man.'—W. PENN of George Fox.

75. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



'STRIKE AGAIN!'

'Love, Wisdom, and Patience will overcome all that is not of God.'—G. FOX.

By the side of even a low mountain the tallest tower looks small. The fells that shelter the old market town of Ulverston from northerly winds are not lofty compared with the range of giants that lies behind them in the distance, Coniston Old Man, Sca Fell, Skiddaw, Helvellyn, and their brethren. But the fells are high enough to make the tall old Church tower of Ulverston look small and toy-like as it rises under their shadow above the thatched roofs of the old town.

Swarthmoor Hall stands on a level plateau on the other side of Ulverston; and it was from Swarthmoor Hall, through a wooded glen by the side of the stream, that George Fox came down to Ulverston Church, one 'Lecture Day' at the end of September 1652.

On a 'Lecture Day' a sermon lasting for several hours was delivered by an appointed teacher; and when that was finished, anyone who had listened to it was free to rise and deliver a message in his turn if he wished to do so. In those days, as there were no clocks or watches in churches, the length of the sermon was measured by turning an hour-glass, until all the sand had run out, a certain number of times. Children, and perhaps grown-up people too, must often have watched the sand with longing eyes when a sermon of several hours' length was in process. On this particular day, Priest Lampitt was the appointed preacher. Lampitt had never forgiven Fox for having persuaded so many of his hearers, and especially the important ladies of Swarthmoor, to forsake their Parish Church, and assemble for their own service at home. His feelings may be imagined, therefore, when, his own sermon ended, he saw George Fox get up and begin to preach in his turn.

George Fox says, 'On a Lecture Day I was moved to go to Ulverston steeple-house, where there was an abundance of professors and priests,⁷⁶ and people. And I went up near to Lampitt who was blustering on in his preaching, and the Lord opened my mouth to speak.'

Now among the 'abundance of people' who were present in the Church was that same Mr. Justice Sawrey, 'the Catterpillar,' of whom the last two stories tell. As soon as George Fox opened his mouth and began to preach, up bustled the Justice to him, with a patronising air, and said, 'Now, my good fellow, you may have my permission to speak in this Church, so long as you speak according to the Scriptures.'

Like lightning, George Fox turned round on the high step where he was standing near to Priest Lampitt, and saw at his elbow the little pompous Justice, his face flushed, full of fussiness

76. Remember always that by 'priest' George Fox only means a man of any form of religion who was paid for preaching. Lampitt was probably an Independent. 'Professors,' as we have already seen, are the people usually called 'Puritans, who 'professed' or made a great show of being very religious.'



about his own dignity and anxious to arrange everything according to his own ideas.

George Fox, who felt he had a message from God to deliver, had no intention of being interrupted by any man in this way.

'I stranged at him,' says Fox, 'for speaking so to me!'

'Stranged' is an unfamiliar word, no longer used in modern English. It sounds as if it meant something very fierce, and calls up a picture of George Fox glaring at his antagonist or trying to shout him down. In reality it only means that Fox was astonished at his strange behaviour.

'I stranged at him and told him that I would speak according to the Scriptures, and bring the Scriptures to prove what I had to say, for I had something to say to Lampitt and to them.' 'You shall do nothing of the kind,' said Mr. Justice Sawrey, contradicting his own words of the moment before, that Fox might speak so long as he spoke according to the Scriptures.

Fox paid no attention to this injunction, but went on calmly with his sermon. At first the congregation listened quietly. But Fox had made a new enemy and a powerful one. The little Justice would not be ignored in this way. He whispered to one and another in the congregation, 'Don't listen to this fellow. Why should he air his notions in our fine Church? Beat him! Stop his mouth! Duck him in the pond! Teach him that the men of Ulverston are sensible fellows, and not to be led astray by a ranting Quaker!' These suggestions had their effect. Possibly the congregation agreed with the speaker. Possibly also, they knew that the little Justice, though short of stature, was of long memory and an ill man to offend. Moreover, a magistrate's favour is a useful thing to have at all times. Perhaps if they hunted Mr. Justice Sawrey's quarry for him in the daytime, he would be more likely to turn a blind eye the next moonlight night that they were minded to go out snaring other game, with fur and feathers, in the Justice's own park! Anyhow, faces began to grow threatening as the Quaker's discourse proceeded. Presently loud voices were raised. Still the calm tones flowed on unheeding. At length, clenched fists were raised; and, at the sight, the smile on the Justice's face visibly broadened. Nodding his head emphatically, he seemed to be saying, 'On, men, on!' till at length, like sparks fanned by a bellows, the congregation's ill-humour suddenly burst into a flame of rage. When at length rough hands fell upon the Quaker's shoulders and set all his alchemy buttons a-jingling, Mr. Justice Sawrey leaned against the back of his high wooden pew, crossed his legs complacently, and laughed long and loud at the joke. The crowd took this as a sign that they might do as they chose. They fell upon Fox, knocked him down, and finally trampled upon him, under the Justice's own eyes. The uproar became so great that the quieter members of the congregation were terrified, 'and the people fell over their seats for fear.'

At length the Justice bethought himself that such behaviour as this in a church was quite illegal, since a man had been sentenced, before now, to lose his hand as a punishment for even striking his neighbour within consecrated walls. He began to



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

feel uneasily that even the excellent sport of Quaker-baiting might be carried too far inside the Church. He came forward, therefore, and without difficulty rescued George Fox from the hands of his tormentors. But he had not finished with the Quaker yet. Leading him outside the Church, he there formally handed him over to the constables, saying, 'Take the fellow. Thrash him soundly and turn him out of the town,' adding, perhaps, under his breath, 'and teach him to behave with greater respect hereafter to a Justice of the Peace!'

George Fox describes in his own words what happened next. 'They led me,' says the Journal, 'about a quarter of a mile, some taking hold of my collar, and some by the arms and shoulders, and shook and dragged me, and some got hedge-stakes and holme bushes and other staffs. And many friendly people that was come to the market, and had come into the steeple-house to hear me, many of them they knocked down and broke their heads also, and the blood ran down several people so as I never saw the like in my life, as I looked at them when they were dragging me along. And Judge Fell's son, running after me to see what they would do to me, they threw him into a ditch of water and cried, "Knock the teeth out of his head!"'

Once well away from the town, apparently, the constables were content to let their prisoner go, knowing that they might trust their fellow-townsmen to finish the job with right good will. The mob yelled with joy to find their prey in their hands at last. With one accord they fell upon Fox, and endeavoured to pull him down, much as, at the huntsman's signal, a pack of hounds sets upon his four-footed namesake with a bushy tail. The constables and officers, too, continued to assist. Giving him some final blows with willow-rods they thrust Fox 'amid the rude multitude, and they then fell upon me as aforesaid with their stakes and clubs and beat me on the head and arms and shoulders, until at last,' their victim says, 'they mazed me, and I fell down upon the wet common.'

The crowd had won! George Fox was down at last! He lay, bruised and fainting, on the wet moss of the common on the far side of the town. Yes, there he lay for a few moments, stunned, bruised, bleeding, beaten nigh to death. Only for a few moments, no longer. Very soon his consciousness returned. Finding himself helpless on the watery common with the savage mob glowering over him, he says, 'I lay a little still without attempting to rise. Then suddenly the power of the Lord sprang through me, and the eternal refreshings revived me, so that I stood up again in the eternal power of God, and stretched out my arms among them all and said with a loud voice: "Strike again! Here are my arms, my head, my cheeks!"'

Whatever would he do next? What sort of a man was this? The rough fellows in the circle around him insensibly drew back a little, and looked in each other's faces with surprise, as they tried to read the riddle of this disconcerting behaviour. The Quaker would not show fight! He was actually giving them leave to set upon him and beat him again! All in a minute, what had hitherto seemed like rare sport began to be rather poor fun.



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'There's no sense in thrashing a man who doesn't strike back! Better leave the fellow alone!' some of the more decent-minded whispered to each other in undertones, and then slunk away ashamed. Only one man, a mason, well known as the bully of the town, knew no shame.

'Strike again, sayest thou, Quaker?' he thundered. 'Hast had none but soft blows hitherto? Faith then, I will strike in good earnest this time.' So saying, the mason brought a thick wooden rule that he was carrying down on the outstretched hand before him, with a savage blow that might have felled an ox. After the first shock of agonising pain George Fox lost all feeling from his finger-tips right up to his shoulder. When he tried to draw the wounded hand back to his side he could not do it. The paralysed nerves refused to carry the message of the brain.

'The mason hath made a good job of it this time,' jeered a mocking voice from the crowd. 'The Quaker hath lost the use of his right hand for ever.' For ever! Terrible words. George Fox was but a young man still. Was he indeed to go through life maimed, without the use of his right hand? The bravest man might have shrunk from such a prospect; but George Fox did not shrink, because he did not happen to be thinking of himself at all. His hand was not his own. Not it alone but his whole body also had been given, long ago, to the service of his Master. They belonged to Him. Therefore if that Master should need the right hand of His servant to be used in His service, His Power could be trusted to make it whole.

Thus Fox trusted, and not in vain; since all the while, no thoughts of vengeance or hatred to those who had injured him were able to find even a moment's lodging in his heart.

'So as the people cried out, "he hath spoiled his hand for ever having any use of it more," I LOOKED AT IT IN THE LOVE OF GOD AND I WAS IN THE LOVE OF GOD TO ALL THEM THAT HAD PERSECUTED ME. AND AFTER A WHILE THE LORD'S POWER SPRANG THROUGH MY HAND AND ARM AND THROUGH ME, THAT IN A MINUTE I RECOVERED MY HAND AND ARM AND STRENGTH IN THE FACE AND SIGHT OF THEM ALL.'

This miracle, as it seemed to them, overawed the rough mob for a moment. But some of the greedier spirits saw a chance of making a good thing out of the afternoon's work for themselves. They came to Fox and said if he would give them some money they would defend him from the others, and he should go free. But Fox would not hear of such a thing. He 'was moved of the Lord to declare unto them the word of life, and how they were more like Jews and heathens and not like Christians.'

Thus, instead of thankfully slinking away and disappearing up the hill by a by-path to the friendly shelter of Swarthmoor, Fox strode boldly back into the centre of the town of Ulverston with his persecutors, like a crowd of whipped dogs, following him at his heels. Yet still they snarled and showed their teeth at times, as if to say, they would have him yet if they dared. Right into Ulverston market-place he came, and a stranger sight the old grey town, with its thatched roofs and timbered houses, had surely never seen. In the middle of the market-place the one other courageous man in the town came up to him. This was a



soldier, carrying a sword.

'Sir,' said this gallant gentleman, as he met the bruised and bleeding Quaker, 'I am ashamed that you, a stranger, should have been thus ill-treated and abused, FOR YOU ARE A MAN, SIR,' said he. Fox nodded, and a smile like wintry sunshine stole over his worn face. Silently he held out his hand. The soldier grasped it. 'In truth, I am grieved,' he repeated, 'grieved and ashamed that you should have been treated like this at Ulverston. Gladly will I assist you myself as far as I can against these cowards, who are not ashamed to set upon an unarmed man, forty to one, and drag him down.'

'No matter for that, Friend,' said Fox, 'they have no power to harm me, for the Lord's power is over all.' With these words he turned and crossed the crowded market-place again, on his way to leave the town, and not one of the people dared to touch him. But, as everyone prefers both to be defended himself and to defend others with those weapons in which he himself puts most trust, the soldier very naturally followed Fox, in case 'the Lord's power' might also need the assistance of his trusty sword.

The mob, seeing Fox well protected, turned, like the cowards they were, and fell upon the other 'friendly people' who were standing defenceless in the market-place and beat them instead. Their meanness enraged the soldier. Leaving Fox, he turned and ran upon the mob in his turn, his naked rapier shining in his hand.

'My trusty sword shall teach these cravens a lesson at last,' he thought. Quick as he was, Fox was quicker. He, too, had turned at the noise, and seeing his defender running at the crowd, and the sunshine dancing down the steel blade as it gleamed in the air, he also ran, and dashed up the soldier's weapon before it had time to descend. Then taking firm hold of the man's right hand, sword and all, 'Thou must put up thy sword, Friend,' he commanded, 'if thou wilt come along with me.' Half sulkily, and wholly disappointed, the soldier, in spite of himself, obeyed. But he insisted on accompanying Fox to the outskirts of the town. 'You will be safe now, Sir,' he said, and sweeping his plumed hat respectfully on the ground, as he bowed low to his new friend, the two parted.

Nevertheless, not many days thereafter this very gallant gentleman paid for his chivalrous conduct. No less than seven men fell upon him at once, and beat him cruelly 'for daring to take the Quaker's part.' 'For it was the custom of this country to run twenty or forty people upon one man,' adds the Journal, with quiet scorn. 'And they fell so upon Friends in many places, that they could hardly pass the high ways, stoning and beating and breaking their heads.'

But of the punishment in store for his defender, Fox was happily ignorant that hot afternoon of the riot, as he followed the peaceful brook through its sheltered glen, and so came up again at last, after his rough handling, to friendly Swarthmoor, where young George Fell, escaped from his persecutors and the miry ditch, had arrived before him. 'And there they were, dressing



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the heads and hands of Friends and friendly people that were broken that day by the professors and hearers of Priest Lampitt,' writes Fox.

'And my body and arms were yellow, black and blue with the blows and bruises I received among them that day.'



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HISTORICAL NOTES

‘STRIKE AGAIN!’

Historical. See George Fox’s JOURNAL, i. 57-59. Sewel’s HISTORY, i. 111-112.

January 6, Sunday: Prior to this point, the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had not been generally committed to any doctrine of pacifism or nonviolence. An event occurred which neatly marks the end of the 1st period of [Quakerism](#), its period of evangelism and polemic and populism and service-disruption, and the beginning of the 2nd period, during which the membership would separate itself from the profane commonality and the meetings draw in upon themselves and become preoccupied with internal governance and nuance. What happened on this date was that a cooper named Thomas Venner, a 5th Monarchist man or apocalypt who had favored the Good Old Cause during the English Revolution, when he saw the pretender Charles Stuart preparing to enter London as “Charles II,” led a congregation of about 50 persons to occupy St. Paul’s Cathedral under the motto “King Jesus and Heads Upon the Gate.” Within a few days these warriors of the Millennium would of course all be dead, after retreating from St. Paul’s to a wood near Highgate in a fanatical fight to the last man.



[John Evelyn](#)’s diary entry was in part as follows:

John Evelyn’s Diary

I was now chosen (& nominated by his Majestie for one of that Council) by Suffrage of the rest of the Members, a Fellow of the Philosophic Society, now meeting at Gressham Coll[ege] where was an assembly of divers learned Gent[lemen] It being the first meeting since the returne of his Majestie in Lond[on] but begun some years before at Oxford, & interruptedly here in Lond[on] during the Rebellion: This morning was another rising of the Phanatics in which some were slaine: his Majestie being absent; til the 10th.

THIS DAY IN PEPYS’S DIARY



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Friend [George Fox's JOURNAL](#) put the matter in this light:

Now did I see the end of the travail which I had in my sore exercise at Reading; for the everlasting power of the Lord was over all, and His blessed Truth, life, and light shined over the nation. Great and glorious meetings we had, and very quiet; and many flocked unto the Truth. Richard Hubberthorn had been with the King, who said that none should molest us so long as we lived peaceably and promised this upon the word of a king; telling Richard that we might make use of his promise.

Some Friends were also admitted in the House of Lords, to declare their reasons why they could not pay tithes, swear, go to the steeple-house worship, or join with others in worship; and the Lords heard them moderately. There being about seven hundred Friends in prison, who had been committed under Oliver's and Richard's government, upon contempts (so called) when the King came in, he set them all at liberty.

** There seemed at that time an inclination and intention in the government to grant Friends liberty, because those in authority were sensible that we had suffered as well as they under the former powers. But still, when anything was going forward in order thereto, some dirty spirits or other [Fifth-monarchy men], that would seem to be for us, threw something in the way to stop it. It was said there was an instrument drawn up for confirming our liberty, and that it only wanted signing; when suddenly that wicked attempt of the Fifth-monarchy people broke out, and put the city and nation in an uproar. This was on a First-day night, and very glorious meetings we had had that day, wherein the Lord's Truth shone over all, and His power was exalted above all; but about midnight, or soon after, the drums beat, and the cry was, "Arm, Arm!"*

I got up out of bed, and in the morning took boat, and, landing at Whitehall-stairs, walked through Whitehall. The people there looked strangely at me, but I passed through them, and went to Pall-Mall, where diverse Friends came to me, though it had now become dangerous to pass through the streets; for by this time the city and suburbs were up in arms. Exceedingly rude the people and soldiers were. Henry Fell, going to a Friend's house, was knocked down by the soldiers, and he would have been killed had not the Duke of York come by.

Great mischief was done in the city this week; and when the next first-day came, as Friends went to their meetings, many were taken prisoners.



January 19, Saturday: The captured 5th Monarchist insurrectionary, Thomas Venner, was drawn and quartered. A row of his head and 13 others were put up on pikes to decorate London Bridge, and suddenly all over England all "primitive Christians" of whatever political stripe became suspect of secret leveling tendencies and doctrines.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

LONDON



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

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January 21, Monday: What were the [Quakers](#) to do to avoid being categorized with the 5th Monarchist insurrectionaries who had so disturbed English order? Friend [George Fox](#) and a few other elder Quaker males unilaterally issued a document which spoke for all English Friends, a document which has become known as "[The Quaker Peace Testimony](#)." For this vital document, Friend Richard Hubberthorne improved Fox's wording. The ostensive intent of this document was to remove "the ground of jealousy and suspicion" which was keeping so many of "the harmless and innocent people of God, called Quakers" in England's gaols, at a point in time in which these prominent friends believed that a piece of paper releasing all such prisoners of conscience lay waiting on King Charles II's desk for his signature. The male elders who signed affirmed that "all bloody principles and practices ... we do utterly deny, with all outward wars and strive, and fightings with outward weapons, for any end, or under any pretence whatsoever." Falsifying the history of the New Model Army during the English Revolution, the document suggests that no Quaker ever took up the sword. Despite this document, and the fact that he had always refused to take up arms against the crown, Fox would be imprisoned in Lancaster dungeon, apparently on suspicion as a "Common Enemy to His Majesty" — though he would never be allowed to know the precise nature of the charges against him.

<http://www.quaker.org/peaceweb/pdecla07.html>

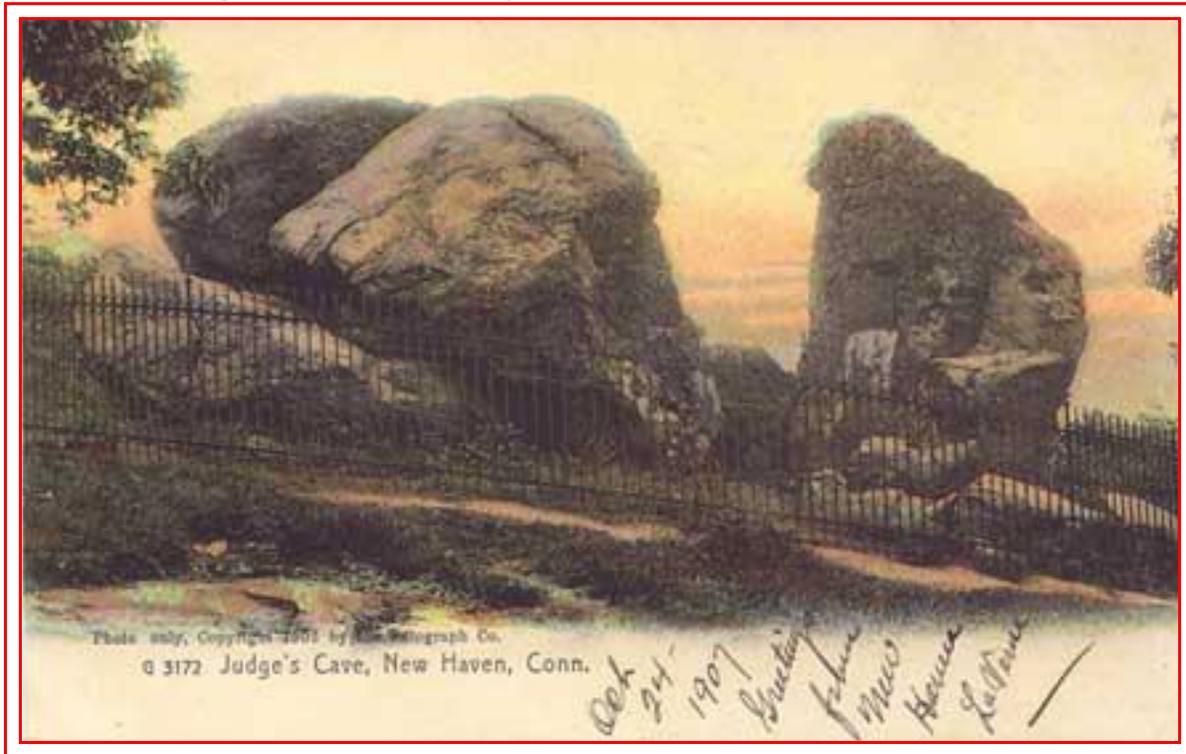
March: During the trial of Friend William Leddra of Barbados, another expelled [Quaker](#) who had returned to Boston to "try its bloody laws," a Quaker from Salem, Friend Wenlock Christison, rose in the courtroom and defied the court, promising that for every Quaker [hanged](#), five or ten would appear and volunteer to be thus honored. Arrested, he also would be sentenced to the gallows.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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March 7: Major-General William Goffe, regicide, in company with his father-in-law Lieutenant-General Edward Whalley, arrived in New Haven, Connecticut — in the vicinity of which the two fugitives from monarchy would be living in concealment for some years.



March 14: [Friend](#) William Leddra was [hanged](#).

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

May: In London, Friends Edward Burroughs and [Samuel Shattuck](#) learned of the hanging of Friend William Leddra in Boston in March. Shattuck and another banished [Quaker](#) convert petitioned the monarch to stop this “letting of blood in the Bay Colony,” alerting him to the fact that this had been the 4th such incident. A Royal Mandamus was prepared and signed.

June: The anti-[Quaker](#) penalties of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were modified with a “Cart and Whip Act.” Friend Wenlock Christison and 27 other Quakers were dragged from the prison behind carts and whipped to the borders of the colony, where they were untied and released.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

June 18: The 1st Church of [Northampton](#) was organized.

September 16: [Major-General Humphrey Atherton](#) was on his way somewhere on horseback when he passed by the spot at which Quakers had ordinarily been being cut loose from the cart behind which they had been lashed through the colony, just before being turned out into the wilderness. At this spot his horse was spooked by a cow and Atherton was thrown hard, striking his head.

A

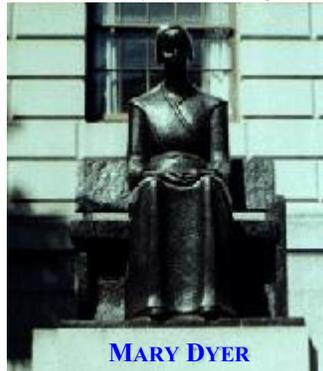
Chronological TABLE

*Of the most remarkable passages in that part of
America, known to us by the name of NEW-
ENGLAND.*

Anno Dom.

1661. Major *Atherton* Dyed in *New-England*.

Since it was this man who had on June 1, 1660 mocked the hanging body of Friend [Mary Dyer](#),  the bloody-minded among the [Quakers](#) would note with satisfaction as a punishment by God that the officer's eyes were out of their sockets, he had brain tissue coming out of his nose and blood dripping out of his ears, and his tongue was protruding from between his teeth. (Watch out, ye blasphemers, God'll getcha!)



October: With the execution of the regicides at Charing Cross, the English Revolution was definitively over. Friend [George Fox](#) was in the process of abandoning his earlier view that it was necessary under some circumstances to use violence to achieve justice, in favor of an appreciation of the fact that everything which one may hope to produce by such means is always already unjust.



November: A shipload of [Quakers](#) arrived in Boston harbor, among them Friend [Samuel Shattuck](#). He appeared before Governor John Endecott with his hat on, and his hat was struck off. When he presented the king's writ, the governor, sweeping off his own hat, ordered that Shattuck's hat be replaced upon his head. A new era of tolerance of dissenting opinion seemed to have arrived nonviolently, through sheer patience in suffering, for rather than submit to the authority of the mother country by sending its religious prisoners to England for trial, the Boston authorities clearly preferred to take no more religious prisoners, and to release all religious prisoners then in custody. (Friend Samuel Shattuck had managed to arrive just in time to intercept the planned hanging of Friend Winlock Christian. This new era of tolerance would endure all of ten months.)

The obstreperous Quaker witness of this era, which involved the constant disruption of the church services of other groups, may well be the origin of New England's "come outer" tradition:

Upon a lecture day at Boston in New England, I was much pressed to Spirit to go into their Worshiphouse among them, where I stood silent until the Man had done Preaching, then my mouth was opened to the People with a word of Exhortation, but through the violence of some of the People was haled to Prison, from whence, about three hours after, they fetched me out to the Court, where I was examined, and so returned to Prison again until the Morning: and into the Court I was brought again, where they had drawn up a Paper against me, as they thought, of what I had said the day before: and they said, *Come thou Vagabond, and hear this paper read with two Witnesses, their Hands to it, for we will handle thee:* and I said, *Read on;* Where I stood until they had done: And they asked me, *Whether I owned it, or no:* and I said, *Yea, every Word and would make it good by sound Proof if I might have Liberty to speak.* But they cried, *Away with him;* and some took me by the Throat and would not suffer me to answer it, but hurried me down Stairs, to the Carriage of a great Gun, which stood in the Market-Place, where I was stripped and tied to the Wheel and whipped with Ten Stripes, and then loosed, and tied to a Cart's-tail; and whipped with Ten more to the Town's End; and at *Roxbury*, at a Cart's-tail, with other Ten; and at *Dedham*, at a Cart's-tail, with Ten more, and then sent into the Woods.

—Thomas Newhouse, per AN ADDITION TO THE BOOK... by Ellis Hookes

Prior to the manifesto that had been issued by Friend [George Fox](#) and a few other elder Quaker males on January 21st of this year, [Quakers](#) had not been predominantly pacifist. George Bishop had, in NEW ENGLAND JUDGED, PART I, described in detail the treatment accorded to such unregulable religious dissenters in New England, and this book had come to Charles II's attention. Upon the urging of one of the Quakers who had been expelled from Boston, subsequent to his coronation on April 23rd the king had signed a *mandamus* requiring that henceforth all such cases should be forwarded to England for their trial, and had entrusted this paper to Friend Samuel Shattuck of Salem, who had himself recently been expelled from the Bay Colony.

In result of this communication from the king, the death penalty for Quakers would be rescinded, the only thing left being a somewhat less Draconian "Cart and Whip Act." When Friend Wenlock Christison and 27 other Quakers would be dragged from the prison behind carts and whipped to the borders of the colony, they would

there find themselves untied and released rather than martyred by the neck until dead.



Eventually, in 1884, a memorial would be created in Boston in honor of Friend Nathaniel Sylvester of Shelter Island (so named because he sheltered Quakers there), and the four [hanged](#) Quaker ministers William Ledra, Marmaduke Stevenson, William Robinson, and Mary Dyer:



In a somewhat related piece of news, this year Massachusetts was censuring the Reverend John Eliot for an antimonarchical attitude.

In another somewhat related piece of news, the town meeting of Hartford CT in this year would vote to extend a limited degree of tolerance toward a particular family of wayfarers, despite the fact that they were Unchristians: “The [Jews](#), which at present live in John Marsh his house, have liberty to sojourn in the town seven months.”



To oversimplify perhaps, the town meeting solved the problem of enforcement by evading it. The meeting gave institutional expression to the imperatives of peace. In the meetings consensus was reached, and individual consent and group opinion were placed in the service of social conformity.



– Michael Zuckerman, ALMOST CHOSEN PEOPLE: OBLIQUE BIOGRAPHIES IN THE AMERICAN GRAIN, 1993, page 59

Now here is Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)’s somewhat tendentious and overly positive later rendition of the main dramatic scene of this year:



THE KING'S MISSIVE

1661

Under the great hill sloping bare
To cove and meadow and Common lot,
In his council chamber and oaken chair,
Sat the worshipful Governor Endicott.

A grave, strong man, who knew no peer,
In the Pilgrim land, where he ruled in fear
Of God, not man, and for good or ill
Held his trust with an iron will.

He had shorn with his sword the cross from out
The flag and cloven the may-pole down,
Harried the heathen round about
And whipped the Quakers from town to town.

His brow was clouded, his eye was stern,
With a look of mingled sorrow and wrath;
“Woe’s me,” he murmured: “at every turn
The pestilent Quakers are in my path!

Some we have scourged, and banished some,
Some hanged, more doomed, and still they come,
Fast as the tide of yon bay sets in,
Sowing their heresy’s seed of sin.

“Did we count on this? Did we leave behind
The graves of our kin, the comfort and ease
Of our English hearths and homes, to find
Troublers of Israel such as these?

Shall I spare? Shall I pity them? God forbid!
I will do as the prophet to Agag did:
They come to poison the wells of the Word,
I will hew them in pieces before the Lord!”

The door swung open, and Rawson the clerk
Entered, and whispered under breath,
“There waits below for the hangman’s work
A fellow banished on pain of death—

Shattuck, of Salem, unhealed of the whip,
Brought over in Master Goldsmith’s ship
At anchor here in a Christian port,
With freight of the devil and all his sort!”

Twice and thrice on the chamber floor
Striding fiercely from wall to wall,
“The Lord do so to me and more,”
The Governor cried, “if I hang not all!”

“Bring hither the Quaker.” Calm, sedate,
With the look of a man at ease with fate,
Into that presence, grim and dread,
Came Samuel Shattuck, with hat on head.

“Off with the knave’s hat!” An angry hand
Smote down the offence; but the wearer said,
With a quiet smile, “By the king’s command
I bear his message and stand in his stead.”

In the Governor’s hand a missive he laid
With the royal arms on its seal displayed,
And the proud man spake as he gazed thereat,
Uncovering, “Give Mr. Shattuck his hat.”

He turned to the Quaker, bowing low,—
“The king commandeth your friends’ release;
Doubt not he shall be obeyed, although
To his subjects’ sorrow and sin’s increase.

What he here enjoineeth, John Endicott,
His loyal servant, questioneth not.
You are free! God grant the spirit you own
May take you from us, to parts unknown.”

So the door of the jail was open cast,
And like Daniel out of the lion’s den
Tender youth and girlhood passed,
With age-bowed women and gray-locked men.

And the voice of one appointed to die
Was lifted in praise and thanks on high.
Broad in the sunshine stretched away
With its capes and islands, the turquoise bay...

But as they who see not, the Quakers saw
The world about them; they only thought
With deep thanksgiving and pious awe
On the great deliverance God had wrought.

Through lane and alley the gazing town
Noisily followed them up and down;
Some with scoffing and brutal jeer,
Some with pity and words of cheer.

So passed the Quakers through Boston town,
Whose painful ministers sighed to see
The walls of their sheep-fold falling down,
And wolves of heresy prowling free.

But the years went on and brought no wrong;
With milder counsel the State grew strong,
As outward Letter and inward Light
Kept the balance of truth aright.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

It was all well and good that King Charles II had prohibited further executions of [Quakers](#) in the Massachusetts

... Edward Burrough named Samuel Shattuck, who, being an inhabitant of New England, was banished by their law, to be hanged if he came again; and to him the deputation was granted. Then he sent for Ralph Goldsmith, an honest Friend, who was master of a good ship, and agreed with him for three hundred pounds (goods or no goods) to sail in ten days. He forthwith prepared to set sail, and with a prosperous gale, in about six weeks' time, arrived before the town of Boston in New England, upon a First-day morning.

With him went many passengers, both of New and Old England, Friends, whom the Lord moved to go to bear their testimony against those bloody persecutors, who had exceeded all the world in that age in their bloody persecutions.

The townsmen at Boston, seeing a ship come into the bay with English colours, soon came on board and asked for the captain. Ralph Goldsmith told them he was the commander. They asked him if he had any letters. He said, "Yes." They asked if he would deliver them. He said, "No; not to-day."

So they went ashore and reported that there was a ship full of Quakers, and that Samuel Shattuck, who they knew was by their law to be put to death if he came again after banishment, was among them, but they knew not his errand nor his authority. [Friend [Mary Dyer](#), Friend [William Ledra](#), Friend [Marmaduke Stevenson](#), and Friend [William Robinson](#) had already been executed.]

So all were kept close that day, and none of the ship's company suffered to go on shore. Next morning Samuel Shattuck, the King's deputy, and Ralph Goldsmith, went on shore, and, sending back to the ship the men that landed them, they two went through the town to Governor John Endicott's door, and knocked. He sent out a man to know their business. They sent him word that their business was from the King of England, and that they would deliver their message to no one but the Governor himself.

Thereupon they were admitted, and the Governor came to them; and having received the deputation and the mandamus, he put off his hat and looked upon them. Then, going out, he bade the Friends follow him. He went to the deputy-governor, and after a short consultation came out to the Friends, and said, "We shall obey his majesty's commands."

After this the master gave liberty to the passengers to come on shore, and presently the noise of the business flew about the town; and the Friends of the town and the passengers of the ship met together to offer up their praises and thanksgivings to God, who had so wonderfully delivered them from the teeth of the devourer.

While they were thus met, in came a poor Friend, who, being sentenced by their bloody law to die, had lain some time in irons expecting execution. This added to their joy, and caused them to lift up their hearts in high praise to God, who is worthy for ever to have the praise, the glory, and the honour; for He only is able to deliver, to save, and support all that sincerely put their trust in Him.

FOX'S JOURNAL

Bay colony, but they weren't about to take that lying down. The Puritans of the colony sent the Reverend John



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Norton to London at an expense of £66 to reason with their monarch. The General Court of the colony feared that heretics were being tolerated to “ruin sincere servants of God,” and declared a Day of Humiliation.

1662

In Flushing, New York, Friend John Bowne was imprisoned and fined for allowing fellow [Quakers](#) to meet in the house he had erected in the previous year.



When the prison door was left unlocked so he might escape, Friend John chose not to avail himself of the opportunity. Instead he would appeal the case to the corporate offices of the Dutch West India Company. Although Governor Peter Stuyvesant would inform the Quaker that he might get off the ship anywhere he chose, and Friend John got off the vessel in Ireland, he then traveled through England to Holland for his trial — the result being that the Directors would instruct Governor Peter Stuyvesant that in the future he should overlook such cases where they did not directly interfere with local government: “The consciences of men at least ought ever to remain free and unshackled.” This was part of the struggle which now travels under the rubric “Flushing Remonstrance,” a significant precedent for the 1st Amendment to [the US Constitution](#).



Friend William Penn would visit the Bowne home in Flushing.

In 1694 Friend John would participate in the erection of a regular meetinghouse for the Flushing Monthly Meeting. Visitors to this structure would include Friend John Woolman, plus once some gentleman stopped by who was calling himself George Washington. These walls would witness the beginnings of organization for the purpose of the elimination of American race slavery. (This structure still stands, as the oldest house of worship in the state of New York and the 2d oldest Quaker meetinghouse in America.)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

 Before his death in a Virginia prison for attempting to preach [Quakerism](#), Friend George Wilson attempted to create an explanation for the Peace Testimony:

[N]o murderer nor man slayer ... shall enter into the kingdome
of God.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

He asked God to forgive the “blinde persecutors wch banished mee” to die in a prison in Virginia.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 In response to the passing of the first of the Acts known as the Clarendon Code, the Quaker Act in 1662, [Friend Solomon Eccles](#), or Eagle (1618-1683), passed through Bartholomew Fair as a sign, “naked with a pan on his head full of fire and brimstone, flaming up in the sight of the people, crying repentance among them, and bade them remember Sodom.” (Few if any of the musical compositions of Friend Solomon have survived, because upon becoming a Quaker he had, of course, burned all his books and compositions, and some musical instruments, as frivolities.)

With her face blacked and her hair down, with blood poured over her head and her sackcloth garment, a [Quaker](#) desecrated the altar of St. Paul’s Cathedral in London by pouring blood over it.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 [Friend Nathaniel Sylvester](#) bought up all the shares for Shelter Island off Long Island, and obtained an agreement that all Shelter Islanders would be “forever” exempt from all taxes and from all military duty.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 When [Friend Thomas Lurting](#) was pressed on board the *Mary*, he refused to eat. Offered various noncombatant jobs, he refused them all on grounds that even when a job aboard a military vessel did not directly involve killing, since the business of such a vessel was killing, it would of necessity indirectly involve killing. The captain then offered Seaman Lurting the job of assisting the ship’s surgeon, pointing out that if he held a man down while the man’s shattered leg was being cut off, he was not killing but was saving a life. Friend Thomas responded, he would later report, with “But I will not do that; for it is all an assistance.”

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

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The Act of Uniformity was passed in England. From this year into 1665 [George Fox](#) would be spending much of his time in prison for being found out of uniform(ity), and many English [Quakers](#) would be in prison for not swearing:⁷⁷

After I had made some stay in London, and had cleared myself of those services that at that time lay upon me there, I went into the country, having with me Alexander Parker and John Stubbs. We travelled through the Country, visiting Friends' meetings, till we came to Bristol.

There we understood the officers were likely to come and break up the meeting; yet on First-day we went to the meeting at Broadmead, and Alexander Parker standing up first, while he was speaking the officers came and took him away. After he was gone, I stood up and declared the everlasting Truth of the Lord God in His eternal power, which came over all; the meeting was quiet the rest of the time, and broke up peaceably. I tarried till the First-day following, visiting Friends, and being visited by them.

On First-day morning several Friends came to Edward Pyot's house (where I lay the night before), and used great endeavours to persuade me not to go to the meeting that day, for the magistrates, they said, had threatened to take me, and had raised the trained bands. I wished them to go to the meeting, not telling them what I intended to do; but I told Edward Pyot I intended to go, and he sent his son to show me the way from his house by the fields.

As I went I met diverse Friends who were coming to me to prevent my going, and who did what they could to stop me. "What!" said one, "wilt thou go into the mouth of the beast?" "Wilt thou go into the mouth of the dragon?" said another. I put them by and went on.

When I came to the meeting Margaret Thomas was speaking; and when she had done I stood up. I saw a concern and fear upon Friends for me; but the power of the Lord, in which I declared, soon struck the fear out of them; life sprang, and a glorious heavenly meeting we had.

After I had cleared myself of what was upon me from the Lord to the meeting, I was moved to pray; and after that to stand up again, and tell Friends how they might see there was a God in Israel that could deliver.

A very large meeting this was, and very hot; but Truth was over all, the life was exalted, which carried through all, and the meeting broke up in peace. The officers and soldiers had been breaking up another meeting, which had taken up their time, so that our meeting was ended before they came. But I understood afterwards they were in great rage because they had missed me; for they were heard to say one to another before, "I'll warrant we shall have him;" but the Lord prevented them.

I went from the meeting to Joan Hily's, where many Friends came to see me, rejoicing and blessing God for our deliverance. In the evening I had a fine fresh meeting among Friends at a Friend's house over the water, where we were much refreshed in the Lord.

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77. [Waldo Emerson](#) would note the power of Friend George Fox's metaphor having to do with the dispersion of seeds, in such passages in his journal. "George Fox's chosen expression of the God manifest in the mind is the seed. He means the seed of which the Beauty of the world is the flower and goodness the fruit."



In this year there had been an enactment preventing “mischiefs and dangers that may arise by certain persons called Quakers, and others refusing to take oaths” which had declared it “altogether unlawful and contrary to the word of God” for any person to refuse to take an oath, or to persuade another person to refuse to do so, and also made it an offense for more than five persons “commonly called Quakers” to “assemble in any place under pretense of joining in a religious worship not authorized by the laws of this realm”:

From Barnet Hills we came to Swannington, in Leicestershire, where William Smith and some other Friends visited me; but they went away towards nights leaving me at a Friend's house in Swannington.

At night, as I was sitting in the hall speaking to a widow woman and her daughter, Lord Beaumont came with a company of soldiers, who, slapping their swords on the door, rushed into the house with swords and pistols in their hands, crying, "Put out the candles and make fast the doors." Then they seized upon the Friends in the house, and asked if there were no more about the house. The Friends told them there was one man more in the hall.

There being some Friends out of Derbyshire, one of whom was named Thomas Fauks, Lord Beaumont, after he had asked all their names, bid his man set down that man's name as Thomas Fox. The Friend said, Nay; that his name was not Fox, but Fauks. In the mean time some of the soldiers came, and fetched me out of the hall to him. He asked my name. I told him my name was George Fox, and that I was well known by that name. "Aye," said he, "you are known all the world over." I said, I was known for no hurt, but for good.

Then he put his hands into my pockets to search them, and plucked out my comb-case, and afterwards commanded one of his officers to search further for letters. I told him I was no letter-carrier, and asked him why he came amongst a peaceable people with swords and pistols without a constable, contrary to the king's proclamation and to the late act. For he could not say there was a meeting, I being only talking with a poor widow-woman and her daughter.

By reasoning thus with him, he came somewhat down; yet, sending for the constables, he gave them charge of us that night, and told them to bring us before him next morning. Accordingly the constables set a watch of the townspeople upon us that night, and had us next morning to his house, about a mile from Swannington.

** When we came before him, he told us that we had met "contrary to the Act." I desired him to show us the Act. "Why," says he, "you have it in your pocket." I told him he did not find us in a meeting. Then he asked whether we would take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. I told him I never took any oath in my life, nor engagement, nor the covenant. Yet still he would force the oath upon us. I desired him to show us the oath, that we might see whether we were the persons it was to be tendered to, and whether it was not for the discovery of popish recusants. At length he brought a little book, but we called for the statute-book. He would not show us that, but caused a mittimus to be made, which mentioned that we "were to have had a meeting." With this mittimus he delivered us to the constables to convey us to Leicester jail.*



But when the constables had brought us back to Swannington, it being harvest-time, it was hard to get anybody to go with us. The people were loth to take their neighbors to prison, especially in such a busy time. They would have given us our mittimus to carry ourselves to the jail; for it had been usual for constables to give Friends their own mittimuses, and they have gone themselves with them to the jailer. But we told them that, though our Friends had sometimes done so, we would not take this mittimus; but some of them should go with us to the jail. At last they hired a poor labouring man, who was loth to go, though hired. So we rode to Leicester, being five in number; some carried their Bibles open in their hands, declaring Truth to the people as we rode in the fields and through the towns, and telling them we were prisoners of the Lord Jesus Christ, going to suffer bonds for His name and Truth. One woman Friend carried her wheel on her lap to spin on in prison; and the people were mightily affected.

At Leicester we went to an inn. The master of the house seemed troubled that we should go to the prison; and being himself in commission, he sent for lawyers in the town to advise with, and would have taken up the mittimus, kept us in his own house, and not have let us go into the jail.

But I told Friends it would be a great charge to lie at an inn; and many Friends and people would be coming to visit us, and it might be hard for him to bear our having meetings in his house. Besides, we had many Friends in the prison already, and we had rather be with them. So we let the man know that we were sensible of his kindness, and to prison we went; the poor man that brought us thither delivering both the mittimus and us to the jailer.

This jailer had been a very wicked, cruel man. Six or seven Friends being in prison before we came, he had taken some occasion to quarrel with them, and had thrust them into the dungeon amongst the felons, where there was hardly room for them to lie down. We stayed all that day in the prison-yard, and desired the jailer to let us have some straw. He surlily answered, "You do not look like men that would lie on straw." After a while William Smith, a Friend, came to me, and he being acquainted in the house, I asked him what rooms there were in it, and what rooms Friends had usually been put into before they were put into the dungeon. I asked him also whether the jailer or his wife was the master. He said that the wife was master; and that, though she was lame, and sat mostly in her chair, being only able to go on crutches, yet she would beat her husband when he came within her reach if he did not do as she would have him.

I considered that probably many Friends might come to visit us, and that if we had a room to ourselves, it would be better for them to speak to me, and me to them, as there should be occasion. Wherefore I desired William Smith to go speak with the woman, and acquaint her that if she would let us have a room, suffer our Friends to come out of the dungeon, and leave it to us to give her what we would, it might be better for her.



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He went, and after some reasoning with her, she consented; and we were put into a room. Then we were told that the jailer would not suffer us to have any drink out of the town brought into the prison, but that what beer we drank we must take of him. I told them I would remedy that, for we would get a pail of water and a little wormwood once a day, and that might serve us; so we should have none of his beer, and the water he could not deny us. Before we came, when the few Friends that were prisoners there met together on First-days, if any of them was moved to pray to the Lord, the jailer would come up with his quarter-staff in his hand, and his mastiff dog at his heels, and pluck them down by the hair of the head, and strike them with his staff; but when he struck Friends, the mastiff dog, instead of falling upon them, would take the staff out of his hand.

When the First-day came, I spoke to one of my fellow-prisoners, to carry a stool and set it in the yard, and give notice to the debtors and felons that there would be a meeting in the yard, and they that would hear the Word of the Lord declared might come thither. So the debtors and prisoners gathered in the yard, and we went down, and had a very precious meeting, the jailer not meddling.

Thus every First-day we had a meeting as long as we stayed in prison; and several came in out of the town and country. Many were convinced, and some there received the Lord's Truth who have stood faithful witnesses for it ever since.

When the sessions came we were brought before the justices, with many more Friends, sent to prison whilst we were there, to the number of about twenty. The jailer put us into the place where the thieves were put, and then some of the justices began to tender the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to us. I told them I never took any oath in my life; and they knew we could not swear, because Christ and His Apostle forbade it; therefore they but put it as a snare to us. We told them that if they could prove that, after Christ and the Apostle had forbidden swearing, they did ever command Christians to swear, then we would take these oaths; otherwise we were resolved to obey Christ's command and the Apostle's exhortation. They said we must take the oath that we might manifest our allegiance to the king. I told them I had been formerly sent up a prisoner by Colonel Hacker, from that town to , under pretence that I had held meetings to plot to bring in King Charles. I also desired them to read our mittimus, which set forth the cause of our commitment to be that we "were to have a meeting"; and I said Lord Beaumont could not by that act send us to jail unless we had been taken at a meeting, and found to be such persons as the act speaks of; therefore we desired that they would read the mittimus and see how wrongfully we were imprisoned.

They would not take notice of the mittimus, but called a jury and indicted us for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. When the jury was sworn and instructed, as they were going out, one that had been an alderman of the city spoke to them, and bade them "have a good conscience"; and one of the jury, being a peevish man, told the justices there was one affronted the jury; whereupon they called him up, and tendered him the oath also, and he took it.

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While we were standing where the thieves used to stand, a cut-purse had his hand in several Friends' pockets. Friends declared it to the justices, and showed them the man. They called him up before them, and upon examination he could not deny it; yet they set him at liberty.

It was not long before the jury returned, and brought us in guilty; and after some words, the justices whispered together, and bid the jailer take us to prison again; but the Lord's power was over them, and His everlasting Truth, which we declared boldly amongst them. There being a great concourse of people, most of them followed us; so that the crier and bailiffs were fain to call the people back again to the court.

We declared the Truth as we went along the streets, till we came to the jail, the streets being full of people.

When we were in our chamber again, after some time the jailer came to us and desired all to go forth that were not prisoners. When they were gone he said, "Gentlemen, it is the court's pleasure that ye should be set at liberty, except those that are in for tithes; and you know there are fees due to me; but I shall leave it to you to give me what you will."

Thus we were all set at liberty on a sudden, and passed every one into our services. Leonard Fell went with me again to Swannington.

I had a letter from Lord Hastings, who, hearing of my imprisonment, had written from London to the justices of the sessions to set me at liberty. I had not delivered this letter to the justices; whether any knowledge of his mind received through another hand made them discharge us so suddenly, I know not. This letter I carried to Lord Beaumont, who had sent us to prison. When he had broken it open and read it, he seemed much troubled; but at last he came a little lower, yet threatened us that if we had any more meetings at Swannington, he would break them up and send us to prison again.

But, notwithstanding his threats, we went to Swannington, and had a meeting with Friends there, and he neither came nor sent to break it up. [After travelling through Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire and Warwickshire, Friend Fox came again to London.]

I stayed not long in London, but went into Essex, and so to Norfolk, having great meetings. At Norwich, when I came to Captain Lawrence's, there was a great threatening of disturbance; but the meeting was quiet. Passing thence to Sutton, and into Cambridgeshire, I heard of Edward Burrough's decease. Being sensible how great a grief and exercise it would be to Friends to part with him, I wrote the following lines for the staying and settling of their minds:

FRIENDS:

** * Be still and quiet in your own conditions, and settled in the Seed of God, that doth not change; that in that ye may feel dear Edward Burrough among you in the Seed, in which and by which he begat you to God, with whom he is; and that in the Seed ye may all see and feel him, in which is the unity with him in the life; and so enjoy him in the life that doth not change, which is invisible.*

GEORGE FOX.



MAGNANIMITY⁷⁸

'Magnanimity ... includes all that belongs to a great soul. A high and mighty Courage, an invincible Patience, an immovable Grandeur; which is above the reach of Injuries; a high and lofty Spirit allayed with the sweetness of Courtesy and Respect: a deep and stable Resolution founded on Humilitie without any Baseness ... a generous confidence, and a great inclination to Heroical deeds; all these conspire to compleat it, with a severe and mighty expectation of Bliss incomprehensible....

'A magnanimous soul is always awake. The whole globe of the Earth is but a nutshell in comparison with its enjoyments. The Sun is its Lamp, the Sea its Fishpond, the Stars its Jewels, Men, Angels, its attendance, and God alone its sovereign delight and supreme complacency.... Nothing is great if compared with a Magnanimous soul but the Sovereign Lord of all the Worlds.'—REV. THOMAS TRAHERNE (A Contemporary of G. Fox).

'They threw stones upon me that were so great, that I did admire they did not kill us; but so mighty was the power of the Lord, that they were as a nut or a bean to my thinking.'—THOMAS BRIGGS, 1685.

78. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



MAGNANIMITY

Beloved Swarthmoor! Dear home, where kind hearts abode, where gentle faces and tender hands were ever ready to welcome and bind up the wounds, both visible and invisible, of any persecuted guest in those troubled times. Surely, after his terrible experiences on the day of the riot at Ulverston, George Fox would yield to the entreaties of his entertainers, and allow himself to be persuaded to rest in peace under the shadow of the Swarthmoor yew-trees, until the bloodthirsty fury against all who bore the name of Quaker, and against himself in particular, should have somewhat lessened in the neighbourhood? Far from it. To 'Flee from Storms' was never this strong man's way.⁷⁹ Gentle reeds and delicate grasses may bow as the storm-wind rushes over them. The sturdy oak-tree, with its tough roots grappling firmly underground, stubbornly faces the blast. George Fox, 'ever Stiff as a Tree,' by the admission even of his enemies, barely waited for his 'yellow, black and blue' bruises to disappear before he came forth again to encounter his foes. Certain priests had however taken advantage of this short enforced absence to 'put about a prophecy' that he had disappeared for good, and 'that within a year all these Quakers would be utterly put down.' Great, therefore, must have been their chagrin to hear, only a short fortnight after the Lecture Day at Ulverston, that the hated 'Man in Leather Breeches' was off once more on his dangerous career.

Fox's companion on this journey was that same James Nayler who had followed him on his first visit to Swarthmoor, a few weeks previously. Nayler was one of the most brilliantly gifted of all those early comrades of George Fox, who were hereafter to earn the name of 'the Valiant Sixty.' Clouds and sorrows were to separate the two friends in years to come, but at this time they were united in heart and soul, both alike given up to the joyful service of 'Publishing Truth.' The object of their journey was to visit another recent convert, James Lancaster by name, in his home on the Island of Walney that lies off the Furness coast. On the way thither the travellers spent one night at a small town on the mainland called Cockan. Here, as usual, they held a meeting with the inhabitants of the place, in order to proclaim the message that possessed them. Their words had already convinced one of their hearers, and more converts to the Truth might have followed, when suddenly, at a low window of the hall where they were assembled, a man's figure appeared, threatening the audience with a loaded pistol which he carried in his hand. As this pistol was pointed, first at one and then at another of George Fox's listeners, all the terrified people sprang to their feet and rushed through the doors of the hall as fast as their legs could carry them. Their alarm was natural; probably most, if not all of them, had seen fire-arms used in grim earnest before this, for the period of the Civil Wars was too recent to

79. 'Flee from Storms' is a motto in the note-book of Leonardo da Vinci.



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have faded from anyone's memory.

'I am not after you, ye timid sheep,' shouted the man with the pistol as the scared people fled past him. 'It is that Deceiver who is leading you all astray that I have to do with. Come out and meet me, George Fox,' he shouted, 'if you call yourself a Man.'

There was no need to ask twice. 'Here I am, Friend,' answered a quiet voice, as the well-known figure, in its wide white hat, long coat, leather breeches and doublet, and girdle with alchemy buttons, appeared standing in the doorway. Then, passing calmly through it, George Fox drew up scarce three paces from his assailant—his body making a large target at close range that it would be impossible to miss. The frightened people paused in their flight to watch. Were they going to see the Quaker slain? The stranger raised his pistol; he aimed carefully. Not a muscle of Fox's countenance quivered. Not an eyelash moved. The trigger snapped....

Nothing happened! The pistol did not go off. As if by a miracle the Quaker was saved.

Seeing this wonderful escape of their leader, some of the other men's courage returned. They rushed back to assist him. They threw themselves upon his assailant and wrenched the pistol from his hand, vowing he should do no further mischief. Fox, seeing in his adversary, not an enemy who had just sought his life, but a fellow-man with a 'Seed of God' hidden somewhere within him and therefore a possible soul to be won, was 'moved in the Lord's power to speak to him; and he was struck with the Lord's power' (small wonder!) 'so that he went and hid himself in a cellar and trembled for fear.

'And so the Lord's power came over them all, though there was a great rage in the country.'

The Journal continues (but it was written many years later, remember, when the account of what had happened could not bring anyone into trouble): 'And ye next morning I went over in a boat to James Lancaster's, and as soon as I came to land there rushed out about forty men, with staffs, clubs, and fishing-poles, and fell upon me with them, beating, punching, and thrust me backwards into the sea. And when they had thrust me almost into the sea, I stood up and went into the middle of them again, but they all laid on me again and knocked me down and mazed me. And when I was down and came to myself, I looked up and saw James Lancaster's wife throwing stones at my face, and her husband lying over me, to keep the stones and blows off me. For the people had persuaded James's wife that I had bewitched her husband, and had promised her that if she would let them know when I came hither they would be my death.

'So at last I got up in the power of God over them all, and they beat me down into the boat. And so James Lancaster came into the boat to me and so he set me over the water.

'And James Nayler we saw afterwards that they were beating of him. For while they were beating of me, he walked up into a field, and they never minded him till I was gone, and then they fell upon him, and all their cry was "Kill him!" "Kill him!"



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When I was come over to the town again, on the other side of the water, the townsmen rose up with pitchforks, flails, and staves to keep me out of the town, crying, "Kill him! knock him on the head! bring the cart and carry him to the churchyard." And so they abused me and guarded me with all those weapons a pretty way out of the town, and there at last, the Lord's power being over them all, they left me. Then James Lancaster went back again to look for James Nayler. So I was alone and came to a ditch of water and washed me, for they had all dirted me, and wet and mired my clothes, my hands and my face.

'I walked a matter of three miles to Thomas Hutton's, where Thomas Lawson the priest lodged, who was convinced. And I could hardly speak to them when I came in I was so bruised. And so I told them where I had left James Nayler, and they went and took each of them a horse, and brought him thither that night. And I went to bed, but I was so weak with bruises that I was not able to turn me. And the next day, they hearing of it at Swarthmoor, they sent a horse for me. And as I was riding the horse knocked his foot against a stone and stumbled, so that it shook me so and pained me, as it seemed worse to me than all the blows, my body was so tortured. So I came to Swarthmoor, and my body was exceedingly bruised.'

Even within the sheltering walls of Swarthmoor, this time persecution followed. Justice Sawrey had not yet forgiven the Quaker for his behaviour on the day of the riot. He must have further punishment. So right up to Swarthmoor itself came constables with a warrant signed by two Justices (Sawrey of course being one of them), that a certain man named George Fox was to be apprehended as a disturber of the peace. And clapped into gaol George Fox would have been, wounded and bruised as he was, in spite of all that his gentle hostesses could do to prevent it, had it not happened that, just as the constables arrived to execute this order, the master of the house, good Judge Fell himself, must needs return once more, in the very nick of time, home to Swarthmoor. His mere presence was a defence.

He had been away again on circuit all this time that George Fox had been so cruelly treated in the neighbourhood, and had therefore known nothing of the rioting during his absence. Now that he was back at home again, straightway everything went well. The roof seemed to grow all at once more sheltering, the walls of the old hall to become thicker and more able to protect its inmates, when once the master of the house was safely at home once more.

The six girls ran up and down stairs more lightly, smiling with relief whenever they met each other in the rooms and passages. Long afterwards, in the troubled years that were to follow, when there was no indulgent father to protect them and their mother and their friends from the bitter blast of persecution, many a time did the maidens of Swarthmoor recall that day. They remembered how, weeping, they had run down to the high arched gate of the orchard to meet their father, and to tell him what was a-doing up at the Hall. Thus they drew near the house, the



Judge's dark figure half hidden among his muslined maidens, even as the dark old yews are hidden in spring by the snowy-blossomed apple-trees. When they saw the Judge himself coming towards them, the constables drawn up in the courtyard began to look mighty foolish. They approached with gestures of respect, giving a short account of what had happened at Walney, and holding out the warrant, signed by two justices, as an apology for their presence at Judge Fell's own Hall during his absence. All their excuses availed them little. Judge Fell could look stern enough when he chose, and now his eyes flashed at this invasion of his home.

'What brings you here, men? A warrant for the apprehension of George Fox, MY GUEST? Are my brother Justices not aware then that I am a Justice too, and Vice-Chancellor of the county to boot? Under this roof a man is safe, were he fifty times a Quaker. But, since ye are here' (this with a nod and a wink, as the constables followed the Judge up the flagged path and by a side door into his oak-panelled study), 'since ye are here, men, I will give you other warrants a-plenty to execute instead. Those riotous folk at Walney Island are well known to me of old. It is high time they were punished. Take this, and see that the ringleaders who assaulted my guest are themselves clapped into Lancaster Gaol forthwith.'

Well pleased to get off with nothing but a reprimand, the constables departed, and carried out their new mission with right good will. The rioters were apprehended, and some of them were forced to flee from the country. In time James Lancaster's wife came to understand better the nature of the 'witchcraft' that George Fox had used upon her husband. She too was 'convinced of Truth.' Later on, after she had herself become a Friend, she must often have looked back with remorse to the sad day when her husband had been forced to defend his loved and revered teacher with his own body from her blows and stones.

Meanwhile at Swarthmoor there had been great rejoicing over the discomfiture of the constables. No sooner had they departed down the flagged path than back flitted the bevy of girls again into the study, until the small room was full to overflowing. It was like seeing a company of fat bumble-bees, their portly bodies resplendent in black and gold, buzz heavily out of a room, and a gay flight of pale-blue and lemon butterflies flit back in their places. All the daughters fell upon their father, Margaret, Bridget, Isabel, Sarah, Mary, and Susanna; there they all were! tugging off his heavy riding-boots and gaiters, putting away the whip on the whip-rack, while little Mary perched herself proudly on his knee and put up her face for a kiss; and, all the time, such a talk went on as never was about Friend George Fox and the sufferings he had undergone, each girl telling the story over and over again.

'Now, now, maids!' said the kind father at last, 'I have heard enough of your chatter. It is time for you to depart and send Mr. Fox hither to me himself. 'Tis a stirring tale, even told by maidens' lips; I would fain hear it at greater length from the man himself. He shall tell me, in his own words, all that



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he hath suffered, and the vile usage he hath met with at the hands of his enemies.'

A few minutes later, a steady step was heard crossing the hall and ascending the two shallow stairs that led to the Justice's private sanctum. As George Fox entered the room Judge Fell rose from his seat at the writing-table to receive his guest, and clasped his hand with a hearty greeting.

The study at Swarthmoor is only a small room; but when those two strong men were both in it together, facing each other with level brows and glances of unclouded trust, the small room seemed suddenly to grow larger and more spacious. It was swept through by the wide free airs of heaven, where full-grown spirits can meet and recognise one another unhindered. They disagreed often, these two determined, powerful men. They owned different loyalties and held different opinions; but from the day they first met to the day they parted they respected and trusted one another wholly, and for this each man in his heart gave thanks to God.

George Fox began by asking his host how his affairs had prospered; but when, these enquiries answered, the Judge in his turn questioned his guest of the rough usage he had met with both at Ulverston and in the Island of Walney, to his surprise no details were forthcoming. Had the Judge not had full particulars from his daughters as well as from the constables, he would have thought that nothing of much moment had occurred. George Fox apparently took no interest in the subject; the most he would say, in answer to his host's repeated enquiries, was that 'the people could do no other, in the spirit in which they were. They did but show the fruits of their priest's ministry and their profession and religion to be wrong.'

'I' faith, Margaret, thy friend is a right generous man,' the good Judge remarked to his wife, that same night, a few hours later, when they were at length alone together in their chamber. The festoons of interlaced roses and lilies, carved in high relief on the high black oak fireplace, shone out clearly in the glow of two tall candles above their heads.

'In truth, dear Heart,' he continued, taking his wife's hand in his, and drawing her fondly to him, 'in truth, though I said not so to him, the Quaker doth manifest the fruits of his religion to be right, by his behaviour to his foes. All stiff and bruised though he was, he made nothing of his injuries. When I would have enquired after his hurts, he would only say the Power of the Lord had surely healed him. FOR THE REST, HE MADE NOTHING OF IT, AND SPOKE AS A MAN WHO HAD NOT BEEN CONCERNED.'



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

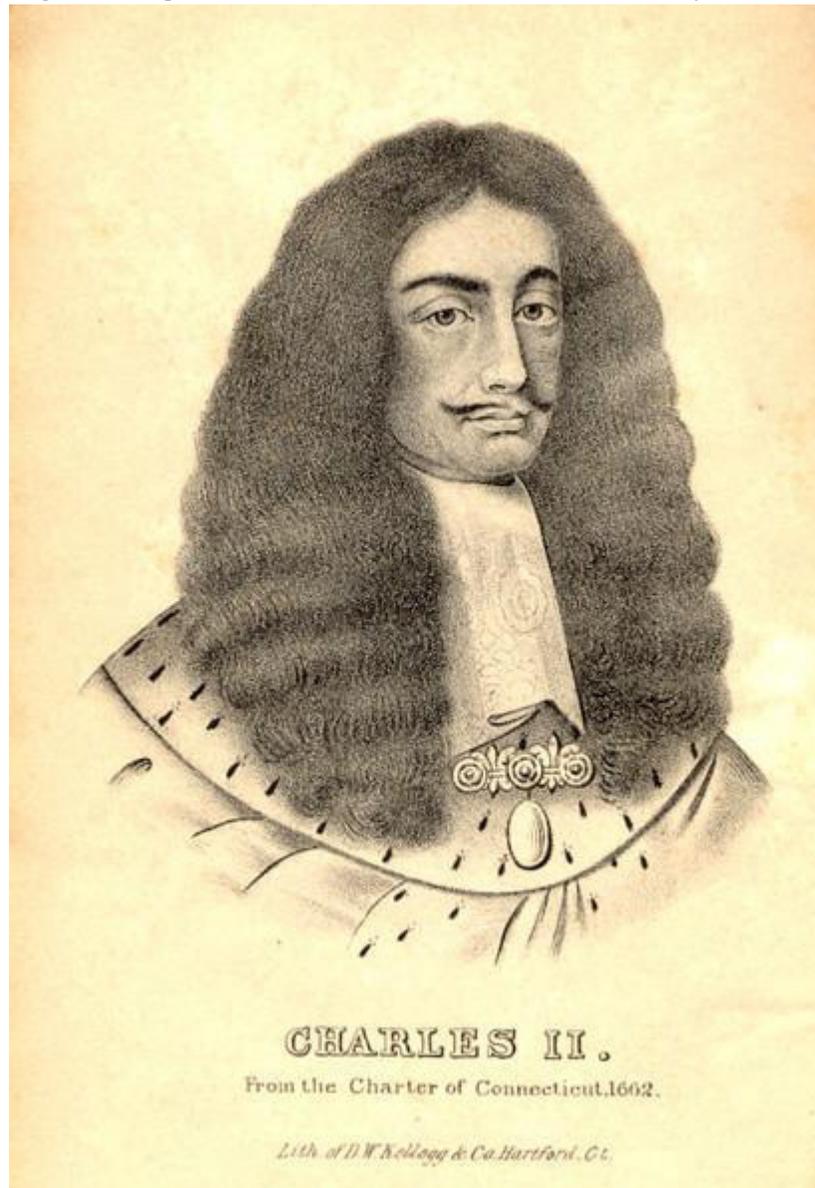
EARLY QUAKERISM

HISTORICAL NOTES

‘MAGNANIMITY.’

Historical. See George Fox’s JOURNAL, i. 59-61. Sewel’s HISTORY, i. 113-114.

June 28: King Charles II of England reconsidered his having prohibited further executions of [Quakers](#) in the Massachusetts Bay colony, and declared that he had not intended “to direct or wish that any indulgence should be granted to those persons commonly called Quakers.” Noting that it had been necessary for his Parliament to enact laws against such persons, he declared himself “well contented that you doe the like there.”



Gentle treatment? It had all been some sort of silly little miscommunication. In Boston in October, processing this information, the Cart and Whip Act would be reinstated.



September: The Episcopalians of England obtained enactment of the Clarendon Code, requiring that their BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER be used at all religious services.

Here's a strange thing! This Episcopal BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER incorporated St. [Augustine](#)'s injunction that a sacrament amounted merely to an "outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace."

WALDEN: The customs of some savage nations might, perchance be profitably imitated by us, for they at least go through the semblance of casting their slough annually; they have the idea of the thing, whether they have the reality or not. Would it not be well if we were to celebrate such a "busk," or "feast of first fruits," as Bartram describes to have been the custom of the Mucclasse Indians? "When a town celebrates the busk," says he, "having previously provided themselves with new clothes, new pots, pans, and other household utensils and furniture, they collect all their worn out clothes and other despicable things, sweep and cleanse their houses, squares, and the whole town, of their filth, which with all the remaining grain and other old provisions they cast together into one common heap, and consume it with fire. After having taken medicine, and fasted for three days, all the fire in town is extinguished. During this fast they abstain from the gratification of every appetite and passion whatever. A general amnesty is proclaimed; all malefactors may return to their town.-"

"On the fourth morning, the high priest, by rubbing dry wood together, produces new fire in the public square, from whence every habitation in the town is supplied with the new and pure flame."

They then feast on the new corn and fruits and dance and sing for three days, "and the four following days they receive visits and rejoice with their friends from neighboring towns who have in like manner purified and prepared themselves."

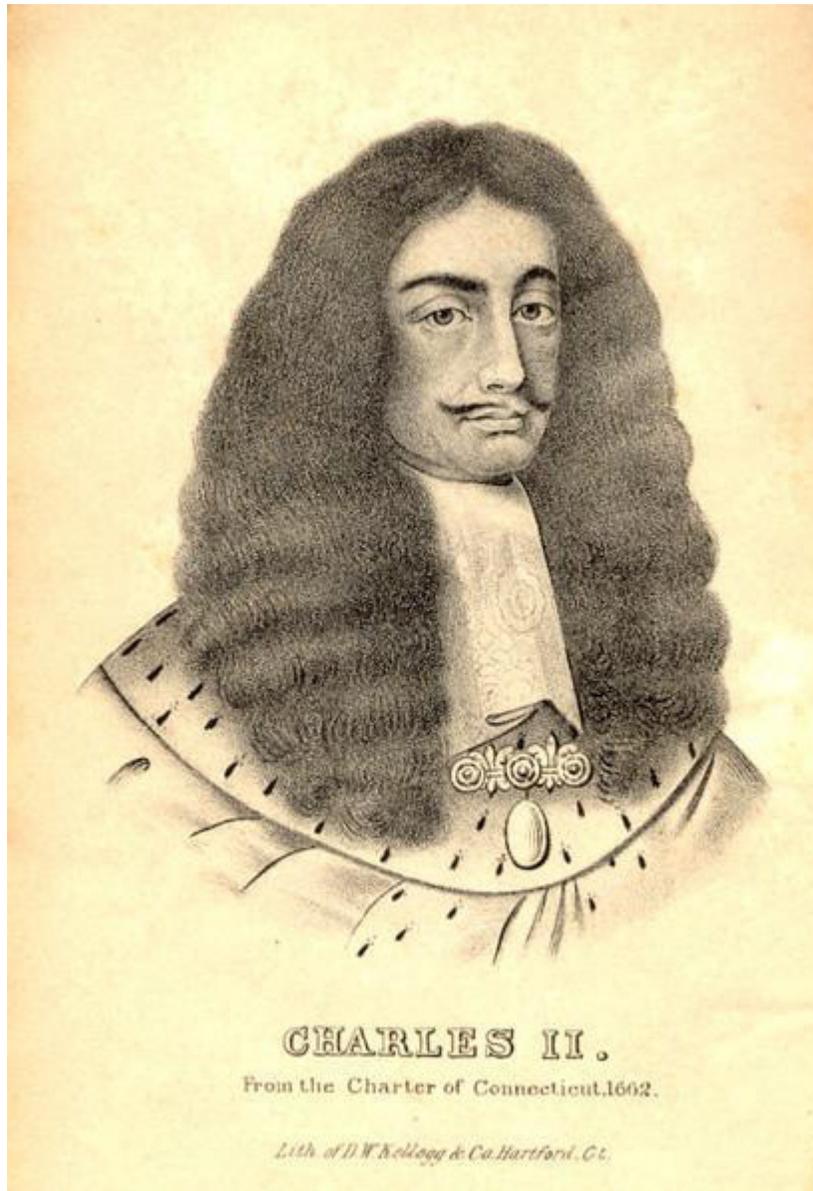
The Mexicans also practised a similar purification at the end of every fifty-two years, in the belief that it was time for the world to come to an end.

I have scarcely heard of a truer sacrament, that is, as the dictionary defines it, "outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace," than this, and I have no doubt that they were originally inspired directly from Heaven to do thus, though they have no biblical record of the revelation.

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That is, there was no magic potency whatever to a sacrament, it being merely a form of sign language. Nevertheless, participation in these outward signs was to be mandatory. The English members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), since they openly rejected such forms, were of course to be persecuted. Also, King Charles II let it be known to the American colonies that despite his previous sympathies, he now had come to understand about these Quakers and how they needed to be suppressed — and anything the colonial authorities wanted to do with their American [Quakers](#) was now quite all right with him: he had no intent “to direct or wish that any indulgence should be granted to those persons commonly called Quakers.” He was “well contented” that they should be ruthlessly suppressed. (In the following month, in Boston, the vicious Cart and Whip Act would be reinstated.)



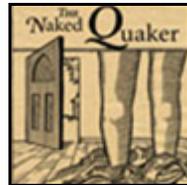
October: In Boston, the Cart and Whip Act against the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was reinstated.

October 24: In Medfield MA, [Friend John Ellis, Sr.](#) and [Joan Clapp Ellis](#) had [Joseph Ellis](#).

December 22: During this year, in the Mother Country, England, a Puritan plot to overthrow the monarchy had been discovered and not only were the English [Quakers](#) being rumored to have been involved, but one named Reginald Fawcett had in fact participated. In what may well have been the first technical use of the term “disown” by the [Religious Society of Friends](#), Friend Francis Howgill was interrogated about the involvement of Reginald Fawcett and he informed the court officials that “Fawcett has been disowned by us these six years.”⁸⁰ so nothing much had come of this in the form of additional persecutions for the Quakers in England.

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

In the New England colony, however, in this year in which Friend [Deborah Wilson](#) was wandering the streets of Salem “naked as the day she came into the world” in order to dramatize to the Puritans the nakedness of their sin,⁸¹ the Puritans were installing a Quaker Act which would inaugurate a fresh period of religious persecution of Quaker dissenters.



During this year a total of three young Quaker women had come from England to Dover, where for six weeks they had been preaching in private residences against professional ministers, against restrictions on individual conscience, and against other established customs of the town. They controverted Dover’s Congregational minister, the Reverend John Reyner. One of the elders of 1st Church, Hatevil Nutter, had prepared a citizens’ petition “humbly craving relief against the spreading & the wicked errors of the Quakers among them.” The Crown Magistrate, Richard Waldron, ordered a severe punishment, including whippings in at least 11 towns and travel over 80 miles in bitterly cold weather. Constables John and Thomas Roberts of Dover seized the three women and carried out the punishment as instructed. George Bishop described the event: “Deputy Waldron caused these women to be stripped naked from the middle upwards, and tied to a cart, and after awhile cruelly whipped them, whilst the priest stood and looked and laughed at it.” Sewall’s HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS continues: “The women thus being whipped at Dover, were carried to Hampton and there delivered to the constable.... The constable the next morning would have whipped them before day, but they refused, saying they were not ashamed of their sufferings. Then he would have whipped them with their clothes on, when he

80. Braithwaite, William C. THE SECOND PERIOD OF QUAKERISM. York, England: William Sessions Ltd. with the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, 1979, page 30.

81. There is a 19th-Century update on this story.

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had tied them to the cart. But they said, “set us free, or do according to thine order. He then spoke to a woman to take off their clothes. But she said she would not for all the world. Why, said he, then I’ll do it myself....



Whipping Quakers at the Cart's Tail.

So he stripped them, and then stood trembling whip in hand, and so he did the execution. Then he carried them to Salisbury through the dirt and the snow half the leg deep; and here they were whipped again. Indeed their bodies were so torn, that if Providence had not watched over them, they might have been in danger of their lives.” In Salisbury, Dr. Walter Barefoot convinced the constable to swear him in as a deputy, but after he had received the women and the warrant, what he did was put a stop to the punishment, instead dressing their wounds and returning them to the Maine side of the Piscataqua River. Eventually these three Quaker women would return to Dover and establish a worship group. In time, over a third of Dover’s citizens would become Quaker, and John Greenleaf Whittier would immortalize this suffering in poetry:

How They Drove the Quaker Women from Dover

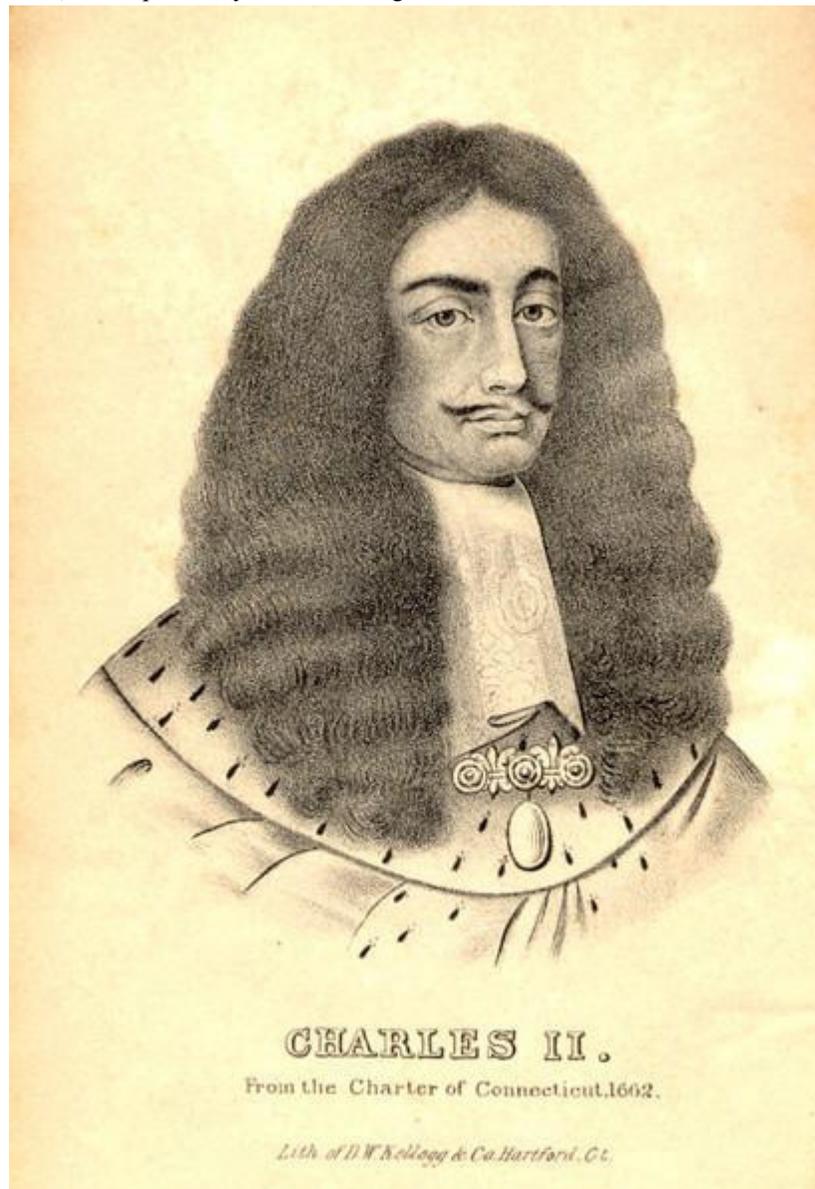
The tossing spray of Cochecho’s falls
 Hardened to ice on its icy walls,
 As through Dover town, in the chill gray dawn,
 Three women passed, at the cart tail drawn,
 Bared to the waist, for the north wind’s grip
 And keener sting of the constables whip
 The blood that followed each hissing blow
 Froze as it sprinkled the winter snow.
 Priest and ruler, boy and maiden

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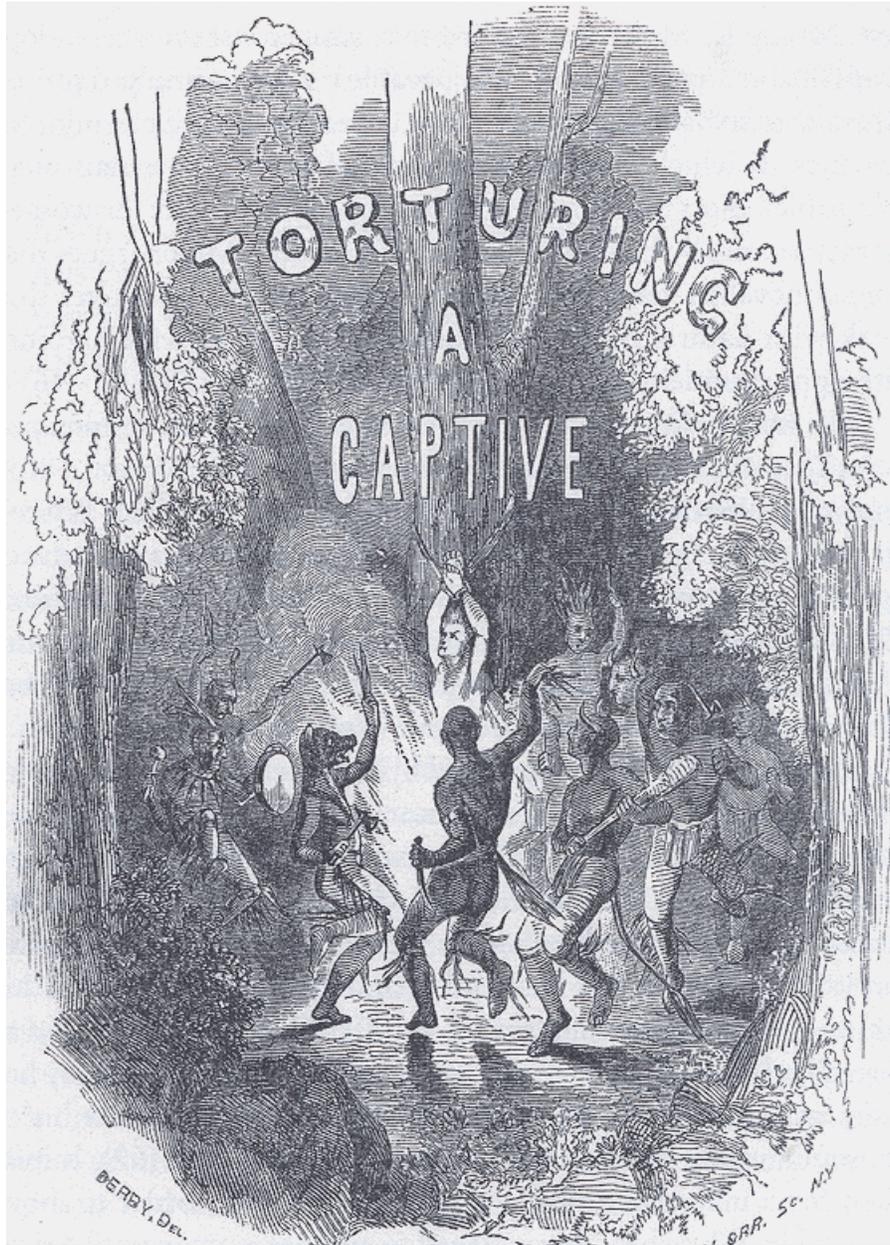
followed the dismal cavalcade;
And from door and window, open thrown,
Looked and wondered, gaffer and crone.

Friend Elizabeth Hooton, who had been tortured in the Bay Colony in 1661 under its previous Cart and Whip Law and who had then audaciously sailed to England and obtained an audience with King Charles II, and who had succeeded in persuading this English king to sign for her a letter about her rights, arrived in this year back in Boston harbor, accompanied by her adult daughter.



Authorities of the Massachusetts Bay Colony ordered her to be tied behind a cart, stripped to the waist, and whipped to the border of the colony. She returned, and was subjected to the lash, an incredible total of eight times, and a total of four times was abandoned in “the wilderness, to be devoured, where were bears and wolves, besides wild Indians” — but this 60-year-old Friend simply would not cease nor desist in her

testimony.



Nor would other local Quaker women, inspired by her example, cease and desist.



There is at least a possibility that at least a decade prior to this event, Walden Pond (or Waldens Pond) in Walden Woods (or Waldens Wood) had been named after an owner, perhaps deputy sheriff Richard Waldron who was active in the Bay colony in the second half of the 17th Century. In witness of this, consider the following court order, followed by descriptive remarks as to the manner in which the order was carried out, from George Bishop's NEW ENGLAND JUDGED BY THE SPIRIT OF THE LORD, something printed in London in 1703 describing a persecution of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) that had been initiated in Dover NH on this day, December 22, 1662. First we will consider the order itself, then the manner of its implementation:

To the constables of Dover NH, Hampton, Salisbury NH, Newbury, Rowley, Ipswich, Lynn, Boston, Roxbury, Dedham, and until these Vagabond-Quakers are carried out of this jurisdiction:

YOU, and every one of you, are required in the King's Majesty's Name, to take the Vagabond-Quakers, Ann Coleman, Mary Tompkins, Alice Ambrose, and make them fast to the cart's tail, and driving the cart through your several towns, to whip them on their backs, not exceeding ten stripes apiece in each town, and so convey them from constable to constable till they come out of this jurisdiction, as you will answer it at your peril; and this shall be your warrant.

Per me, RICHARD WALDEN

On the following screen is presented what the source NEW ENGLAND JUDGED BY THE SPIRIT OF THE LORD has to say as to the actual manner of implementation of this official named Walden's warrant to the constables:

[see following screen]



SO, on a very cold day, your deputy, Walden, caused these women to be stripped from the middle upward, and tied to a cart, and after a while cruelly whipped them; which some of their friends seeing testified against, for which Walden put two of them in the stocks. Having despatched them in this town, [Deputy Richard Walden] made way to carry them over the waters and through the woods to another. The women denied to go unless they had a copy of their warrant. So your executioner sought to set them on horseback, but they slid off. Then they endeavored to tie each to a man on horseback; that would not do either, nor any course they took, till the copy was given them; insomuch that he was almost wearied with them. But the copy being given them, they went with the executioner.

And through dirt and snow at Salisbury NH, half-way the leg deep, the constable forced them after the cart's tail, at which he whipped them. Under which cruelty and sore usage, the tender women traversing their way through all was a hard spectacle to those who had in them anything of tenderness. But the presence of the Lord was with them, in the extremity of their sufferings, that they sung in the midst of them, to the astonishment of their enemies.

At Hampton, William Fifield, the constable, the next morning would have whipped them before day, but they refused, saying that they were not ashamed of their sufferings. Then he would have whipped them on their clothes, contrary to the warrant, when he had them at the cart. But they said, "Set us free, or do according to thy order," which was to whip them on their naked backs. Then he spake to a woman to take off their clothes. The woman said she would not do it for all the world, and so did other women deny to do it. Then he said, "I profess, I will do it myself." So he stripped them, and then stood trembling, with the whip in his hand, as a man condemned, and did the execution in that condition.

Now, amongst the rest of the spectators, Edward Wharton, beholding their torn bodies and weary steps, and yet no remorse in their persecutors, could not withhold, but testified against them, seeing this bloody engagement. Whereupon one of your officers said, "Edward Wharton, what do you here?"

"I am here," answered Edward, "to see your wickedness and cruelty, that so if you kill them, I may be able to declare how you murdered them."

But the Lord unexpectedly wrought a way at that time to deliver them out of the tyrants' hands, so through three towns only were they whipped, but cruelly, and then they were discharged.



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1663

➡ **Friend** Thomas Newhouse broke two glass bottles on the floor of the Boston meetinghouse and admonished the Puritan congregation there “So shall you be dashed to pieces.” For this he received a whipping. (It wasn’t this Quaker’s first such whipping.)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ In New-York, they caught Laurens Duyts trying to sell his own wife, gave him a flogging, and severed one of his ears. (Bet he won’t try that again anytime soon.)

On the southwest corner of Mill Lane and State Street in Schenectady, New York, Cornelius Viele opened the 1st “ordinary” (tavern).

The Directors of the Dutch West India Company instructed Governor Peter Stuyvesant of Nieu Amsterdam that in the future he should overlook cases of religious conscience, such as that of **Friend** John Bowne of Flushing on Paumanok Long Island, where they did not directly interfere with local government:

“The consciences of men at least ought ever to remain free and unshackled.”

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ There was an abortive uprising in Yorkshire, which is now referred to as the Kaber Rigg Plot. Some **Quakers** were associated with this uprising.

There would be another uprising in this same year, referred to as the Northern Plot. Some **Quakers** would be involved in this uprising as well.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ **Willem Séwel Amsterdammer**’s **HISTORY OF THE ... PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS** (THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE, AND PROGRESS, OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS, INTERMIXED WITH SEVERAL REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES), Volume I, pages 225-229, republishes something that had been written in Dutch the year before and in this year had been translated into English, and had been printed as if it had been written by Friend William Ames (one of the Quaker “Valiant Sixty-some first Publishers of Truth”):

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

The Author towards the conclusion of this history (THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE, AND PROGRESS, OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS) Thought fit, in the Dutch Appendix, among other things, to add the following treatise in Latin, concerning the Light, written about the year 1662. And since in this English translation the subject matters contained in the said Appendix are inserted in the body of the history, in those places to which they properly belong, and no reference being made to this, but as mentioned in the preface, it is thought fit to



subjoin it here, with the following words of the Author prefixed to the same.

In the preface to this history, (THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE, AND PROGRESS, OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS) Mention is made of a certain book, entitled "The Light upon the Candlestick," published in the name, as many supposed, of William Ames, yet no ways written by him, though it contains his doctrine, but by a certain learned man, unwilling to be known publicly, and as it seems to me, written originally in Latin; which, though printed, being but in few hands, I have thought fit to reprint.

And the original in Latin, soon after the first publication, being translated into English by B.F. was printed in the year 1663, from which translation take it as follows, viz.

The Light Upon The Candlestick

THINGS are not for words, but words for things; if therefore we understand things aright, and as they ought, by words, it must be by such as are fit to imprint the things themselves in those to whom they should occur, and then it were enough, (to make known our thoughts to others as we conceive them,) only to make use of such words.

But forasmuch as we find the matter in this case far otherwise, and that two men speaking or writing the same words, may nevertheless have different, yea, contrary thoughts, the disability of performing this fitly by words or discourse, is clearly inferred. Nor may we at all wonder at it, seeing we know to what a perpetual change languages are subject, even such, that the very words may be changed from their pristine signification. And the imperfection is so great, that whosoever should have invented them, such as now they are in use, we should certainly believe that he had little or no knowledge of those things that are thereby intended to be signified. So that if we would better express things unto another, by words and speeches, we had need find new words, and consequently a whole new language: but that would be a toil and labor indeed.

In the meanwhile we see what a sea of confusion flows from hence upon all mankind: for although there should be none, who sometimes through ignorance, and sometimes by subtlety or wickedness, might wrest or pervert words contrary to the mind of the speaker or writer, in such manner as themselves, that so do, should think best for their own ends, from whence consequently all this deceit, slandering, contention, and the like proceeds; yet, so it is, that how uprightly or prudently soever a man goes to work in this matter, he nevertheless finds himself liable to mislead, or to be misled.

But although the case be thus with words and discourses at present in use; yet for all that, they are the most ready, and so far as I know, the fittest means to make known all our thoughts unto others by; and for this reason therefore, though so much confusion and deceit happen to arise from hence, that no man that hath any experience can be ignorant thereof; yet may we not therefore be too much afraid of them neither, as many yet do manifest themselves to be, who, because they have some experience hereof, are apt to believe we are about to deceive them, especially if they be forewarned thereof.



This, as in many things, so it hath chiefly taken place in that which is commonly esteemed for religion; in which it is so with most men, that they will scarce give audience to, much less take into consideration, any thing held forth unto them, by any whom they judge not to be of their own opinion; to avoid as they imagine, being thereby deluded.

Yet if they were to act thus towards their own party, we might think it was an act of prudence, and that they would see with their own eyes; but no, in nowise, this is too hard a task; whatsoever cometh on that side is received with such partiality for good and current coin, as if there were no danger nor possibility of erring: whereas nevertheless, it is all alike with the one as with the other opinion. It all depends but upon a possibility of being nearest to the truth; and for the upholding every one his own opinion, and defending it against others, there is so much ado, so much pains taken, so much scholastic learning, study, and disputing, that one would rather believe that there were no true religion at all, than that this should needs be it.

Seeing then it is thus at present, can we much blame the common people, that they despair of ever being able to solve this difficulty, and are glad when they can but find any that are greedy of the work, upon whom they may cast the whole burden? Surely no: for he that sees but a little clearly, sees that there is always contention behind, and no end till a man grows weary of it: nor is the conquest his that hath truth, but his that can best handle his tongue. A miserable thing if it were thus to be sought and found: but it is not so with the true religion.

Go to, then, O man, whoever thou art, we will not draw thee off from one society of men, to carry thee over to another; it is somewhat else we invite thee to. Lend us but a little audience; surely thou knows thus much, that as it is an absurdity to receive all things without distinction that present themselves to us, so it is no less so to reject all things without judgment. We invite thee to something which may be a means whereby to attain to thy own salvation and well-being. Be as distrustful, or rather prudent, or foresighted as thou wilt, thou canst not in reason refuse us thy ear in this thing. All the damage thou canst possibly have by doing that which we exhort thee to, is only to have taken a little pains in vain, if that which is promised should not succeed; the enjoyment of a matter of so great worth, that should not be exchanged for all that is esteemed great in the earth. Moreover it is not far to seek, but at hand; it is nigh thee, yea, and in thyself. And there thou mayest experience the trial of that which we declare, which is the most certain and sure that can be desired.

We direct thee then to look within thyself; that is, that thou oughtest to turn into, to mind, and have a regard unto, that which is within thee, viz. The light of truth, the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Here it is that thou must be, and not without thee. Here thou shalt find a principle certain and infallible, and whereby increasing and going on therein, thou mayest at length arrive unto a happy condition: of this thou mayest safely adventure the trial. But if thou dares not do so much, it is hard to help thee, And if thou happens to be one of those that would know all things, before thou dost begin, yea, even those things, which are experienced in a condition to which thou art so much a stranger, that there is nothing in thee hath so much agreement therewith, as to comprehend it according to truth; know this, thou dost therein, just as those that would learn to read, without knowing the letters.

To desire to know all things that we are capable of, is good and laudable;



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EARLY QUAKERISM

but to go further is folly. There will be always something else to ask, and our knowledge will ever be too short. He that will not adventure till he be fully satisfied, will never begin, much less finish to his own salvation. But we judge it needful, as much as in us lies, to open unto you that unto which we do exhort you, that people may understand what it properly is. We say then, that we exhort every one to turn unto the light that is in him. We give it rather the appellation of light, than any thing else, otherwise it is all one to us whether ye call it, Christ, the Spirit, the Word, &c. Seeing these all denote but one and the same thing: yet the word Light being in its natural signification somewhat else than that which we intend thereby, we shall therefore in brief endeavor clearly to express what we intend under this denomination.

The Light, then we say, is a clear and distinct knowledge of truth in the understanding of every man, by which he is so convinced of the being and quality of things, that he cannot possibly doubt thereof.

From this definition which is here given of the light, it is clear, that it must needs comprehend in it the principal effect of showing us, and giving us the knowledge of what is truth and falsehood, what is good and evil: which verily is a matter of so great concernment, that without it men must needs wander up and down in continual darkness, uncertainty of opinion, and in sin, neither knowing truth at all, nor doing any good, but, as it were, by haphazard, and without certainty.

This light then, Christ the truth, &c. Is that which makes manifest and reproves sin in man, shows him how he is strayed from God, accuses him of the evil which he doth, and hath committed; yea, this is it which judges and condemns him. Again,

This is the preaching to every creature under heaven, though they have never read or heard of the scripture. This is it which leads man into truth, into the way to God, which excuses him in well-doing, giving him peace in his conscience, yea, brings him to union with God, wherein all happiness and salvation do consist.

Moreover, seeing it is properly the nature of this light infallibly to discover sin and evil, to reprove and convince thereof; it can never possibly consent thereunto. And although it be true indeed, that the operations of the light are not in all men alike powerful, in whom nevertheless it is; yea, though in some men it seems to have no operation at all; yet this is occasioned only by those impediments that do hinder it; for as the natural light by the interposition of other bodies or covers, may be hindered from having its operation, there, where else it would, were those things which impede removed, the light, (itself,) still abiding in itself unchanged; even so it is also with this light whereof we speak. The hindrances in this are manifold. All that we meet with in this world, seems to proclaim war in this case. What is there that hath not a powerful operation upon one or other of the senses of man, through which, passing over into the soul, the memory is so filled, that nothing else can enter? The eyes and ears stand so perpetually open to all things, that they never want an object to bring to mind the experience of that which please the body so well; and this stirs up the desire to enjoy it, yet all without satiety: the acts are multifarious, the enjoyment can be but single and transient, and the incitements incessant.

Now, where this operates in us after this manner, by education and example in manners and customs which are regulated by opinion, and not by the true light, that men live altogether therein; is it any wonder that here (in



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these men,) there is so little, or no operation of the light? Not at all. We are so involved in the idea of that which is high in the world, so overwhelmed in pleasures, that it is almost impossible for the light to cause one desire after good to spring or bubble up.

Where then those so contrary operations to the light are, there it can never break through.

According to the nature and kind of every thing, is the operation thereof: where they are opposite, the one must give way unto the other, and that which is most powerful prevails; from whence also the effects thereof become most visible. The light, notwithstanding, abides always the same; and therefore although man by sin, through his love and union to corruptible things, come to perish, be damned, and miss of his everlasting happiness, the light nevertheless, which is in ever man that comes into the world, abides for ever unchangeable.

The light is also the first principle of religion. For, seeing there can be no true religion without the knowledge of God, and no knowledge of God without this light, religion must necessarily have this light for its principle.

God being then known by this light, according to the measure of knowledge which the finite and circumscribed creature can have of the infinite and uncircumscriptible Creator, man hath obtained a firm foundation, upon which he may build all firm and lasting things: a principle whereby he may, without ever erring, guide the whole course of his life, how he is to carry himself towards God, his neighbor, and himself, and all things else, whereby he may happily attain unto his soul's salvation, which consists only in union with God. And thus this light is therefore the first principle of religion.

Without this light, there is no power or ability at all in man to do any good.

This must first raise him and quicken him out of the death of sin. It is folly to expect any thing, where nothing is; there is no effect without a cause; there must be something then which must cause a man to act, if he does any thing.

And this cause must have in it whatsoever the effect produced hath in it: as for example, if the effects of light be produced, light must do it, and nothing else.

And therefore, it is not a silly thing, that all men would have people to do this or that as good, and leave this or that as evil, because they tell them so, without any more ado, or at best assigning only the uncustomary motives thereto, and think they have reason too, just as if this were enough? Who can see such effects us are hereby required, included in this cause? Not I, for my part.

Experience also teaches us the same; else how could it all pass away in a train and custom, without any fruit: these are therefore not the right means; but such we must endeavor to furnish people with; means from whence power may issue forth to do that which they are exhorted to. Such is the nature of man, that he is moved to choose that which he judges to be best, before the worst, and is always willing to change for the best.

Now if it so happens as for the most part it doth, that a man chooses the worst before the best, it is for want of knowledge, and contrary to his aim, and so he errs, not being led by the true light.

Here then it should be begun; it is easy leading a man to that which of himself he is desirous of: if these now who make it their work to teach



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others, were not but themselves by the true light, knowing better things than those to which the multitude are linked so fast with love, they would be able to hold them forth clearly to others: and so making it their continual work, it were impossible their labor should be fruitless; for people knowing better, would do better. Who remembers not the play of our youth, how much we were in love therewith, and yet how ridiculous is it now unto us but to think upon it? And why? Because we now know that, which we judge better: hence, not by force, but very easy and of itself, it comes in time to be worn out and pass away, that there is now no desire nor motion moving thereunto. How may we think then it would be, if the soul came but once to apprehend those things aright which are durable and incorruptible, and which infinitely transcends all bodily toys in worth? So far as those things then should come to be esteemed more glorious than all bodily things, so much the more powerful would be the annihilation of those things in which all men, even to old age, yea, death itself, do take so much delight; and then we might hope and expect that those things, which are, indeed, alone worthy to be known, would gain entrance, and being brought forth in the light, would be also owned and received by every one, according to the measure in which they should stand in the same light.

Hence from within, the amendment and conversation is to be waited for: from within it must begin, if with a foundation; the outward then will follow of itself: the weakest must give way to the strongest, all depends but upon the knowledge of something better, to make a true and lasting change. Therefore to hold this forth to men, is the best thing we can give them. This light is the inward ear, by which alone, and by no other, the voice of God, viz. The truth, can be heard.

By this alone must the sense and mind of him that would signify any thing by words, or any outwards sign, be comprehended and understood. So that if the truth of God be presented to a man who stands not in the light of truth, it is impossible he should understand it, although he hears and comprehends the words after a manner, yet he is still fenced off from the true sense and meaning thereof.

Hence therefore it is, that, among so many hearers, there are so few that have ears to hear.

He that hears truth aright, that is, understands it well, must not stand out of, but in the truth itself.

Therefore neither is it any wonder that all men do not understand and conceive those things that are brought forth by the light. Those only that stand in it are alone capable thereof.

The case being thus, we see of how great concernment it is continually to exhort and excite men to turn unto the light that is in them, that so they may go on to such a condition and measure therein, as to be fit to understand aright the word: that is, the truth of God, because out of this there can be nothing understood, and concluded from the words and writings given forth from the light, but mere opinions, and probably errors. This light, Christ, &c. Is the truth and word of God, as hath been already said, and every where appears by what we have hitherto laid down: for this is a living word, and translates man from death to life, is powerful, and enables a man to bear witness of it every where.

This is also the true rule according unto which all our actions are to be squared

This hath the preeminence before any writing, scripture, doctrine, or any thing else that we meet with from without. We are born into the world, and



brought up, as every body knows; from the very first we hear differences, every one pretends that he knows the matter, and hath truth: one holds forth this, another that, to us. If now the light which is in every man that comes into the world, shall not be judge, whither shall we go? To believe all, is impossible; to reject all, no less: who shall be judge here? Who else can be, but the light within us? For whatsoever comes from without, is the thing to be judged of: who then fitter; seeing this is infallible?

Again, is not this, (the light,) that by which we must see and know God, and so consequently that by which we must judge all things divine? Certainly it is: then it follows also, that we can judge of no doctrine, of no book that is divine, but by this light; and judging it thereby to be divine, it cannot but be truly so. As for example, if we experience that the book called the Bible, in regard of the divine doctrine therein comprised, hath such an harmony with that in which God is known, that he must needs have been the author of it; there cannot rationally any more powerful demonstration be demanded.--With them that are thus, the Scripture may become living and powerful, and not a dead letter, as it must needs be to those men who have no feeling of this thing. And from hence then it is apparent, seeing this light must be proffered to all things whatsoever that we meet with from without, that then Man must first of all be directed to this: for without it what profit is there, I pray, to be reaped any where by any external sign but by it! Lay the book of the Scripture freely before any man; let him also have all the fitness the universities can give him, to look into it in its proper language in which it may have been first written, what will all be without the light? Northing. The letters, the words, are not the Scriptures, but the meaning alone is the Scripture, and the meaning can never be truly and justly hit, but by those alone that stand in the same light, out of which the Scriptures proceeded.

These are they then to whom the Scripture is a co-witness, and as a seal of their being sons of God; while by experience they find themselves, every one according to his measure, in the same condition in which the saints formerly were, who spake and wrote all those things comprehended in the book of the Scripture; these then have the true understanding and meaning of the Scriptures, not those that imagine unto themselves a meaning by opinion and guess, through a thousand imaginations, without the least assurance of not erring; which becomes the very ground of all jangling and contention.

In fine, this light in every man is the means to come to the knowledge of God. And seeing all external signs must needs presuppose this knowledge, therefore itself must need to be immediate, without any external sign; that signs must presuppose such a knowledge, is undeniable; for these signs must either be words or effects, works or miracles.

If words, we see at first an impossibility in the thing itself; for words are created and finite, and God who should make known himself by them, uncreated and infinite: and therefore here is so infinite a difference, that there is no manner of agreement, nor any thing in the words meaning of the words, as being fit for such a thing, then that which we say will more manifestly appear; as put a case, for example sake, that God, about to make known himself by words, should say, 'I am God,' and that this should be the sign by which he would make himself known, we see clearly, that it would be impossible for a man at first to know the words, he must needs formerly have had the signification of the word, God, and what he is to understand by it: in like manner, if God makes his will known to man, the



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knowledge of God, which hath its original from the true light, must precede and convince him, that that manifestation, can be from none but God alone, whereupon he is then sufficiently assured.

If by effects, or outward miraculous works, it is the same thing; for these are no less created, no less finite: and though we might observe something in the nature of a thing, which might be too difficult for the power of any creature, which we know, to effect; yet this at the utmost would be but a demonstration taken from our impotency, and not from the nature and all the operations of it; and this kind of demonstration could not be certain and stable, till we were able clearly and distinctly to see that there was not a concurrence of many causes to produce such an effect, but that it must needs have been caused by an infinite and unlimited cause, whom we call god? But who knows this? Or who can declare it?

Add to this, That the knowledge of God in all things must first be, before the knowledge of any creature or particular thing; so that no particular thing without this can be well known; and consequently is altogether incapable to come to know God by, or certainly to make known himself to man by.

Go to, then; without thyself, O man, thou has not means to look for, by which thou mayest know God. Thou must abide within thyself, to the light that is in thee thou must turn thee, there thou wilt find it, and no where else.

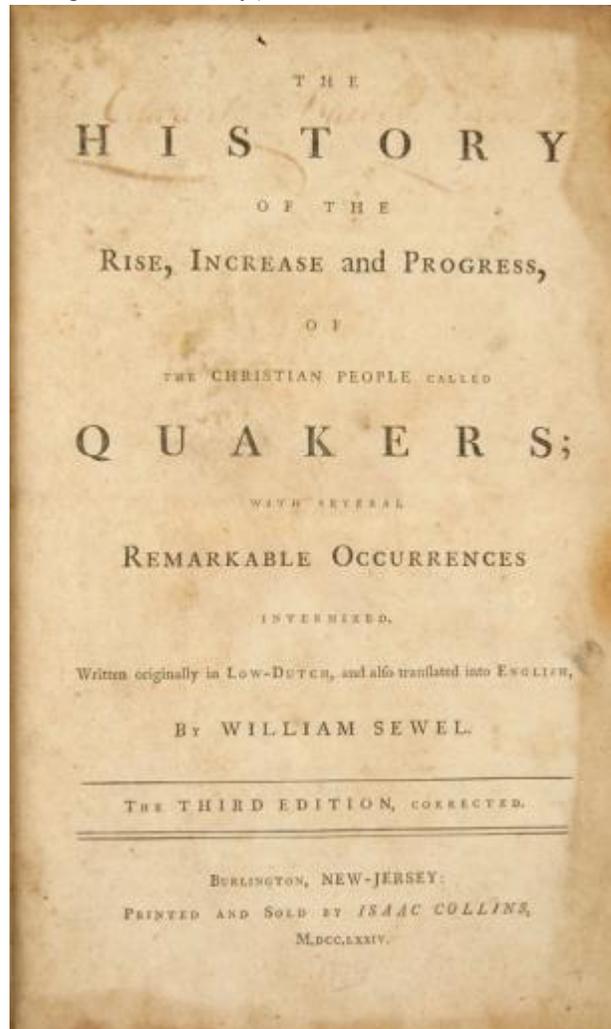
God is, considered in himself, nearest unto thee, and every man. He that goes forth of himself to any creature, thereby to know God, departs from God, and so much the further, as he comes more to admire the creature, and stand in contemplation thereof, to mistake himself by it. This thou must then shun, and the contrary mind, viz. Mind the light that is in thee, by it to work, unmoveably and faithfully to persevere.



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William Sewell. THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE AND PROGRESS, OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS; WITH SEVERAL REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES INTERMIXED, WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LOW-DUTCH, AND ALSO TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, BY WILLIAM SEWEL. THE THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED. (The title varies slightly from edition to edition. Henry Thoreau first encountered this book in this 1774 third edition prepared and sold by Isaac Collins of Burlington, New-Jersey.)



[HISTORY OF THE ... PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS](#)



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Friend [George Fox](#) traveled extensively throughout the eastern counties, then through the southern counties as far as Land's End, and again through Wales and the English Lake district, finally reaching Swarthmore where he found that an offer of £25 has been made to any man who would take him. One portion of this long narrative illustrates Fox's "principle of truth": "*Next morning, some of the chief of the town [Truro] desired to speak with me, amongst whom was Colonel Rouse. I went, and had a great deal of discourse with them concerning the things of God. In their reasoning they said, 'The gospel was the four books of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John'; and they called it natural. I told them, the gospel was the power of God, which was preached before Matthew, Mark, Luke or John were written; and it was preached to every creature, of which a great part might never see nor hear of those four books, so that every creature was to obey the power of God; for Christ, the Spiritual Man, would judge the world according to the gospel, that is, according to his invisible power. When they heard this, they could not gainsay; for the Truth came over them. I directed them to their Teacher, the grace of God, and showed them the sufficiency of it, which would teach them how to live, and what to deny; and being obeyed would bring them salvation. So to that grace I recommended them, and left them.*"

Handwritten signature of George Fox in cursive script.



I came over the sands to Swarthmore. There they told me that Colonel Kirby had sent his lieutenant, who had searched trunks and chests for me.

That night, as I was in bed, I was moved of the Lord to go next day to Kirby Hall, which was Colonel Kirby's house, about five miles off, to speak with him. When I came thither I found the Flemings, and several others of the gentry (so called) of the country, who were come to take their leave of Colonel Kirby, he being then about to go up to London to the Parliament. I was taken into the parlour amongst them; but Colonel Kirby was not then within, being gone out a little way. They said little to me, nor I much to them.

After a little while Colonel Kirby came in, and I told him I came to visit him (understanding he was desirous to see me) to know what he had to say to me, and whether he had anything against me.

He said, before all the company, "As I am a gentleman, I have nothing against you." "But," said he, "Mistress Fell must not keep great meetings at her house, for they meet contrary to the Act."

I told him that that Act did not take hold on us, but on such as "met to plot and contrive, and to raise insurrections against the King"; whereas we were no such people: for he knew that they that met at Margaret Fell's were his neighbours, and a peaceable people.

After many words had passed, he shook me by the hand, and said again that he had nothing against me; and others of them said I was a deserving man. So we parted, and I returned to Swarthmore.

Shortly after, when Colonel Kirby was gone to London, there was a private meeting of the justices and deputy-lieutenants at Houlker Hall, where Justice Preston lived, where they granted a warrant to apprehend me. I heard over night both of their meeting and of the warrant, and could have gone out of their reach if I would, for I had not appointed any meeting at that time, and I had cleared myself of the north, and the Lord's power was over all. But I considered that there being a noise of a plot in the north, if I should go away they might fall upon Friends; but if I gave myself up to be taken, it might prevent them, and Friends should escape the better. So I gave myself up to be taken, and prepared for their coming.

Next day an officer came with his sword and pistols to take me. I told him I knew his errand before, and had given myself to be taken; for if I would have escaped their imprisonment I could have been forty miles off before he came; but I was an innocent man, and so it mattered not what they could do to me. He asked me how I heard of it, seeing the order was made privately in a parlour. I said it was no matter for that; it was sufficient that I heard it.

I asked him to let me see his order, whereupon he laid his hand on his sword, and said I must go with him before the lieutenant to answer such questions as they should propound to me. I told him it was but civil and reasonable for him to let me see his order; but he would not. Then said I, "I am ready."



So I went along with him, and Margaret Fell accompanied us to Houlker Stall. When we came thither there was one Rawlinson, a justice, and one called Sir George Middleton, and many more that I did not know, besides old Justice Preston, who lived there.

They brought Thomas Atkinson, a Friend, of Cartmel, as a witness against me for some words which he had told to one Knipe, who had informed them, which words were that I said I had written against the plotters and had knocked them down. These words they could not make much of, for I told them I had heard of a plot, and had written against it.

Old Preston asked me whether I had an hand in that script. I asked him what he meant. He said, "in the Battledore?" I answered, "Yes."

Then he asked me whether I understood languages. I said, "Sufficient for myself," and that I knew no law that was transgressed by it. I told them also that to understand outward languages was no matter of salvation, for the many tongues began but at the confusion of Babel; and if I did understand anything of them, I judged and knocked them down again for any matter of salvation that was in them.

Thereupon he turned away, and said, "George Fox knocks down all the languages; come," said he, "we will examine you of higher matters."

Then said George Middleton, "You deny God, and the Church, and the faith."

I replied, "Nay, I own God and the true Church, and the true faith. But what Church dost thou own?" said I (for I understood he was a Papist).

Then he turned again and said, "You are a rebel and a traitor."

I asked him to whom he spoke, or whom did he call rebel. He was so full of envy that for a while he could not speak, but at last he said, "I spoke it to you."

With that I struck my hand on the table, and told him, "I have suffered more than twenty such as thou; more than any that is here; for I have been cast into Derby dungeon for six months together, and have suffered much because I would not take up arms against this King before Worcester fight. I was sent up a prisoner out of my own country by Colonel Hacker to Oliver Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in King Charles in the year 1654. I have nothing but love and good-will to the King, and desire the eternal good and welfare of him and all his subjects."

"Did you ever hear the like?" said Middleton. "Nay," said I. "Ye may hear it again if ye will. For ye talk of the King, a company of you, but where were ye in Oliver's days, and what did ye do then for him? But I have more love to the King for his eternal good and welfare than any of you have."

Then they asked me whether I had heard of the plot. I said, "Yes, I have heard of it."

They asked me how I had heard of it, and whom I knew in it. I told them I had heard of it through the high-sheriff of Yorkshire, who had told Dr. Hodgson that there was a plot in the north. That was the way I had heard of it; but I had never heard of any such thing in the south, nor till I came into the north. As for knowing any in the plot, I was as a child in that, for I knew none of them.



Then said they, "Why would you write against it if you did not know some that were in it?"

I said, "My reason was, because you are so forward to crush the innocent and guilty together; therefore I wrote against it to clear the Truth and to stop all forward, foolish spirits from running into such things. I sent copies of it into Westmoreland, Cumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire, and to you here. I sent another copy of it to the King and his council, and it is likely it may be in print by this time."

One of them said, "This man hath great power! "

I said, "Yes, I have power to write against plotters."

Then said one of them, "You are against the laws of the land."

I answered, "Nay, for I and my Friends direct all people to the Spirit of God in them, to mortify the deeds of the flesh. This brings them into well-doing, and away from that which the magistrate's sword is against, which eases the magistrates, who are for the punishment of evil-doers. So people being turned to the Spirit of God, which brings them to mortify the deeds of the flesh; this brings them from under the occasion of the magistrate's sword; and this must needs be one with magistracy, and one with the law, which was added because of transgression, and is for the praise of them that do well. In this we establish the law, are an ease to the magistrates, and are not against, but stand for all good government."

Then George Middleton cried, "Bring the book, and put the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to him."

Now he himself being a Papist, I asked him whether he, who was a swearer, had taken the oath of supremacy. As for us, we could not swear at all, because Christ and the Apostle had forbidden it.

Some of them would not have had the oath put to me, but would have set me at liberty. The rest would not agree to it, for this was their last snare, and they had no other way to get me into prison, as all other things had been cleared to them. This was like the Papists' sacrament of the altar, by which they ensnared the martyrs. [Most Friends imprisoned under Charles were committed merely for declining this oath.] So they tendered me the oath, which I could not take; whereupon they were about to make my mittimus to send me to Lancaster jail; but considering of it, they only engaged me to appear at the sessions, and for that time dismissed me.

I went back with Margaret Fell to Swarthmore, and soon after Colonel West, who was at that time a justice of the peace, came to see me. He told us that he had acquainted some of the rest of the justices that he would come and see Margaret Fell and me; "but it may be," said he, "some of you will take offense at it." I asked him, what he thought they would do with me at the sessions? He said they would tender the oath to me again.

Whilst I was at Swarthmore, William Kirby came into Swarthmore meeting, and brought the constables with him. I was sitting with Friends in the meeting, and he said to me, "How now, Mr. Fox! you have a fine company here." "Yes," said I, "we meet to wait upon the Lord."



* So he began to take the names of Friends, and those that did not readily tell him their names he committed to the constables' hands, and sent some to prison. The constables were unwilling to take them without a warrant, whereupon he threatened to set them by the heels; but the constable told him that he could keep them in his presence, but after he was gone he could not keep them without a warrant.

The sessions coming on, I went to Lancaster, and appeared according to my engagement. There was upon the bench Justice Fleming, who had bid five pounds in Westmoreland to any man that would apprehend me, for he was a justice both in Westmoreland and Lancashire. There were also Justice Spencer, Colonel West and old Justice Rawlinson, the lawyer, who gave the charge, and was very sharp against Truth and Friends; but the Lord's power stopped them.

The session was large, the concourse of people great, and way being made for me, I came up to the bar, and stood with my hat on, they looking earnestly upon me and I upon them for a pretty space.

Proclamation being made for all to keep silence upon pain of imprisonment, and all being quiet, I said twice, "Peace be among you."

The chairman asked if I knew where I was. I said, "Yes, I do; but it may be," said I, "my hat offends you. That's a low thing; that's not the honour that I give to magistrates, for the true honour is from above; which," said I. "I have received, and I hope it is not the hat which ye look upon to be the honour."

The chairman said they looked for the hat, too, and asked wherein I showed my respect to magistrates if I did not put off my hat. I replied, "In coming when they called me." Then they bade one take off my hat.

After this it was some time before they spoke to me, and I felt the power of the Lord to arise. After some pause old Justice Rawlinson, the chairman, asked me if I knew of the plot. I told him I had heard of it in Yorkshire by a Friend, who had it from the high-sheriff. They asked me whether I had declared it to the magistrates. I said, "I sent papers abroad against plots and plotters, and also to you, as soon as I came into the country, to take all jealousies out of your minds concerning me and my friends; for it is our principle to declare against such things."

They asked me if I knew not of an Act against meeting. I said I knew there was an Act that took hold of such as met to the terrifying of the King's subjects, were enemies to the King, and held dangerous principles; but I hoped they did not look upon us to be such men, for our meetings were not to terrify the King's subjects, neither are we enemies to him or any man.

Then they tendered me the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. I told them I could not take any oath at all, because Christ and His Apostle had forbidden it; and they had sufficient experience of swearers, first one way, then another; but I had never taken any oath in my life.

Then Rawlinson asked me whether I held it was unlawful to swear. This question he put on purpose to ensnare me; for by an Act that was made those were liable to banishment or a great fine that should say it was unlawful to swear. But I, seeing the snare, avoided it, and told him that "in the time of the law amongst the Jews, before Christ came, the law commanded them to swear; but Christ, who doth fulfil the law in His gospel-time, commands not to swear at all; and the apostle James forbids swearing, even to them that were Jews, and had the law of God."



After much discourse, they called for the jailer, and committed me to prison.

I had about me the paper which I had written as a testimony against plots, which I desired they would read, or suffer to be read, in open court; but they would not. So, being committed for refusing to swear, I bade them and all the people take notice that I suffered for the doctrine of Christ, and for my obedience to His command.

Afterwards I understood that the justices said they had private instructions from Colonel Kirby to prosecute me, notwithstanding his fair carriage and seeming kindness to me before, when he declared before many of them that he had nothing against me.

Several other Friends were committed to prison, some for meeting to worship God, and some for not swearing; so that the prison was very full. Many of them being poor men, that had nothing to maintain their families by but their labour, which now they were taken from, the wives of several went to the justices who had committed their husbands, and told them that if they kept their husbands in jail for nothing but the truth of Christ, and for good conscience' sake, they would bring their children to them to be maintained.

A mighty power of the Lord rose in Friends, and gave them great boldness, so that they spoke much to the justices. Friends also that were prisoners wrote to the justices, laying the weight of their sufferings upon them, and showing them both their injustice and want of compassion towards their poor neighbours, whom they knew to be honest, conscientious, peaceable people, that in tenderness of conscience could not take any oath; yet they sent them to prison for refusing to take the oath of allegiance.

Several who were imprisoned on that account were known to be men that had served the King in his wars, and had hazarded their lives in the field in his cause, and had suffered great hardships, with the loss of much blood, for him, and had always stood faithful to him from first to last, and had never received any pay for their service. To be thus requited for all their faithful services and sufferings, and that by them that pretended to be the King's friends, was hard, unkind, and ungrateful dealing.

At length the justices, being continually attended with complaints of grievances, released some of the Friends, but kept diverse of them still in prison.

I was kept till the assize, and Judge Turner and Judge Twisden coming that circuit, I was brought before Judge Twisden, the 14th of the month called March, the latter end of the year 1663.

When I was brought to the bar, I said, "Peace be amongst you all." The Judge looked upon me, and said, "What! do you come into the court with your hat on!" Upon which words, the jailer taking it off, I said, "The hat is not the honour that comes from God."

Then said the Judge to me, "Will you take the oath of allegiance, George Fox?" I said, "I never took any oath in my life, nor any covenant or engagement." "Well," said he, "will you swear or no?" I answered, "I am a Christian, and Christ commands me not to swear; so does the apostle James; and whether I should obey God or man, do thou judge." "I ask you again," said he, "whether you will swear or no." I answered again, "I am neither Turk, Jew, nor heathen, but a Christian, and should show forth Christianity." I asked him if he did not know that Christians in the primitive times, under the ten persecutions, and some also of the martyrs in Queen Mary's days, refused swearing, because Christ and the apostle had forbidden it. I told him also that they had had experience enough, how many had first sworn for the King and then against him. "But as for me," I said, "I have never taken an oath in my life. My allegiance doth not lie in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness, for I honour all men, much more the King. But Christ, who is the Great Prophet, the King of kings, the Saviour and Judge of the whole world, saith I must not swear. Now, must I obey Christ or thee? For it is because of tenderness of conscience, and in obedience to the command of Christ, that I do not swear and we have the word of a King for tender consciences."

Then I asked the Judge if he did own the King. "Yes," said he, "I do own the King." "Why, then," said I, "dost thou not observe his declaration from Breda, and his promises made since he came into England, that no man should be called in question for matters of religion so long as he lived peaceably? If thou ownest the King," said I, "why dost thou call me in question, and put me upon taking an oath, which is a matter of religion; seeing that neither thou nor any one else can charge me with unpeaceable living?"

Upon this he was moved, and, looking angrily at me, said, "Sirrah, will you swear?"

I told him I was none of his Sirrahs; I was a Christian; and for him, an old man and a judge, to sit there and give nicknames to prisoners did not become either his grey hairs or his office.

"Well," said he, "I am a Christian, too." "Then do Christian works," said I. "Sirrah!" said he, "thou thinkest to frighten me with thy words." Then, catching himself, and looking aside, he said, "Hark! I am using the word sirrah again;" and so checked himself.

I said, "I spoke to thee in love; for that language did not become thee, a judge. Thou oughtest to instruct a prisoner in the law, if he were ignorant and out of the way." "And I speak in love to thee, too," said he.

"But," said I, "love gives no nicknames."

Then he roused himself up, and said, "I will not be afraid of thee, George Fox; thou speakest so loud thy voice drowns mine and the court's; I must call for three or four criers to drown thy voice; thou hast good lungs."

"I am a prisoner here," said I, "for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake; for His sake do I suffer; for Him do I stand this day. If my voice were five times louder, I should lift it up and sound it for Christ's sake. I stand this day before your judgment-seat in obedience to Christ, who commands not to swear; before whose judgment-seat you must all be brought and must give an account."



"Well," said the Judge, "George Fox, say whether thou wilt take the oath, yea or nay?"

I replied, "I say, as I said before, judge thou whether I ought to obey God or man. If I could take any oath at all I should take this. I do not deny some oaths only, or on some occasions, but all oaths, according to Christ's doctrine, who hath commanded His followers not to swear at all. Now if thou, or any of you, or your ministers or priests here, will prove that ever Christ or His apostles, after they had forbidden all swearing, commanded Christians to swear, then I will swear."

I saw several priests there, but not one of them offered to speak.

"Then," said the Judge, "I am a servant to the King, and the King sent me not to dispute with you, but to put the laws in execution; therefore tender him the oath of allegiance."

"If thou love the King," said I, "why dost thou break his word, and not keep his declarations and speeches, wherein he promised liberty to tender consciences? I am a man of a tender conscience, and, in obedience to Christ's command, I cannot swear."

"Then you will not swear," said the Judge; "take him away, jailer."

I said, "It is for Christ's sake that I cannot swear, and for obedience to His command I suffer; and so the Lord forgive you all."

So the jailer took me away; but I felt that the mighty power of the Lord was over them all.

The sixteenth day of the same month I was again brought before Judge Twisden. He was somewhat offended at my hat; but it being the last morning of the assize before he was to leave town, and not many people there, he made the less of it.

He asked me whether I would "traverse, stand mute, or submit." But he spoke so fast that it was hard to know what he said. However, I told him I desired I might have liberty to traverse the indictment, and try it.

Then said he, "Take him away; I will have nothing to do with him; take him away."

I said, "Well, live in the fear of God, and do justice."

"Why," said he, "have I not done you justice?"

I replied, "That which thou hast done has been against the command of Christ."

So I was taken to the jail again, and kept prisoner till the next assizes. Some time before this assize Margaret Fell was sent prisoner to Lancaster jail by Fleming, Kirby, and Preston, justices; and at the assize the oath was tendered to her also, and she was again committed to prison.

In the Sixth month [August], the assizes were again held at Lancaster, and the same judges, Twisden and Turner, again came that circuit. But Judge Turner then sat on the crown bench, and so I was brought before him. Before I was called to the bar I was put among the murderers and felons for about two hours, the people, the justices and also the Judge gazing upon me.

After they had tried several others, they called me to the bar, and empanelled a jury. Then the Judge asked the justices whether they had tendered me the oath at the sessions. They said that they had. Then he said, "Give them the book, that they may swear they tendered him the oath at the sessions." They said they had. Then he said, "Give them the book, that they may swear they tendered him the oath according to the indictment."



Some of the justices refused to be sworn; but the Judge said he would have it done, to take away all occasion of exception. When the jury were sworn, and the justices had scorn that they had tendered me the oath according to the indictment, the Judge asked me whether I had not refused the oath at the last assizes. I said, "I never took an oath in my life, and Christ the Saviour and Judge of the world, said, 'Swear not at all.'"

The Judge seemed not to take notice of my answer, but asked me whether or not I had refused to take the oath at the last assizes.

I said, "The words that I then spoke to them were, that if they could prove, either judge, justices, priest, or teacher, that after Christ and the Apostle had forbidden swearing, they commanded that Christians should swear, I would swear."

The Judge said he was not at that time to dispute whether it was lawful to swear, but to inquire whether I had refused to take the oath.

I told him, "Those things mentioned in the oath, as plotting against the King, and owning the Pope's, or any other foreign power, I utterly deny."

"Well?" said he, "you say well in that, but did you refuse to take the oath? What say you?" "What wouldst thou have me to say?" said I; "I have told thee before what I did say."

Then he asked me if I would have these men to swear that I had taken the oath. I asked him if he would have those men to swear that I had refused the oath, at which the court burst into laughter.

I was grieved to see so much lightness in a court, where such solemn matters are handled, and thereupon asked them, "Is this court a play-house? Where is gravity and sobriety," said I; "this behaviour doth not become you."

Then the clerk read the indictment, and I told the Judge I had something to speak to it; for I had informed myself of the errors that were in it. He told me he would hear afterwards any reasons that I could allege why he should not give judgment.

Then I spoke to the jury, and told them that they could not bring me in guilty according to that indictment, for the indictment was wrong laid, and had many gross errors in it.

The Judge said that I must not speak to the jury, but he would speak to them; and he told them I had refused to take the oath at the last assizes; "and," said he, "I can tender the oath to any man now, and præmunire him for not taking it;" and he said they must bring me in guilty, seeing I refused to take the oath.

Then said I, "What do ye do with a form? Ye may throw away your form then." And I told the jury it lay upon their consciences, as they would answer it to the Lord God before His judgment-seat.

Then the judge spoke again to the jury, and I called to him to "do me justice."

The jury brought me in guilty. Thereupon I told them that both the justices and they had forsworn themselves, and therefore they had small cause to laugh, as they did a little before.

Oh, the envy, rage, and malice that appeared against me, and the lightness! But the Lord confounded them, and they were wonderfully stopped. So they set me aside, and called up Margaret Fell, who had much good service among them; and then the court broke up near the second hour.



In the afternoon we were brought in again to have sentence passed upon us. Margaret Fell desired that sentence might be deferred until the next morning. I desired nothing but law and justice at his hands, for the thieves had mercy; only I requested the Judge to send some to see my prison, which was so bad they would put no creature they had in it; and I told him that Colonel Kirby, who was then on the bench, had said I should be locked up, and no flesh alive should come to me. The Judge shook his head and said that when the sentence was given he would leave me to the favor of the jailer.

Most of the gentry of the country were gathered together, expecting to hear the sentence; and the noise amongst the people was that I should be transported. But they were all crossed at that time, for the sentence was deferred until the next morning, and I was taken to prison again.

Upon my complaining of the badness of my prison, some of the justices, with Colonel Kirby, went up to see it. When they came they hardly durst go in, the floor was so bad and dangerous, and the place so open to wind and rain. Some that came up said, "Surely it is a Jakes-house." When Colonel Kirby saw it, and heard what others said of it, he excused the matter as well as he could, saying that I should be removed ere long to some more convenient place. Next day, towards the eleventh hour, we were called again to hear the sentence; and Margaret Fell, being called first to the bar, she had counsel to plead, who found many errors in her indictment. Thereupon, after the Judge had acknowledged them, she was set by.

Then the Judge asked what they could say to mine. I was not willing to let any man plead for me, but desired to speak to it myself; and indeed, though Margaret had some that pleaded for her, yet she spoke as much herself as she would. But before I came to the bar I was moved in my spirit to pray that God would confound their wickedness and envy, set His truth over all, and exalt His seed. The Lord heard, and answered, and did confound them in their proceedings against me. And, though they had most envy against me, yet the most gross errors were found in my indictment.

I having put by others from pleading for me, the Judge asked me what I had to say why he should not pass sentence upon me. I told him I was no lawyer; but I had much to say, if he would but have patience to hear. At that he laughed, and others laughed also, and said, "Come, what have you to say? He can say nothing." "Yes," said I, "I have much to say; have but the patience to hear me."

I asked him whether the oath was to be tendered to the King's subjects, or to the subjects of foreign princes. He said, "To the subjects of this realm." "Then," said I, "look into the indictment; ye may see that ye have left out the word 'subject'; so not having named me in the indictment as a subject, ye cannot præmunire me for not taking an oath."

Then they looked over the statute and the indictment, and saw it was as I said; and the Judge confessed it was an error.

I told him I had something else to stop his judgment, and desired him to look what day the indictment said the oath was tendered to me at the sessions there. They looked, and said it was the eleventh day of January. "What day of the week was the sessions held on?" said I. "On a Tuesday," said they. "Then," said I, "look in your almanacs, and see whether there was any sessions held at Lancaster on the eleventh day of January, so called."



So they looked, and found that the eleventh day was the day called Monday, and that the sessions was on the day called Tuesday, which was the twelfth day of that month.

"Look now," said I, "ye have indicted me for refusing the oath in the quarter-sessions held at Lancaster on the eleventh day of January last, and the justices have sworn that they tendered me the oath in open sessions here that day, and the jury upon their oaths have found me guilty thereupon; and yet ye see there was no session held in Lancaster that day." Then the Judge, to cover the matter, asked whether the sessions did not begin on the eleventh day. But some in the court answered, "No; the session held but one day, and that was the twelfth." Then the Judge said this was a great mistake and an error.

Some of the justices were in a great rage at this, stamped, and said, "Who hath done this? Somebody hath done this on purpose;" and a great heat was amongst them.

Then said I, "Are not the justices here, that have sworn to this indictment, forsworn men in the face of the country? But this is not all," said I. "I have more yet to offer why sentence should not be given against me." I asked, "In what year of the King was the last assize here holden, which was in the month called March last?" The Judge said it was in the sixteenth year of the King. "But," said I, "the indictment says it was in the fifteenth year." They looked, and found it so. This also was acknowledged to be another error.

Then they were all in a fret again, and could not tell what to say; for the Judge had sworn the officers of the court that the oath was tendered to me at the assize mentioned in the indictment. "Now," said I, "is not the court here forsworn also, who have sworn that the oath was tendered to me at the assize holden here in the fifteenth year of the King, when it was in his sixteenth year, and so they have sworn a year false?"

The Judge bade them look whether Margaret Fell's indictment was so or no. They looked, and found it was not so.

I told the Judge I had more yet to offer to stop sentence; and asked him whether all the oath ought to be put into the indictment or no. "Yes," said he, "it ought to be all put in."

"Then," said I, "compare the indictment with the oath, and there thou mayest see these words: viz., 'or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his see,' which is a principal part of the oath, left out of the indictment; and in another place the words, 'heirs and successors,' are left out."

The Judge acknowledged these also to be great errors.

"But," said I, "I have something further to allege."

"Nay," said the Judge, "I have enough; you need say no more."

"If," said I, "thou hast enough, I desire nothing but law and justice at thy hands; for I don't look for mercy."

"You must have justice," said he, "and you shall have law."

Then I asked, "Am I at liberty, and free from all that ever hath been done against me in this matter?"

"Yes," said the Judge, "you are free from all that hath been done against you. But then," starting up in a rage, he said, "I can put the oath to any man here, and I will tender you the oath again."



I told him he had had examples enough yesterday of swearing and false swearing, both in the justices and in the jury; for I saw before mine eyes that both justices and jury had forsworn themselves.

The Judge asked me if I would take the oath. I bade him do me justice for my false imprisonment all this while; for what had I been imprisoned so long for? and I told him I ought to be set at liberty.

"You are at liberty," said he, "but I will put the oath to you again."

Then I turned me about and said, "All people, take notice; this is a snare; for I ought to be set free from the jailer and from this court."

But the Judge cried, "Give him the book;" and the sheriff and the justices cried, "Give him the book."

Then the power of darkness rose up in them like a mountain, and a clerk lifted up a book to me. I stood still and said, "If it be a Bible, give it me into my hand." "Yes, yes," said the Judge and justices, "give it him into his hand." So I took it and looked into it, and said, "I see it is a Bible; I am glad of it."

Now he had caused the jury to be called, and they stood by; for, after they had brought in their former verdict, he would not dismiss them, though they desired it; but told them he could not dismiss them yet, for he should have business for them, and therefore they must attend and be ready when they were called.

When he said so I felt his intent, that if I were freed, he would come on again. So I looked him in the face, and the witness of God started up in him, and made him blush when he looked at me again, for he saw that I saw him. Nevertheless, hardening himself, he caused the oath to be read to me, the jury standing by; and when it was read, he asked me whether I would take the oath or not. Then said I, "Ye have given me a book here to kiss and to swear on, and this book which ye have given me to kiss says, 'Kiss the Son'; and the Son says in this book, 'Swear not at all'; and so says also the apostle James. Now, I say as the book says, and yet ye imprison me; why do ye not imprison the book for saying so? How comes it that the book (which bids me not swear) is at liberty amongst you, and yet ye imprison me for doing as the book bids me?"

As I was speaking this to them, and held up the Bible open in my hand, to show them the place in the book where Christ forbids swearing, they plucked the book out of my hand again; and the Judge said, "Nay, but we will imprison George Fox." Yet this got abroad over all the country as a by-word, that "they gave me a book to swear on that commanded me 'not to swear at all'; and that the Bible was at liberty, and I in prison for doing as the Bible said."

Now, when the Judge still urged me to swear, I told him I had never taken oath, covenant, or engagement in my life, but my yea or nay was more binding to me than an oath was to many others; for had they not had experience how little men regarded an oath; and how they had sworn one way and then another; and how the justices and court had forsworn themselves now? I told him I was a man of a tender conscience, and if they had any sense of a tender conscience they would consider that it was in obedience to Christ's command that I could not swear. "But," said I, "if any of you can convince me that after Christ and the apostle had commanded not to swear, they altered that command and commanded Christians to swear, then ye shall see I will swear."



There being many priests by, I said, "If ye cannot do it, let your priests stand up and do it." But not one of the priests made any answer.

"Oh," said the Judge, "all the world cannot convince you."

"No," said I, "how is it likely the world should convince me; for 'the whole world lies in wickedness'; but bring out your spiritual men, as ye call them, to convince me."

Then both the sheriff and the Judge said, "The angel swore in the Revelations." I replied, "When God bringeth His first-begotten Son into the world, He saith, 'Let all the angels of God worship Him'; and He saith, 'Swear not at all.'"

"Nay," said the Judge, "I will not dispute."

Then I spoke to the jury, telling them it was for Christ's sake that I could not swear, and therefore I warned them not to act contrary to the witness of God in their consciences, for before His judgment-seat they must all be brought. And I told them that as for plots and persecution for religion and Popery, I do deny them in my heart; for I am a Christian, and shall show forth Christianity amongst you this day. It is for Christ's doctrine I stand." More words I had both with the Judge and jury before the jailer took me away.

In the afternoon I was brought up again, and put among the thieves some time, where I stood with my hat on till the jailer took it off. Then the jury having found this new indictment against me for not taking the oath, I was called to the bar; and the Judge asked me what I would say for myself. I bade them read the indictment, for I would not answer to that which I did not hear. The clerk read it, and as he read the Judge said "Take heed it be not false again"; but he read it in such a manner that I could hardly understand what he read.

When he had done the Judge asked me what I said to the indictment. I told him that hearing but once so large a writing read, and at such a distance that I could not distinctly hear all the parts of it, I could not well tell what to say to it; but if he would let me have a copy, and give me time to consider it, I would answer it.

This put them to; a little stand; but after a while the Judge asked me, "What time would you have?"

I said, "Until the next assize."

"But," said he, "what plea will you now make? Are you guilty or not guilty?"

I said, "I am not guilty at all of obstinately and wilfully refusing to swear; and as for those things mentioned in the oath, as jesuitical plots and foreign powers, I utterly deny them in my heart; and if I could take any oath, I should take that; but I never took any oath in my life."

The Judge said, "You speak well; but the King is sworn, the Parliament is sworn, I am sworn, the justices are sworn, and the law is preserved by oaths."

I told him that they had had sufficient experience of men's swearing, and he had seen how the justices and jury had sworn falsely the other day; and if he had read in the "Book of Martyrs" how many of the martyrs had refused to swear, both within the time of the ten persecutions and in Bishop Bonner's days, he might see that to deny swearing in obedience to Christ's command was no new thing.

He said he wished the laws were otherwise.



I said, "Our Yea is yea, and our Nay is nay; and if we transgress our yea and our nay, let us suffer as they do, or should do, that swear falsely." This, I told him, we had offered to the King; and the King said it was reasonable.

After some further discourse they committed me to prison again, there to lie until the next assize; and colonel Kirby gave order to the jailer to keep me close, "and suffer no flesh alive to come at me," for I was not fit, he said, "to be discoursed with by men." I was put into a tower where the smoke of the other prisoners came up so thick it stood as dew upon the walls, and sometimes it was so thick that I could hardly see the candle when it burned; and I being locked under three locks, the under-jailer, when the smoke was great, would hardly be persuaded to come up to unlock one of the uppermost doors for fear of the smoke, so that I was almost smothered.

Besides, it rained in upon my bed, and many times, when I went to stop out the rain in the cold winter-season, my shirt was as wet as muck with the rain that came in upon me while I was labouring to stop it out. And the place being high and open to the wind, sometimes as fast as I stopped it the wind blew it out again.

In this manner I lay all that long, cold winter till the next assize, in which time I was so starved, and so frozen with cold and wet with the rain that my body was greatly swelled and my limbs much benumbed.

The assize began the sixteenth of the month called March, 1664-5. The same Judges, Twisden and Turner, coming that circuit again, Judge Twisden sat this time on the crown-bench, and before him I was brought.

I had informed myself of the errors in this indictment also; for, though at the assize before Judge Turner said to the officers in court, "Pray, see that all the oath be in the indictment, and that the word 'subject' be in, and that the day of the month and year of the King be put in right; for it is a shame that so many errors should be seen and found in the face of the country;" yet many errors, and those great ones, were in this indictment, as well as in the former. Surely the hand of the Lord was in it, to confound their mischievous work against me, and to blind them therein; insomuch that, although, after the indictment was drawn at the former assize, the Judge examined it himself, and tried it with the clerks, yet the word "subject" was left out of this indictment also, the day of the month was put in wrong, and several material words of the oath were left out; yet they went on confidently against me, thinking all was safe and well.

When I was brought to the bar, and the jury called over to be sworn, the clerk asked me, first, whether I had any objection to make to any of the jury. I told him I knew none of them. Then, having sworn the jury, they swore three of the officers of the court to prove that the oath was tendered to me at the last assizes, according to the indictment.

"Come, come," said the Judge, "it was not done in a corner." Then he asked me what I had to say to it; or whether I had taken the oath at the last assize. I told him what I had formerly said to them, as it now came to my remembrance. Thereupon the Judge said, "I will not dispute with you but in point of law." "Then," said I, "I have something to speak to the jury concerning the indictment."



He told me I must not speak to the jury; but if I had anything to say, I must speak to him.

I asked him whether the oath was to be tendered to the King's subjects only, or to the subjects of foreign princes.

He replied, "To the subjects of this realm."

"Then," said I, "look in the indictment, and thou mayest see the word 'subject' is left out of this indictment also. Therefore, seeing the oath is not to be tendered to any but the subjects of this realm, and ye have not put me in as a subject, the court is to take no notice of this indictment."

I had no sooner spoken thus than the Judge cried, "Take him away, jailer, take him away." So I was presently hurried away.

The jailer and people expected that I should be called for again; but I was never brought to the court any more, though I had many other great errors to assign in the indictment.

After I was gone, the Judge asked the jury if they were agreed. They said, "Yes," and found for the King against me, as I was told. But I was never called to hear sentence given, nor was any given against me that I could hear of.

I understood that when they had looked more narrowly into the indictment they saw it was not good; and the Judge having sworn the officers of the court that the oath was tendered me at the assize before, such a day, as was set forth in the indictment, and that being the wrong day, I should have proved the officers of the court forsworn men again, had the Judge suffered me to plead to the indictment, which was thought to be the reason he hurried me away so soon.

*The Judge had passed sentence of *præmunire* upon Margaret Fell before I was brought in; and it seems that when I was hurried away they recorded me as a *præmunired* person [one who has had his lands, goods and chattels forfeited to the crown, who is to remain in prison during the sovereign's pleasure], though I was never brought to hear the sentence, or knew of it, which was very illegal. For they should not only have had me present to hear the sentence given, but should also have asked me first what I could say why sentence should not be given against me. But they knew I had so much to say that they could not give sentence if they heard it.*

While I was prisoner in Lancaster Castle there was a great noise and talk of the Turk's overspreading Christendom, and great fears entered many. But one day, as I was walking in my prison chamber, I saw the Lord's power turn against him, and that he was turning back again. And I declared to some what the Lord had let me see, when there were such fears of his overrunning Christendom; and within a month after, the news came that they had given him a defeat.

Another time, as I was walking in my chamber, with my eye to the Lord, I saw the angel of the Lord with a glittering drawn sword stretched southward, as though the court had been all on fire. Not long after the wars broke out with Holland, the sickness broke forth, and afterwards the fire of London; so the Lord's sword was drawn indeed.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

By reason of my long and close imprisonment in so bad a place I was become very weak in body; but the Lord's power was over all, supported me through all, and enabled me to do service for Him, and for His truth and people, as the place would admit. For, while I was in Lancaster prison, I answered several books, as the Mass, the Common-Prayer, the Directory and the Church-Faith, which are the four chief religions [Roman Catholic, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Independent or Congregational] that are got up since the apostles' days.

FOX'S JOURNAL

Here is Friend [George](#)'s epistle of this year, entitled "Sing and Rejoice":



*Sing and rejoice, ye children of the day and of the light; for the Lord is at work in this thick night of darkness that may be felt. And truth doth flourish as the rose, and the lilies do grow among the thorns, and the plants atop of the hills. And upon them the lambs do skip and play. And never heed the tempests nor the storms, floods nor rains, for the seed Christ is over all, and doth reign. And so be of good faith and valiant for the truth; for the truth can live in the jails. And fear not the loss of fleece, for it will grow again; and follow the lamb, if it be under the beast's horns, or under the beast's heels; for the lamb shall have the victory over them all. And so all live in the seed Christ, you way, that never fell; and you do see over all the ways of Adam's and Eve's sons and daughters in the fall. And in the seed Christ, your way, you have life and peace; and there you do see over all the ways of Adam in the fall, in which there is no peace. So in the seed Christ stand and dwell, in whom you have life and peace; the life that was with the Father before the world began. The 9th month, 1663.
G.F.*

George Fox

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



MILES HALHEAD AND THE HAUGHTY LADY⁸²

'Many a notable occurrence Miles Halhead had in his life.... But his going thus often from home was a great cross to his wife, who in the first year of his change, not being of his persuasion, was often much troubled in her mind, and would often say from discontent, "Would to God I had married a drunkard, then I might have found him at the alehouse; but now I cannot tell where to find my husband."'—SEWEL.

To Friends—To take care of such as suffer for owning the Truth.

'And that if any friends be oppressed any manner of way, others may take care to help them: and that all may be as one family, building up one another and helping one another.'

'And, friends, go not into the aggravating part to strive with it, lest you do hurt to your souls, and run into the same nature; for PATIENCE MUST GET THE VICTORY, and it answers to that of God in everyone and will bring everyone from the contrary. So let your temperance and moderation and patience be known to all.'—GEORGE FOX.

'Non tristabit justum quidquid si accederit.'

'Whatever happens to the righteous man it shall not heavy him.'—RICHARD ROLLE. 1349.

82. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



MILES HALHEAD AND THE HAUGHTY LADY

A Plain, simple man was Miles Halhead, the husbandman of Mountjoy. Ten years older than Fox was he, and wise withal, so that men wondered to see him forsake his home and leave wife and child at the call of the Quaker's preaching, and go forth instead to become a preacher of the Gospel.

Yet, truth to tell, the change was natural and easily explained. All his life Miles had had to do with seeds buried in the ground. Therefore when he heard George Fox preach at his home near Underbarrow in Westmorland, telling all men to consider 'that as the fallow ground in their fields must be ploughed up before it would bear seed to them, so must the fallow ground of their hearts be ploughed up before they could bear seed to God,' Miles' own past experience as a husbandman bore witness to the truth of this doctrine. His whole nature sprang forward to receive it; and thus, in a short while, he was mightily convinced.

Now at that time there were, as we know, many companies of Seekers scattered up and down the pleasant Westmorland dales. Miles himself had been one of such a group, but now, having found that which he had aforetime been a-seeking, nought was of any value to him, but that his old companions should likewise cease to be Seekers, and become also in their turn Finders. Yet Miles wondered often how such an one as he should be able to convince them. For he was neither skilful nor ready of tongue, nor of a commanding presence like Friend George Fox, but only a simple husbandman. Still he was wary in his discourse, from his long watching of the faces of Earth and Sky—full also he was of a most convincing silence; and, though as yet he had proved it not, staunch to suffer for his faith. It was said of him that 'his Testimony was plaine and powerful, he being a plain simple man.'

Thus Miles Halhead began to preach the Gospel, at first only in the hamlets and valleys round his home at Underbarrow near to Kendal. But one day when the daffodils were all abloom, and blowing their golden trumpets silently beside the sheltered streams, it came to him that he must take a further journey, and must follow the golden paths of the daffodils over hill and vale, until at the end of this street of gold he should come to Swarthmoor Hall; that there he might assist his friends at their Meeting, and with them be strengthened and have his soul refreshed.

A walk of seventeen miles or so lay before him, and an easy journey it should prove in this gay springtime, though in winter, when the snow lay drifted on the uplands, it would have been another matter. He could have travelled by the sheltered road that runs through the valley. It being springtime, however, and a sunny day when Miles set out from his home, he chose for pure pleasure to go by the fells. First, he travelled across the Westmorland country till he came to the lower end of Lake Winandermere, where the hills lie gently round like giants'



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

children, being not yet full grown into giants themselves with brows that touch the sky, as they are at the upper end of that same shining lake. Then, leaving Winandermere, across the Furness fells he came, keeping ever on his right hand the Old Man of Coniston, who, with his head for the most part wrapped in clouds, standeth yet, as he hath stood for ages, the Guardian of all that region.

Thus at length, as Miles journeyed, he came within sight of the promontory of Furness, that lies encircled by the sea, even as a babe's head lies in the crook of a woman's elbow. Seeing this, Miles' heart rejoiced, for he knew that his journey's end was in sight, and he tramped along blithely and without fear.

Suddenly, on the path at some distance ahead of him, he saw a patch of brilliant green and purple coming towards him—a gay figure more likely to be met with in the streets of London than on those lonely fells. Miles thought to himself as it drew nearer, 'Tis a woman!' then, 'Nay, it is surely a great Thistle coming towards me; no woman would wear garments such as those in this lonely place.' As he shaded his eyes the better to see what might be approaching, his mind ran back to the first sermon he had ever heard George Fox preach, on his first visit to Underbarrow, when he said, 'That all people in the Fall were gone from the image of God, righteousness and holiness, and were degenerated into the nature of beasts, of serpents, of tall cedars, of oaks, of bulls and of heifers.' ... 'Some were in the nature of dogs and swine, biting and rending; some in the nature of briars, thistles and thorns; some like the owls and dragons in the night; some like the wild asses and horses snuffing up the wind; and some like the mountains and rocks, and crooked and rough ways.' 'I was not certain of his meaning when I first heard him utter these words,' simple Miles thought to himself, 'but now that I see this fine Thistle coming towards me, I begin to understand him. Haply it is but a Thistle in outer seeming, and carries within the nature of a Lily or a Rose.'

Even as he thought of this, the Thistle came yet nearer, and when he could see it more plainly he feared that neither Lily nor Rose was there, but a Thistle full of prickles in very truth. It was indeed a woman, but clad in more gorgeous raiment than Miles had ever seen. Green satin was her robe, slashed with pale yellow silk, marvellous to behold. But it was the hat that drew Miles' gaze, for though newly come to be a Quaker preacher, he had been a husbandman long enough to be swift to notice the garb of all growing, living things, whether they were flowers or dames. Truly the hat was marvellous, of a bright purple satin, and crowned with such a tuft of tall feathers that the wearer's face could scarcely be seen beneath its shade. Dressed all in gaudy style was this fine Madam; and, as she passed Miles, she tilted up her head and drew her skirts disdainfully together, lest they should be soiled by his approach. Although the lady appeared to see him not, but to be gazing at the sky, she was in truth well aware of his presence, and awaited even hungrily a lowly obeisance from him, that should assure her in her own sight of her own importance. For of no high-born lineage was



this flaunting dame, no earl's or duke's daughter, else perhaps she had been too well aware of her own dignity and worth to insist upon others acknowledging it. She was but the young wife of the old Justice, Thomas Preston, and a plain Mistress, like Miles' own simple wife at home, in spite of her gay garments and flaunting airs. But the fact that she had newly come to live at Holker Hall, the finest mansion in all that country-side, had uplifted her in her own sight, and puffed her out with pride, sending her forth at all hours into unseasonable places to show off her fine new London clothes.

Therefore she paused a little as she passed Miles, waiting for him to doff his hat and bend his knee, and declare himself in all lowliness her servant. But Miles had never a thought of doing this. Though he was but newly turned Quaker, right well he remembered hearing George Fox say—

'Moreover, when the Lord sent me forth into the world, He forbade me to put off my hat to any—high or low—and I was required to "thee" and "thou" all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, great or small. And as I travelled up and down, I was not to bid people "Good-morrow," or "Good-evening," neither might I bow or scrape with the leg to anyone, and this made the sects and the professors to rage.'

Miles, too, having learnt this lesson and made it his own, passed by the lady in all soberness and quietness, taking no more notice of her than if she had been one of those dames painted on canvas by the late King's painter, Sir Anthony Van Dyck, which, truth to tell, she mightily resembled. The haughty fair one seeing this, as soon as he had fully passed and she could no longer delude herself with the hope that the longed-for salute was coming, was vastly and mightily incensed. It was not her hat alone that was thistle colour then: her face, her forehead, her neck all blazed and burned in one purple flush of rage. Only her cheeks stayed a changeless crimson, and that for a very excellent reason, easy to guess. Violently she turned herself to a serving-man who was following in her train, following so humbly, and being so much hidden by Madam's fallals and furbelows, that until that moment Miles had not even seen that he was there.

'Back, sirrah!' she said in a loud, angry voice, speaking to the man as if he had been a dog or a horse, 'back with thy staff and beat that unmannerly knave till thou hast taught him 'twere well he should learn to salute his betters.'

The servant was tired of following his lady like a lap-dog, and attending to all her whims and whimsies. Scenting sport more nearly to his liking, he obeyed, nothing loath. He fell upon Miles and beat him lustily and stoutly, expecting every moment that he would resist or beg for mercy.

Mistress Preston meanwhile, having turned full round, watched the thwacking blows, and counted each one as it fell, with a smile of pleasure. But her smile speedily became an angry frown, for Miles, well knowing to whom his chastisement was due, paid no heed to the serving-man, let him lay on never so soundly, but turned himself round under the blows, and cried out in a loud



voice to her: 'Oh, thou Jezebel, thou proud Jezebel, canst thou not permit and suffer the servant of the Lord to pass by thee quietly?'

Now at that word 'Jezebel,' Mistress Preston's anger was yet more mightily inflamed against Miles, for she knew that he had discovered the reason why her cheeks had remained pink, and flushed not thistle purple like the rest of her countenance. Even the serving-man smiled to himself, a mocking smile, and hummed in a low voice, as he continued to lay the blows thickly on Miles, a ditty having this refrain—

'Jezebel, the proud Queen,
Painted her face,'

He did not suppose that his mistress would recognise the tune; but recognise it she did, and it increased her anger yet more, if that were possible. She flung out both hands in a fury, as if she would herself have struck at Miles, then, thinking him not fit for her touch, she changed her mind, and spat full in his face. Oh, what a savage Thistle was that woman, and worse far than any Thistle in her behaviour! Loudly, too, she exclaimed, 'I scorn to fall down at thy words!' Her meaning in saying this is not fully clear, but it may be, as Miles had called her Jezebel, she meant that no one should ever cast her down from her high estate, as Jezebel was cast down from the window in the Palace, whence she mocked at Jehu. This made Miles testify yet once more—'Thou proud Jezebel,' said he, 'thou that hardenest thine heart and brazenest thy face against the Lord and His servant, the Lord will plead with thee in His own time and set in order before thee the things thou hast this day done to His servant.'

By this time the lady's lackey had at length stopped his beating, not out of mercy to Miles, but simply because his arm was weary. Yet he still kept humming under his breath another verse of the same ditty, ending—

'Jezebel, the proud Queen,
'Tired her hair!'

Miles, therefore, being loosed from his hands, parted from both mistress and man, and left them standing without more words and himself passed on, bruised and buffeted, to continue his journey in sore discomfort of body until he came to Swarthmoor.

Arrived at that gracious home, his friends comforted him and bound up his aching limbs, as indeed they were well accustomed to do in those days, when the guests who arrived at Swarthmoor had too often been sorely mishandled. Even to this day, in all the lanes around, may be seen the walls composed of sharp, grey, jagged stones, over which is creeping a covering of soft golden moss. So in those old days of which I write, men, aye and women too, often came to Swarthmoor torn and bleeding, perhaps sometimes with anger in their hearts (though Miles Halhead was not of these), and all alike found their inward and outward wounds staunch and assuaged by the never-failing sympathy of kindly hearts, and hands more soft than the softest golden moss.



Thus Miles Halhead was comforted of his friends at Swarthmoor, and inwardly refreshed. Yet the matter of his encounter with the haughty lady, and of her prickly thistle nature, rested on his mind, and he could not be content without giving her yet one more chance to doff her prickles and become a sweet and fragrant flower in the garden of the Lord. Therefore, three months later, being continually urged thereunto by 'the true Teacher which is within,' he determined to take yet another journey and come himself to Holker Hall, and ask to speak with its mistress and endeavour to bring her to a better mind. Thither then in due course he came. Now a mansion surpassing grand is Holker Hall, the goodliest in all that country-side. And a plain man and a simple, as has been said, was Miles Halhead the husbandman of Mountjoy, even among the Quakers—who were none of them gay gallants. Nevertheless, being full of a great courage though small in stature, all weary and travel-stained as he was, to Holker Hall Miles Halhead came. He would not go to any back door or side door, seeing that his errand was to the mistress of the stately building. He walked therefore right up the broad avenue till he came to the front entrance, with its grand portico, where a king had been welcomed before now.

As luck would have it, the door stood open as the Quaker approached, and the mistress of Holker Hall herself happened to be passing through the hall behind. She paused a moment to look through the open door, intending most likely to mock at the odd figure she saw approaching. But on that instant she recognised Miles as the man who had called her Jezebel. Now Miles at first sight did not recognise her, and was doubtful if this could be the haughty Thistle lady he sought, or if it were not a Lily in very truth. For Mistress Preston was clad this hot day in a lily-like frock of white clear muslin, all open at the neck and short enough to show her ankles and little feet, and tied with a blue ribbon round the waist, a garb most innocent to look upon, and more suited to a girl in her teens than to the Justice's wife, the buxom mistress of Holker Hall.

Therefore Miles, not recognising her, did ask her if she were in truth the woman of the house. To which she, seeing his uncertainty, answered lyingly: 'No, that I am not, but if you would speak with Mistress Preston, I will entreat her to come to you.'

Even as the words left her lips, Miles was sensible that she was speaking falsely, seeing how, even under the paint, her cheeks took on a deeper hue. And she, ever mindful that it was that same man who had called her Jezebel, went into the house and returning presently with another woman, declared that here was Mistress Preston, and demanded what was his will with her. No sooner had she spoken a second time than it was manifested to Miles with perfect clearness that she herself and none other was the woman he sought. Wherefore, in spite of her different dress and girlish mien, he said to her, 'Woman, how darest thou lie before the Lord and His servant?'

And she, being silent, not speaking a word, he proceeded, 'Woman, hear thou what the Lord's servant hath to say unto thee,—



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O woman, harden not thy heart against the Lord, for if thou dost, He will cut thee off in His sore displeasure; therefore take warning in time, and fear the Lord God of Heaven and Earth, that thou mayest end thy days in peace.' Having thus spoken he went his way; she, how proud soever, not seeking to stay him nor doing him any harm, but standing there silent and dumb under the tall pillars of the door, being withheld and stilled by something, she knew not what.

Yet her thistle nature was not changed, though, for that time, her prickles were blunted. It chanced that several years later, when George Fox was a prisoner at Lancaster, this same gay madam came to him and 'belched out many railing words,' saying among the rest that 'his tongue should be cut off, and he be hanged.' Instead of which, it was she herself that was cut off and died not long after in a miserable condition.

Thus did Mistress Preston of Holker Hall refuse to bow her haughty spirit, yet the matter betwixt her and Miles ended not altogether there. For it happened that another April day, some three springs after Miles Halhead had encountered her the first time, as he was again riding from Swarthmoor towards his home near Underbarrow, and again being come near to Holker Hall, he met a man unknown to him by sight. This person, as Miles was crossing a meadow full of daffodils that grew beside a stream, would not let him pass, as he intended, but stopped and accosted him. 'Friend,' said he to Miles, 'I have something to say to you which hath lain upon me this long time. I am the man that about three years ago, at the command of my mistress, did beat you very sore; for which I have been very troubled, more than for anything which ever I did in all my life: for truly night and day it hath been in my heart that I did not well in beating an innocent man that never did me any hurt or harm. I pray you forgive me and desire the Lord to forgive me, that I may be at peace and rest in my mind.'

To whom Miles answered, 'Truly, friend, from that time to this day I have never had anything in my heart towards either thee or thy mistress but love. May God forgive you both. As for me, I desire that it may not be laid to your charge, for you knew not what you did.' Here Miles stopped and gave the man his hand and forthwith went on his way; and the serving-man went on his way; both of them with a glow of brotherhood and fellowship within their hearts. While the daffodils beside the stream looked up with sunlit faces to the sun, as they blew on their golden trumpets a blast of silent music, for joy that ancient injury was ended, and that in its stead goodwill had come.



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HISTORICAL NOTES

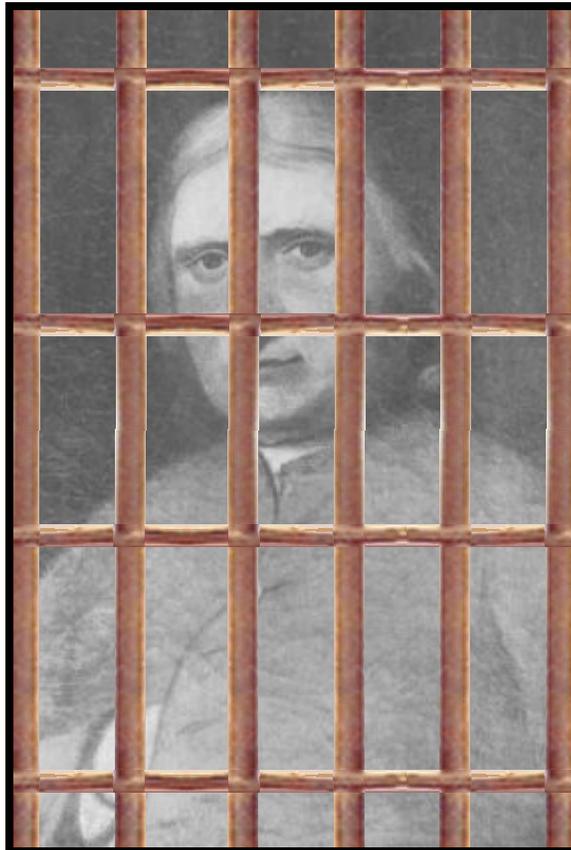
‘MILES HALHEAD AND THE HAUGHTY LADY.’

Historical. See Sewel's HISTORY, i. 129-131, and George Fox's JOURNAL, i. 53, 56, for George Fox's sermon.

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



SCATTERING THE SEED⁸³

'As early as 1654 sixty-three ministers, with their headquarters at Swarthmoor, and undoubtedly under central control, were travelling the country upon "Truth's ponies"'—JOHN WILHELM ROWNTREE.

'It is interesting to note and profitable to remember, how large a part these sturdy shepherds and husbandmen, from under the shade of the great mountains, had in preaching the doctrines of the Inward Light and of God's revelation of Himself to every seeking soul, in the softer and more settled countries of the South.'—THOMAS HODGKIN.

'Some speak to the conscience; some plough and break the clods; some weed out, and some sow; some wait that fowls devour not the seed. But wait all for the gathering of the simple-hearted ones.' ... 1651.

'Friends, spread yourselves abroad, that you may be serviceable for the Lord and His Truth.' 1654.

'Love the Truth more than all, and go on in the mighty power of God, as good soldiers of Christ, well-fixed in His glorious gospel, and in His word and power; that you may know Him, the life and salvation and bring up others into it.'—G. FOX.

'Go! Set the whole world on fire and in flames!'—IGNATIUS LOYOLA. (To one whom he sent on a distant mission.)

83. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



SCATTERING THE SEED

In Springtime the South of England is a Primrose Country. Gay carpets of primroses are spread in the woods; shy primroses peep out like stars in sheltered hedgerows; vain primroses are stooping down to look at their own faces in pools and streams, there are primroses, primroses everywhere. But in the North of England their 'paly gold' used to be a much rarer treasure. True, there were always a few primroses to be found in fortunate spots, if you knew exactly where to look for them; but they were not scattered broadcast over the country as they are further South. Therefore, North Country children never took primroses as a matter of course, they did not tear them up roughly, just for the fun of gathering them, drop them heedlessly the next minute and leave them on the road to die. North Country children used their precious holiday time to seek out their favourite flowers in their rare hiding-places.

'I've found one!' 'So have I!' 'There they are; two, three, four,-lots!' 'I see them!' The air would be full of delighted exclamations as the children scampered off, short legs racing, rosy cheeks flushing, bright eyes glowing with eagerness, to see who could take home the largest bunch.

The further north a traveller went, the rarer did primroses become, till in Northumberland, the most northerly county of all, primroses used to be very scarce indeed. Until, only a few years ago, a wonderful thing happened. There were days and weeks and months of warm sunny weather all through the spring and summer in that particular year. Old people smiled and nodded to one another as they said: 'None of us ever remembers a spring like this before!'

The tender leaves and buds and flowers undid their wrappings in a hurry to be first to catch sight of the sun, whose warm fingers had awakened them, long before their usual time, from their winter sleep. All over England the spring flowers had a splendid time of it that year.

Even the few scattered primroses living in what Southerners call 'the cold grey North' were obviously enjoying themselves. Their smooth, pale-yellow faces opened wider, and grew larger and more golden, day by day: while new, soft, pointed buds came poking up through their downy green blankets in unexpected places. Moreover, the warm weather lasted right through the summer. Not only did far more primroses flower than usual, but also, after they had faded, there was plenty of warmth to ripen the precious seed packet that each one had carried at its heart. No wonder the children clapped their hands, that joyous spring, when their treasures were so plentiful; but they feared that they would never have such good luck again, even if they lived to be as old as the old people who had 'never seen such a spring before.'

It was not until a year later that the delighted children discovered that the long spell of sunshine and the Enchanter Wind had worked a lasting magic. The ripened seed had been



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scattered far and wide. The primroses had come to the North to stay; and new Paradises were springing up everywhere.

Now this is a primrose parable of many things, and worth remembering. Among other things it is an illustration of the change that was wrought all over England by the preaching of George Fox.

Think once again of the long bleak years of his youth, when he was struggling in a dark world into which it seemed as if no ray of light could pierce; when he and everyone else seemed to be frozen up in a wintry religion, without life or warmth. Then think how at length he felt the sap rising in his own soul, turning his whole being to the Light, as he found 'there is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition.' This discovery taught him that in all other men's hearts too, if they only knew, there was 'that of God.' Henceforward, to proclaim that Light to others and the seed within their own hearts that responds to the beams of the Sun of Righteousness, was the service to which George Fox devoted his whole life. As his own being blossomed in the spiritual sunshine of his great discovery, he was able to persuade hundreds and thousands of other frozen hearts to yield themselves and turn to the Light, and open and blossom also in that same sunshine. A greater wonder followed. Those other lives, as they yielded themselves, began to ripen too, in different ways, but silently and surely, until they in their turn were ready to scatter the new seed, or, in the language of their day, to 'Publish Truth' up and down all over the country, until the whole face of England was changed. By the time of George Fox's death, more than one out of every hundred among all the people of England was a Friend. But the Friends never regarded themselves as a Sect, although Sects were flourishing at that time. In 1640 it is said that twenty new kinds of Sects blossomed out in the course of one week. George Fox and his followers believed that the discovery they had made was meant for everybody, as much as sunshine is. Other people nicknamed them 'Quakers,' but they always spoke of themselves by names that the whole world was welcome to share: 'Children of the Light,' 'Friends of the Truth,' or simply 'Friends.' There was nothing exclusive about such names as these. There was no such thing as membership in a society then or for more than fifty years afterwards. Anyone who was convinced by what he had heard, and lived in the spirit of what he professed, became 'Truth's Friend' in his turn.

Neither was there anything exclusive in George Fox's message. 'Keep yourselves in an universal spirit' was what he both preached and practised. It was in 'an universal spirit' that he and his followers scattered all over the country. No wonder they earned the name of 'the Valiant Sixty,' that little band of comrades who in 1654 started out from the North Country on their mission of convincing all England of 'the Truth.'

They were nearly all young men, their leader Fox himself still only thirty at this time. Francis Howgill and John Camm were two of the very few elders in the company. They usually travelled in couples, dear friends naturally going together; for is not



the best work always done with the right companion? George Fox, who was leader, not by any outward signs of authority but by fervour of inward power and zeal, occasionally travelled alone. More often he took with him a comrade, such as Richard Farnsworth (of whom we have heard at Pendle), or James Nayler, or Leonard Fell, or many another, of whom there are other stories yet to tell.

Never was George Fox happier than when he was sowing the seed in a new place. All over England there are memories of him, even as far away as the Land's End.

When, in 1656, he reached the rocky peninsula of granite at the extreme south-west of England, he wrote in his journal: 'At Land's End we had a precious meeting. Here was a fisherman, Nicholas Jose, convinced, that became a faithful minister. He spoke in meetings and declared truth to the people, so that I told Friends he was "like Peter." I was glad the Lord raised up His standard in those dark parts of the nation, where since there is a fine meeting of honest-hearted Friends, and a great people the Lord will have in that country.'

Unluckily, some of the other Cornish fisherfolk were not at all 'like Peter.' They were wreckers, and used to entice ships on to the rocks by means of false lights in order to enrich themselves with the spoils washed up on their coasts. This is why George Fox spoke of them as a 'dark people,' and was moved to put forth a paper 'warning them against such wicked practices.'

There are memories of him also in the town which was then called Smethwick, and is now called Falmouth, as well as at grim old Pendennis Castle: one of the twin castles that had been built by King Henry the Eighth to guard the mouth of Falmouth harbour. Here George Fox was confined. From hence he was carried to Launceston, where he lay for many weeks in prison in the awful den of Doomsdale, under conditions so dreadful that it is impossible to describe them here. When, at length, he was set at liberty he found a refuge at the hospitable farmhouse of Tregangeeves near St. Austell—the Swarthmoor of the West of England—with its warm-hearted mistress, Loveday Hambley. At Exeter he stayed at an inn, at the foot of the bridge, named 'the Seven Stars.' In our own day some of his followers have found another 'Inn of Shining Stars' at Exeter also, when their turn has come to be lodged within the grim walls of the Gaol for conscience sake.

Now let us borrow the Giant's Seven-Leagued boots, and fancy ourselves in the far North of England, in 1657, just leaving Cumberland and crossing the Scottish border. Again the same square-set figure in the plain, soft, wide hat is riding ahead. But on this journey George Fox has several others with him: one is our old acquaintance, James Lancaster: Alexander Parker is the name of another of his companions: the third, Robert Widders, Fox himself described as 'a thundering man.' With them rides a certain Colonel William Osborne, 'one of the earliest Quaker preachers north of the Tweed, who came into Cumberland at this time on purpose to guide the party.'⁸⁴ Colonel Osborne,



who had been present with the other travellers at a meeting at Pardshaw Crag shortly before, 'said that he never saw such a glorious meeting in his life.'

'Fox says that as soon as his horse set foot across the Border, the infinite sparks of life sparkled about him, and as he rode along he saw that the seed of the seedsman Christ was sown, but abundance of clods of foul and filthy earth was above it.'⁸⁵

A high-born Scottish lady, named Lady Margaret Hamilton, was convinced on this journey. She afterwards went in her turn to warn Oliver Cromwell of the Day of the Lord that was coming upon him. Various other distinguished people seem also to have been convinced at this time. The names of Fox's new disciples sound unusually imposing: 'Judge Swinton of Swinton; Sir Gideon Scott of Highchester; Walter Scott of Raeburn, Sir Gideon's brother; Charles Ormiston, merchant, Kelso; Anthony Haig of Bemersyde and William his brother'; but Quakerism never took firm root in the Northern Kingdom, as it did among the dalesmen and townsfolk farther South.

Fox journeyed on, right into the Highlands, but he got no welcome there. 'We went among the clans,' he says, 'and they were devilish, and like to have spoiled us and our horses, and run with pitchforks at us, but through the Lord's power we escaped them.' At Perth, the Baptists were very bitter, and persuaded the Governor to drive the party from the town, whereupon 'James Lancaster was moved to sound and sing in the power of God, and I was moved to sound the Day of the Lord, the glorious everlasting Gospel; and all the streets were up and filled with people: and the soldiers were so ashamed that they cried, and said they had rather have gone to Jamaica⁸⁶ than to guard us so, and then they set us in a boat and set us over the water.'

At Leith many officers of the army and their wives came to see Fox. Among these latter was a certain Mrs. Billing, who lived alone, having quarrelled with her husband. She brought a handful of coral ornaments with her, and threw them on the table ostentatiously, in order to see if Fox would preach a sermon against such gewgaws, since the Quakers were well known to disapprove of jewellery and other vanities.

'I took no notice of it,' says Fox, 'but declared Truth to her, and she was reached.' What a picture it makes! The fine lady, with her chains and brooches and rings of smooth, rose-coloured coral heaped up on the table before her, her eyes cast down as she pretended to let the pretty trifles slip idly through her fingers, yet glancing up now and then, under her eyelashes, to see if she had managed to attract the great preacher's attention; and Fox, noticing the baubles well enough, but paying no attention to them. Fixing his piercing eyes not on the coral but on its owner, he spoke to Mrs. Billing with such power that her whole life was changed. Once more Fox had found 'that of God' within this seemingly frivolous woman.

Before he left Scotland he had the happiness of persuading Mrs.

84. W.C. Braithwaite, BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM.

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86. Jamaica, with its deadly climate, had lately been taken by England from Spain, and was at this time proving the grave of hundreds of English soldiers.



Billing to send for her husband, and of helping to make up the quarrel between them. They agreed eventually to live in unity together once more as man and wife.

Fox journeyed on, in this way, year after year, always sowing the seed wherever he went, and sometimes having the joy of seeing it spring up above the clods and bring forth fruit an hundredfold. Even during the long weary intervals of captivity this service still continued. 'Indeed, Fox and his fellow-sufferers never looked upon prison as an interruption in their life service, but used the new surroundings in a fresh campaign.'⁸⁷ Thus, the historian tells us: 'Though George Fox found good entertainment, yet he did not settle there but kept in a continual motion, going from one place to another, to beget souls unto God.'⁸⁸

The rest of the 'Valiant Sixty,' meanwhile, were likewise busy, going up and down the country, working in different places and with different methods, but all intent on the one enterprise of 'Publishing Truth.' 'And so when the churches were settled in the North,' says the Journal, 'and the Lord had raised up many and sent forth many into His Vineyard to preach His everlasting Gospel, as Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough to London, John Camm and John Audland to Bristol through the countries, Richard Hubberthorne and George Whitehead towards Norwich, and Thomas Holme unto Wales, that a matter of sixty ministers did the Lord raise up and send abroad out of the North Countries.'

There were far fewer big towns in England in those days than there are now. Probably at least two-thirds of the people lived in the country, and only the remaining third were townsfolk: nowadays the proportions are more than reversed. There was then no thickly populated 'Black Country'; there were then no humming mills in the woollen districts of Yorkshire, no iron and steel works soiling the pure rivers of Tees and Wear and Tyne. Most of the chief towns and industries at that time were in the South. 'London had a population of half a million. Bristol, the principal seaport, had about thirty thousand; Norwich, with a similar number of inhabitants, was still the largest manufacturing city. The publishers of Truth would now make these three places their chief fields of service, showing something of the same concentration of effort at strategic centres which marked the extension of Christianity through the Roman Empire, under the leadership of Paul.'⁸⁹

A certain impetuous lad named James Parnell, already a noted Minister though still in his teens, was hard at work in the counties of East Anglia. In the next story we shall hear how Howgill and Burrough fared in their mission 'to conquer London.' Splendid tidings came from the two Johns, John Audland and John Camm, of their progress in Bristol and the West: 'The mighty power of God is that way; that is a precious city and a gallant people: their net is like to break with fishes, they have caught so much there and all the coast thereabout.' The memory of the enthusiasm of those early days lingered long in the West, in the

87. CAMEOS FROM THE LIFE OF GEORGE FOX, by E.E. Taylor.

88. Sewel's HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS.

89. W.C. Braithwaite, BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM.



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memory of those who had shared in them. 'Ah! those great meetings in the Orchard at Bristol I may not forget,' wrote John Audland many years later, 'I would so gladly have spread my net over all and have gathered all, that I forgot myself, never considering the inability of my body,—but it's well, my reward is with me, and I am content to give up and be with the Lord, for that my soul values above all things.'

Women also were among the first Publishers of Truth and helped to spread the message. Even before Burrough and Howgill reached London, two women had been there, gently scattering the new seed. It is recorded that one of them, named Isabella Buttery, 'sometimes spoke a few words in this small meeting.'

Two Quaker girls from Kendal, Elizabeth Leavens and 'little Elizabeth Fletcher,' were the first to preach in Oxford, and a terrible time they had of it. 'Little Elizabeth Fletcher' was then only seventeen, 'a modest, grave, young woman.' Jane Waugh, one of the 'convinced' serving-maids at Cammsgill, was a friend of hers; but Jane Waugh's turn for suffering had not yet come. She was still in the North when the two Elizabeths reached Oxford. This is the account of what befell them there: 'The 20th day of the 4th month [June] 1654 came to this city two maids, who went through the streets and into the Colleges, steeple and tower houses, preaching repentance and declaring the word of the Lord to the people.... On the 25th day of the same month they were moved to go to Martin's Mass House (alias) Carefox, where one of those maids, after the priest had done, spake something in answer to what the priest had before spoken in exhortation to the people, and presently were by two Justices sent to prison.' The Mayor of Oxford seems to have been pleased with the behaviour of the two girls and caused them to be set at liberty again. But the Vice-Chancellor and the Justices would not agree to this, and 'earnestly enquired from whence they came, and their business to Oxford. They answered, "they were commanded of the Lord to come"; and it being demanded "what to do," they answered, to "declare against Sin and Ungodliness, which they lived in." And at this answer the Vice-Chancellor and the Justices ordered their punishment, to be whipped out of town, and demanding of the Mayor to agree to the same, and for refusing, said they would do it of themselves, and signing a paper, the contents whereof was this: To be severely whipped, and sent out of Town as Vagrants. And forthwith, because of the tumult, they were put into the Cage, a place common for the worst of people; and accordingly the next morning, they were whipped, and sent away, and on the backside of the City, meeting some scholars, they were moved to speak to them, who fell on them very violently, and drew them into John's College, where they tied them back to back and pumped water on them, until they were almost stifled; and they being met at another time as they passed through a Graveyard, where a corpse was to be buried, Elizabeth Holme spake something to the Priest and people, and one Ann Andrews thrust her over a grave stone, which hurt she felt near to her dying day.'

Two other women, Elizabeth Williams and a certain Mary Fisher



(who was hereafter to go on a Mission to no less a person than the Grand Turk), were also cruelly flogged at Cambridge for daring to 'publish Truth' there. 'The Mayor ... issued his warrant to the Constable to whip them at the Market Cross till the blood ran down their bodies; and ordered three of his sergeants to see that sentence, equally cruel and lawless, severely executed. The poor women kneeling down, in Christian meekness besought the Lord to forgive him, for that he knew not what he did: so they were led to the Market Cross, calling upon God to strengthen their Faith. The Executioner commanded them to put off their clothes, which they refused. Then he stripped them naked to the waist, put their arms into the whipping-post, and executed the Mayor's warrant far more cruelly than is usually done to the worst of malefactors, so that their flesh was miserably cut and torn. The constancy and patience which they expressed under this barbarous usage was astonishing to the beholders, for they endured the cruel torture without the least change of countenance or appearance of uneasiness, and in the midst of their punishment sang and rejoiced, saying, "The Lord be blessed, the Lord be praised, who hath thus honoured us and strengthened us to suffer for his Name's sake." ... As they were led back into the town they exhorted the people to fear God, not man, telling them "this was but the beginning of the sufferings of the people of God."⁹⁰

These two women were the first Friends to be publicly whipped in England. But their prophecy that 'this was but the beginning' was only too literally fulfilled.

Not only had bodily sufferings to be undergone by these brave 'First Publishers.' Malicious reports were also spread against them, which must have been almost harder to bear.

William Prynne, the same William Prynne who had had his own ears cropped in earlier days by order of the Star Chamber, but who had not, apparently, learned charity to others through his own sufferings, published a pamphlet that was spread abroad throughout England. It was called 'The Quakers unmasked, and clearly detected to be but the Spawn of Romish Frogs, Jesuits and Franciscan Friars, sent from Rome to seduce the intoxicated giddy-headed English Nation.' George Fox called the pamphlet in which he answered this charge by an almost equally uncharitable title: 'The Unmasking and Discovery of Antichrist, with all the false Prophets, by the true Light which comes from Christ Jesus.'

The seventeenth century has truly been called 'a very ill-mannered century.' Certainly these were not pretty names for pamphlets that were so widely read that, to quote the graphic expression of an earlier writer, 'they walked up and down England at deer rates.'

Yet, still, in spite of bodily ill-usage and imprisonment, through good report and through evil report, through fair weather and foul, the work of scattering the seed continued steadily, day after day, month after month, year after year. The messengers went on, undaunted; the Message spread and took root

90. Besse, SUFFERINGS OF THE QUAKERS.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

throughout the land; the trials of the work were swallowed up
in the triumphant joy of service and of 'Publishing Truth.'



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

HISTORICAL NOTES

‘SCATTERING THE SEED.’

Historical. Details taken from George Fox’s JOURNAL, i. 141, 209, 347; 292, 297; 11, 337. See also Chapter viii. ‘The Mission to the South,’ in ‘BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM,’ by W.C. Braithwaite. Also ‘FIRST PUBLISHERS OF TRUTH,’ for accounts of the work in the different counties mentioned.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

 The Episcopalians of England obtained a Conventicle Act outlawing all religious worship other than their own. (There would be another such Conventicle Act in 1670.) [Quakers](#) who continued to worship openly would be fined, imprisoned, and transported. At one meeting in England the Quakers continued to worship in silence as around them the walls of their meetinghouse were being torn down.

Early in the year, [Friend Horod](#) Long Hicks left her common-law husband [George Gardiner](#) and went to live in Pettaquamscot. She petitioned the commissioners of [Rhode Island](#) for the return of the property she had brought into the relationship, and also for George's continuing support of her and his needy daughter Rebecca (this was not a petition for divorce, but for separate maintenance).

May 4: The 1st Quaker meeting in Boston was held at the home of Edward Wanton, who had been one of the officers at the hanging of [Friend](#) Mary Dyer in 1660. Since it is said that the [Quakers](#) met from 1664 to 1708 in Brattle Street, it seems likely that Wanton's home was on Brattle Street.

1665

 It was in this year, if not in the previous one, that [Friend John Smith](#) relocated from Plymouth to Dartmouth, Massachusetts.

 On Bermuda, Captain Dorrell and a group of eight militiamen entered a [Quaker](#) meeting for worship and dragged away two men to their musterfield. One of these men, [Friend Francis Estlake](#), who had been neglecting his militia duty, they "tied neck and heels together."

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[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, 1664.⁹¹

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":

91. 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.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM



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.

G.F.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY 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.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY 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



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."



** 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.



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.



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?"*



"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.



* 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:



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.



WRESTLING FOR GOD⁹²

'Being but a boy, Edward Burrough had the spirit of a man. Reviling, slandering, buffetting and caning were oft his lot. Nothing could make this hero shrink.'—SEWEL.

'His natural disposition was bold and manly, what he took in hand he did with his might; loving, courteous, merciful and easy to be entreated; he delighted in conference and reading of the holy scriptures.'—'Piety Promoted.'

'Dear Brother, mind the Lord and stand in His will and counsel. And dwell in the pure measure of God in thee, and there thou wilt see the Lord God present with thee. For the bringing forth many out of prison art thou there set; behold the word of the Lord cannot be bound. The Lord God of Power give thee wisdom, courage, manhood, and boldness, to thresh down all deceit. Dear Heart, be valiant, and mind the pure Spirit of God in thee, to guide thee up into God, to thunder down all deceit within and without. So farewell, and God Almighty keep you.'—GEORGE FOX, to a friend in the ministry.

'So, all dear and tender hearts, abide in the counsel of God, and let not the world overcome your minds but wait for a daily victory over it.'—E. BURROUGH.

'Give me the strength to surrender my strength to Thee in Love.'—RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

92. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



WRESTLING FOR GOD

'A brisk young man with a ready tongue' was the verdict passed upon Edward Burrough, the hero of this story, by a certain Mr. Thomas Ellwood when he met him first in the year 1659.

Ellwood himself, who thus described his new acquaintance, was a young man too at that time, of good education and scholarly tastes. He became later the friend of a certain Mr. John Milton, who thought sufficiently well of his judgment to allow him to read his poetry before it was published, and to ask him what he thought of it; even, occasionally, to act upon his suggestions. Ellwood, therefore, was clearly the possessor of a sober judgment, and not a likely person to be carried away by the glib words of a wandering preacher. Yet that 'brisk young man,' Edward Burrough, did not only 'reach him' with his 'ready tongue,' he also completely 'convinced' him, and altered his whole life: Ellwood returned to his family ready to suffer hardship if need be on behalf of his newly-found faith.

Ellwood's own adventures, however, do not concern us here, but those of the young man who convinced him.

Edward Burrough was one of the best loved and most valiant of all those 'Valiant Sixty' ministers who went forth throughout the length and breadth of England, in 1654, on their new, wonderful enterprise of 'Publishing Truth.' If Edward Burrough was still 'young and brisk' when Ellwood first came across him, he must have been yet younger and brisker on that summer's day, five years earlier, when he left his home in Westmorland in order to 'conquer London.' This was an ambitious undertaking truly for any man, however brisk and ready of tongue.

It is true that the London of those long-ago days of the Commonwealth, before the Great Fire, was a much more compact city than the gigantic, overgrown London of to-day. Instead of 'sprawling over five or six counties,'⁹³ and containing six or seven million inhabitants, London was then a comparatively small place, its population, though rapidly increasing, did not yet number one million.

'An old map of the year 1610 shows us that London and Westminster were then two neighbouring cities surrounded by meadows. "Totten Court" was an outlying country village. Oxford Street is marked on this map as "The way to Uxbridge," and runs between meadows and pastures. The Tower, Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's Church, ... and some other landmarks are indeed there, but it is curious to read the accounts given by the chronicles of the day of its narrow and dirty streets, in which carts and coaches jostled one another, and foot passengers found it difficult to get along at all.... When the King went to Parliament, faggots were thrown into the ruts in the streets through which he passed, to make it easier for his state coach to drive over the uneven roads!'⁹⁴ Nevertheless this gay little countrified town of timbered

93. STORY OF QUAKERISM, E.B. Emmott.

94. STORY OF QUAKERISM, E.B. Emmott.



houses, surrounded by meadows and orchards, and overlooked by the green heights of 'Hamsted' and Primrose Hill, was then as now the Capital City of England. And England under Oliver Cromwell was one of the most powerful of the States of Europe. Therefore if a young man barely out of his teens were to succeed in 'conquering London,' and bending it to his will, he would certainly need all his briskness and readiness of tongue.

Edward Burrough probably entered London alone and on foot, after a journey extending over several weeks. He had left his native Westmorland in company with good John Camm, the 'statesman' farmer of Cammsgill. The first stages of their journey were made on horseback. Many a quiet talk the two men must have had together as they rode through the green lanes of England,—that long-ago England of the Commonwealth, its clear skies unstained by any tall chimneys or factory smoke. There were but few hedgerows then, 'a single hedge is a marked feature in the contemporary maps.'⁹⁵ The cornfields stretched away in a broad, unbroken expanse as they do to-day on the Continent of Europe and in the lands of the New World.

As they rode, Camm would tell Burrough, doubtless, of his first sight of George Fox, preaching in Sedbergh Churchyard, under the ancient yew-tree opposite the market cross, on that never-to-be-forgotten day of the Whitsuntide Fair. The story of the 'Wonderful Fortnight' would be sure to follow; of the 'Mighty Meeting' on the Fell outside Firbank Chapel; of the gathering of the Seekers at Preston Patrick; and of yet another open-air meeting, when hundreds of people assembled one memorable First Day near his own hillside farm at Cammsgill.

Then it would be the younger man's turn to tell his tale.

'He was born in the barony of Kendal ... of parents who for their honest and virtuous life were in good repute; he was well educated, and trained up in such learning as that country did afford.... By his parents he was trained up in the episcopal worship,'⁹⁶ but for a long time, he says that the only religion that he practised was 'going to church one day in seven to hear a man preach, to read, and sing, and rabble over a prayer.' (It is easy to smile at the old-fashioned word; but let us try to remember it when we ourselves are tempted to get up too late in the morning and 'rabble over' our own prayers.)

Gradually the unseen world grew more real. A beautiful and comforting message was given to him in his heart, 'Whom God once loves, he loves for ever.' Now he grew weary of hearing any of the priests, for he saw they did not possess what they spoke of to others, and sometimes he began to question his own experiences.

Nevertheless he felt it a grievous trial to give up all his prospects of earthly advancement and become a Quaker. Yet from the day he listened to George Fox preaching at Underbarrow there was no other course open to him; though his own parents were much incensed with him for daring to join this despised people. They even refused to acknowledge him any longer as a member of their family. Being rejected as a son, therefore, he begged to

95. ENGLAND UNDER THE STUARTS, G.M. Trevelyan.

96. Sewel's HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS.



be allowed to stay on in his home and work as a servant, but this, too, was refused. Thus being, as he says, 'separated from all the glory of the world, and from all his acquaintance and kindred,' he betook himself to the company of 'a poor, despised people called Quakers.'

It must have been a comfort to him, after being cast off by his own family, to find himself adopted by a still larger family of friends, and to become one of the 'Valiant Sixty' entrusted with the great adventure of Publishing Truth.

Riding along with good John Camm, with talk to beguile the way, was pleasant travelling; but this happy companionship was not to last very long. For as they journeyed and came near the 'Middle Kingdom,' or Midlands, they fell in with another of 'Truth's Publishers.'

This was none other than their Westmorland neighbour, John Audland, 'the ruddy-faced linen-draper of Crosslands,' John Camm's own especial comrade and pair among the 'Sixty.'

It may have been a prearranged plan that they should meet here; anyway Camm turned aside with Audland and went on with him to Bristol, where he had already begun to scatter the seed in the west of England, while Edward Burrough pursued his journey in solitude towards London.⁹⁷ But his days of loneliness were not to last for long. Either just before or just after his arrival in the great city, two other Publishers also reached the metropolis, one of whom, Francis Howgill, was to be his own especial comrade and pair in the task of 'conquering London.' This was that same Francis Howgill, a considerably older man than Burrough, and formerly a leader among the Seekers, who had been preaching that memorable day at Firbank when he thought George Fox looked into the Chapel and was so much struck that 'you could have killed him with a crab-apple.' Now that they had come together, however, it would have taken more than many crab-apples to deter him and Burrough from their Mission. Together the two friends laid their plans for the capture of London, and together they proceeded to carry them out. The success they met with was astonishing. 'By the arm of the Lord,' writes Howgill, 'all falls before us, according to the word of the Lord before I came to this City, that all should be as a plain.'

Amidst their engrossing labours in the capital the two London 'Publishers' did not forget to send news of their work to Friends in the North. Many letters written at this time remain. Those to Margaret Fell, especially, give a vivid picture of their progress. These letters are signed sometimes by Howgill, sometimes by Burrough, sometimes by both together. But, whatever the signature, the pronouns 'I' and 'we' are used indiscriminately, as if to show that the writers were not only united in the service of Truth but were also one in heart.

'We two,' they say in one letter, 'are constrained to stay in this city; but we are not alone, for the power of our Father is with us, and it is daily made manifest through weakness, even

97. I have followed Thomas Camm's account of his father's journey with Edward Burrough, and of their meeting with John Audland in the Midlands, as given in his book, *THE MEMORY OF THE RIGHTEOUS REVIVED*. W.C. Braithwaite, however, in his *BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM*, thinks it more probable that Francis Howgill was E. Burrough's companion from the North, and that the two friends reached London together.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

to the stopping of the mouths of lions and to the confounding of the serpent's wisdom; eternal praises to Him for evermore. In this city, iniquity is grown to the height. We have three meetings or more every week, very large, more than any place will contain, and which we can conveniently meet in. Many of all sorts come to us and many of all sorts are convinced, yea, hundreds do believe....'

Again: 'We get Friends together on the First Days to meet together out of the rude multitude; and we two go to the great meeting place which we have, which will hold a thousand people, which is always nearly filled, there to thresh among the world; and we stay till twelve or one o'clock and then pass away, the one to the one place and the other to another place where Friends are met in private; and stay till four or five o'clock.'

Only a month later yet another 'great place' had to be taken for a 'threshing-floor,' or hall where public meetings could be held. To these meetings anyone might come and listen to the preachers' message, which 'threshed them like grain, and sifted the wheat from the "light chaffy minds" among the hearers.'

How 'chaffy' and frivolous this gay world of London appeared to these first Publishers, consumed with the burning eagerness of their mission, the following description shows. It occurs in a letter from George Fox himself when he, too, came to the metropolis, a few months later.

'What a world this is,' he writes ... 'altogether carried with fooleries and vanities both men and women ... putting on gold, gay apparel, plaiting the hair, men and women they are powdering it, making their backs as if they were bags of meal, and they look so strange that they cannot look at one another. Pride hath puffed up every one, they are out of the fear of God, men and women, young and old, one puffs up another, they are not in the fashion of the world else, they are not in esteem else, they shall not be respected else, if they have not gold and silver upon their backs, or his hair be not powdered. If he have a company of ribbons hung about his waist, red or white, or black or yellow, and about his knees, and gets a Company in his hat, and powders his hair, then he is a brave man, then he is accepted, then he is no Quaker.... Likewise the women having their gold, their spots on their faces, noses, cheeks, foreheads, having their rings on their fingers, wearing gold, having their cuffs doubled under and about like a butcher with white sleeves' (how pretty they must have been!), 'having their ribbons tied about their hands, and three or four gold laces about their clothes, "this is no Quaker," say they.... Now are not all these that have got these ribbons hung about their arms, backs, waists, knees, hats, hands, like unto fiddlers' boys, and shew that you are gotten into the basest contemptible life as be in the fashion of the fiddlers' boys and stage-players, and quite out of the paths and steeps of solid men.... And further to get a pair of breeches like a coat and hang them about with points up almost to the middle, and a pair of double cuffs upon his hands, and a feather in his cap, and to say, "Here's a gentleman, bow before him, put off your hats, bow, get a company



of fiddlers, a set of music and women to dance, this is a brave fellow, up in the chamber without and up in the chamber within," are these your fine Christians? "Yea," say they. "Yea but," say the serious people, "they are not of Christ's life." And to see such a company as are in the fashions of the world ... get a couple of bowls in their hands or tables [dice] or shovel-board, or a horse with a Company of ribbons on his head as he hath on his own, and a ring in his ear; and so go to horse-racing to spoil the creature. Oh these are gentlemen, these are bred up gentlemen! these are brave fellows and they must have their recreation, and pleasures are lawful. These are bad Christians and shew that they are gluttoned with the creature and then the flesh rejoiceth!'

No wonder that Edward Burrough wrote to Margaret Fell that 'in this city iniquity is grown to the height,' and again, in a later letter: 'There are hundreds convinced, but not many great or noble do receive our testimony ... we are much refreshed, we receive letters from all quarters, the work goes on fast everywhere.... Richard Hubberthorne is yet in prison and James Parnell at Cambridge.... Our dear brethren John Audland and John Camm we hear from, and we write to one another twice in the week. They are near us, they are precious and the work of the Lord is great in Bristol.'

Margaret Fell writes back in answer, like a true mother in Israel, 'You are all dear unto me, and all are present with me, and are all met together in my heart.'

And now, having heard what the 'Valiant Sixty' thought of London, what did London think of the 'Valiant Sixty'? Many years later a certain William Spurry wrote of these early days: 'I being in London at the time of the first Publication of Truth, there was a report spread in the City that there was a sort of people come there that went by the name of plain North Country plow men, who did differ in judgment to all other people in that City, who I was very desirous to see and converse with. And upon strict enquiry I was informed that they did meet at one Widow Matthews in White Cross Street, in her garden, where I repaired, where was our dear friends Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, who declared the Lord's everlasting Truth in the demonstration of the Spirit of Life, where myself and many more were convinced. A little time after there was a silent meeting appointed and kept at Sarah Sawyer's in Rainbow Alley.'

Very rural and unlike London these places sound: but meetings were not only held in secluded spots, such as the garden in White Cross Street, and the house in Rainbow Alley, they were also held in the tumultuous centres of Vanity Fair.

'Edward Burrough,' says Sewel the historian, 'though he was a very young man when he first came forth, yet grew in wisdom and valour so that he feared not the face of man.' 'At London there is a custom in summer time, when the evening approaches and tradesmen leave off working, that many lusty fellows meet in the fields, to try their skill and strength at wrestling, where generally a multitude of people stand gazing in a round. Now it so fell out, that Edward Burrough passed by the place where they



were wrestling, and standing still among the spectators, saw how a strong and dexterous fellow had already thrown three others, and was now waiting for a fourth champion, if any durst venture to enter the lists. At length none being bold enough to try, E. Burrough stepped into the ring (commonly made up of all sorts of people), and having looked upon the wrestler with a serious countenance, the man was not a little surprised, instead of an airy antagonist, to meet with a grave and awful young man; and all stood amazed at this sight, eagerly expecting what would be the issue of this combat. But it was quite another fight Edward Burrough aimed at. For having already fought against spiritual wickedness, that had once prevailed in him and having overcome it in measure, by the grace of God, he now endeavoured also to fight against it in others, and to turn them from the evil of their ways. With this intention he began very seriously to speak to the standers by, and that with such a heart-piercing power, that he was heard by this mixed multitude with no less attention than admiration; for his speech tended to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God.

'Thus he preached zealously; and though many might look upon this as a novelty, yet it was of such effect that many were convinced of the truth... And indeed he was one of those valiants, whose bow never turned back ... nay he was such an excellent instrument in the hand of God that even some mighty and eminent men were touched to the heart by the power of the word of life which he preached' ... 'using few words but preaching after a new fashion so that he was called a "son of thunder and also of consolation."'

'Now I come also to the glorious exit of E. Burrough, that valiant hero. For several years he had been very much in London, and had there preached the gospel with piercing and powerful declarations. And that city was so near to him, that oftentimes, when persecution grew hot, he said to Francis Howgill, his bosom friend, "I can go freely to the city of London, and lay down my life for a testimony of that truth, which I have declared through the power and spirit of God." Being in this year [1662] at Bristol, and thereabouts, and moved to return to London, he said to many of his friends, when he took leave of them, that he did not know he should see their faces any more; and therefore he exhorted them to faithfulness and steadfastness, in that wherein they had found rest for their souls. And to some he said, "I am now going up to the city of London again, to lay down my life for the gospel, and suffer among friends in that place."⁹⁸

Thus it befell that Edward Burrough was called to a more deadly wrestling match than any in the pleasant London fields. He was thrown into prison, and there he had to face a mortal foe in the gaol-fever that was then raging in that noisome den. This was to wrestle in grim earnest, with Death himself for an adversary; and in this wrestling match Death was the conqueror.

Charles the Second was now on the throne. He knew and respected Edward Burrough, and did his best to rescue him. Knowing the pestilential and overcrowded state of Newgate at that time, the

98. Sewel's HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS.



Merry Monarch, to his lasting credit, sent a royal warrant for the release of Edward Burrough and some of the other prisoners, when he heard of the danger they were in from the foul state of the prison. But this order a certain cruel and persecuting Alderman, named Richard Brown, and some magistrates of the City of London contrived to thwart. The prisoners remained in the gaol. Edward Burrough caught the fever, and grew rapidly worse. On his death-bed he said, 'Lord, forgive Richard Brown, who imprisoned me, if he may be forgiven.' Later on he said, 'I have served my God in my generation, and that Spirit, which has lived and ruled in me shall yet break forth in thousands.' 'The morning before he departed his life ... he said, "Now my soul and spirit is centred into its own being with God; and this form of person must return from whence it was taken..."' A few moments later, in crowded Newgate, he peacefully fell asleep. 'This was the exit of E. Burrough, who in his flourishing youth, about the age of eight and twenty, in an unmarried state, changed this mortal life for an incorruptible, and whose youthful summer flower was cut down in the winter season, after he had very zealously preached the gospel about ten years.'⁹⁹

Francis Howgill, now left desolate and alone, poured forth a touching lament for his vanished 'yoke-fellow.'

'It was my lot,' he writes, 'to be his companion and fellow-labourer in the work of the gospel where-unto we were called, for many years together. And oh! when I consider, my heart is broken; how sweetly we walked together for many months and years in which we had perfect knowledge of one another's hearts and perfect unity of spirit. Not so much as one cross word or one hard thought of discontent ever rose (I believe) in either of our hearts for ten years together.'

George Fox, no mean fighter himself, adds this comment: 'Edward Burrough never turned his back on the Truth, nor his back from any out of the Truth. A valiant warrior, more than a conqueror, who hath got the crown through death and sufferings; who is dead, but yet liveth amongst us, and amongst us is alive.'

But it is from Francis Howgill, who knew him best and loved him most of all, that we learn the inmost secret of the life of this mighty wrestler, when he says:

'HIS VERY STRENGTH WAS BENDED AFTER GOD.'



99. Sewel's HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

HISTORICAL NOTES

'WRESTLING FOR GOD.'

Historical. See 'BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM,' Chapter viii. Also 'LETTERS FROM THE EARLY FRIENDS,' by A.R. Barclay. 'PIETY PROMOTED,' i. 35-38. 'STORY OF QUAKERISM,' by E.B. Emmott, for description of old London. See also 'MEMORIALS OF THE RIGHTEOUS REVIVED,' by C. Marshall and Thomas Camm, and note that I have followed T. Camm's account in this book of his father's journey south with E. Burrough. W.C. Braithwaite in 'BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM,' following 'FIRST PUBLISHERS OF TRUTH,' thinks it, however, more probable that F. Howgill was E. Burrough's companion throughout the journey, and that the two Friends reached London together.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

May: Solomon Eccles, or Eagle (1618-1683), a London composer who had converted to [Quakerism](#), was arrested in Southwark and confined at “The Clink” on the South Bank of the Thames River, for having run naked through Bartholomew and Smithfield as a religious warning in respect to the plague. (Friend Solomon would be held for only two or three months. In 1667 Pepys would witness him moving through the nation’s principal “steeple-house,” Westminster Hall, attired only in a loincloth.)

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

The General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#) sat at [Newport](#) to enact a militia law requiring frequent trainings, providing pay for service, requiring individual ownership of ammunition, and establishing the maintenance of town magazines:

1. That all householders inhabiting this Colony take an engagement of allegiance, and the administration of justice be in his Majesty's name.
2. That all men of competent estates and of civil conversation, who acknowledge and are obedient to the civil magistrate, though of differing judgments, may be admitted to be freemen, and have liberty to choose and to be chosen officers both civil and [military].
3. That all men and women of orthodox opinion, competent knowledge and civil [lives], who acknowledge and are obedient to the civil magistrate, and are not scandalous, may be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and their children to baptism, if they desire it; either by admitting them into the congregations already gathered, or permitting them to gather themselves into such congregations where they may enjoy the benefits of the sacraments, and that difference in opinion may not break the bands of peace and charity.
4. That all laws and expressions in laws derogatory to his Majesty, if any such have been made in these late troublesome times, may be repealed, altered, and taken off.
5. That this Colony be put in such a posture of defense, that if there should be any invasion upon this Island or elsewhere in this Colony (which God forbid), you [may in] some measure be in readiness to defend yourselves; or if need be, to relieve your [neighbors] according to the power given you by the King in your Charter, and to us in this commission and instruction.

[READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT](#)



May 3: The General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#) sat as the King's Commissioners in [Newport](#) to hear about the failed common-law marriage of [George Gardiner](#) and [Friend](#) Horodia or Herodius (Horod) Long Hicks. George Gardiner testified that "he cannot say that never hee went on purpose before any magistrate to declare themselves, or take such other means ... to declare themselves man & wife." Friend Robert Stanton of Newport testified, however, that "he knew noe other marridge, but only one night being at his house, both of them did say before him & his wife that they did take the other as man & wife" — thus establishing the two witnesses needed for the legal recognition of a common law marriage. George Gardiner and Horod Long Hicks had produced the children Benoni,¹⁰⁰ Henry,¹⁰¹ George,¹⁰² William,¹⁰³ Nicholas,¹⁰⁴ Dorcas,¹⁰⁵ Rebecca,¹⁰⁶ Samuel, and Joseph. [Horod](#) pled necessity, telling the court that after she had been deserted by Hicks, her estate having been carried away by him, "I was put to great hardship, and straight ... and I being brought up not to labour, and young, knew not what to do to have something to live, having no friend, in which straight I was drawne by George Gardiner to consent to him so fare as I did, for mayntenance...." When the Assembly asked if she would return to George and live with him as "a wife should do," she allowed that she would not.

May 5: Mistress Margaret Porter, the wife of the wealthy older man [John Porter](#), a "poor ancient matron," petitioned the [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly, sitting at [Newport](#), to force her husband to support her, "he having apparently gone over to Pettyquamscut, leaving her without means of support and dependant children...." (Interestingly, not only John Porter but also [Friend Horod](#) Long Hicks had gone over to Pettyquamscut.)

This court had found itself unable to persuade [George Gardiner](#) and Horodia or Herodius (Horod) Long Hicks that they should continue to share their common-law marriage. Despite the fact "that she had lived all this time in that abominable lust of fornication, contrary to the general apprehension of her neighbors, she having had by the aforesaid Gardiner, many children ... so that horrible sin of uncleannes in which they had lived for 18 years, under cover of pretended marridge ... shamefully expressed to the publicke view,..." it therefore accepted [Horod](#)'s declaration that her conscience compelled her to refuse to acknowledge George Gardiner to be her husband, severely censured the two people for the "extreme sinfulness of their conduct," fine them £20 each, and enjoined "that the aforesaid Gardiner and Horod are hereby straightly required that henceforth they presume not to so lead so scandalous a life, lest they feel the extremist penalty that either is or shall be provided in such cases." Soon the Assembly would create a new marriage law requiring formal marriage but allowing that existing common-law marriages should be regarded as good, firm, and authentic — so that none should

100. There had been a previous birth, not described on the record. Benoni Gardiner was born before 1645 and died about 1731. He married someone named Mary.

101. Henry Gardiner was born in about 1645 and died on April 26, 1744. He married 1st a wife named Joan and 2d with Abigail Richmond Remington, the widow of John Remington, and a daughter of Edward and Abigail (Davis) Richmond.

102. We do not know when George Gardiner was born, but he died during 1724. On February 13, 1670 he got married with Tabitha Tefft, a daughter of John and Mary Barker Tefft.

103. William Gardiner was born in about 1651 and died in 1711. He married someone named Elizabeth.

104. Nicholas Gardiner was born in 1654 and died in 1712. He married someone named Hannah.

105. Dorcas Gardiner was born in about 1656 and got married in about 1675 with John Watson.

106. We do not know when Rebecca Gardiner was born, but she was presumably the infant "still at the breast" that Horod carried to Boston in 1658. She got married with John Watson, as his 2d wife after his marriage with her sister Dorcas, and John died in 1728.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

take advantage of the new law of marriage to abandon husband or wife, and so that children should not be reputed illegitimate. George and Horod would continue in good standing in their respective communities, with George remarrying with Lydia Hallow, daughter of Robert Hallow, and going on to serve several times as a Grand Juror in Newport, and with Horod remarrying with yet a 3rd husband, [John Porter](#), “a very well-to-do inhabitant of [Portsmouth](#)” (he being one of the purchasers of Pettaquamscutt), an older man and married, who would divorce his wife Margaret Porter in order to marry Horod, and would provide each of Horod’s sons with a farm of several hundred acres, and perhaps (the record is not complete) provide also for her daughters.

Soon after this separation, [George Gardiner](#) married Lydia Ballou, widow of Robert Ballou. The couple would produce 5 children.

1666

Young [William Penn](#) finally made his commitment to the [Quakers](#).

In [Rhode Island](#), William Brenton was in charge. A Rhode Island deed of Joseph Williams to Shadrach Manton mentioned an area called Venter, now Olneyville.

[Samuell Gorton](#) was re-elected as a Deputy Governor.

[Friend](#) Thomas Burnyeat held a [Quaker](#) meeting in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

Nothing was paid from or received in the Town Treasury.

13th day 5th month: According to [Quaker](#) records, James Gould was born at [Newport, Rhode Island](#), the 7th child of Friend Daniel Gould and Friend Wait Coggeshall Gould of Newport. (5th month would be August, since April was the 1st month of the year. According to lay records, however, the child was born not on August 13th but on October 13th.)

THIS DAY IN PEPYS’S DIARY



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

 September 1: Just prior to the outbreak of the great fire in London, Friend [George Fox](#) was being granted his release from Scarborough Castle.

As soon as this order was obtained, John Whitehead came to Scarborough with it, and delivered it to the Governor; who, upon receipt thereof, gathered the officers together, and, without requiring bond or sureties for my peaceable living, being satisfied that I was a man of a peaceable life, he discharged me freely, and gave me the following passport:

Permit the bearer hereof, George Fox, late a prisoner here, and now discharged by His Majesty's order, quietly to pass about his lawful occasions, without any molestation. Given under my hand at Scarborough Castle, this first day of September, 1666.

JORDAN CROSLANDS,

Governor of Scarborough Castle.

After I was released, I would have made the Governor a present for the civility and kindness he had of late shown me; but he would not receive anything; saying that whatever good he could do for me and my friends he would do it, and never do them any hurt. And afterwards, if at any time the mayor of the town sent to him for soldiers to break up Friends' meetings, if he sent any down he would privately give them a charge not to meddle. He continued loving to his dying day.

The officers also and the soldiers were mightily changed, and became very respectful to me, and when they had occasion to speak of me they would say, "He is as stiff as a tree, and as pure as a bell; for we could never bow him."

[Here is an interesting entry in the Journal in the year 1669: "I then visited friends at Whitby and Scarborough. When I was at Scarborough, the governor, hearing I was come, sent to invite me to his house, saying, 'Surely, you would not be so unkind as not to come and see me and my wife.' After the meeting I went to visit him, and he received me very courteously and lovingly."]

The very next day after my release, the fire broke out in London, and the report of it came quickly down into the country. Then I saw the Lord God was true and just in His Word, which he had shown me before in Lancaster jail, when I saw the angel of the Lord with a glittering sword drawn southward, as before expressed.

The people of London were forewarned of this fire; yet few laid to heart, or believed it; but rather grew more wicked, and higher in pride. For a Friend was moved to come out of Huntingdonshire a little before the fire, to scatter his money, and turn his horse loose on the streets, to untie the knees of his trousers, let his stockings fall down, and to unbutton his doublet, and tell the people that so should they run up and down, scattering their money and their goods, half undressed, like mad people, as he was sign to them [Thomas Ibbett of Huntingdonshire would soon be standing in Cheapside with outspread arms during the great fire, trying magically to stop the progress of the flames]; and so they did, when the city was burning.

FOX'S JOURNAL:



Thus hath the Lord exercised His prophets and servants by His power, shown them signs of His judgments, and sent them to forewarn the people; but, instead of repenting, they have beaten and cruelly entreated some, and some they have imprisoned, both in the former power's days [the days of Oliver Cromwell] and since.

But the Lord is just, and happy are they that obey His word.

Some have been moved to go naked in their streets, in the other power's days and since, as signs of their nakedness; and have declared amongst them that God would strip them of their hypocritical professions, and make them as bare and naked as they were. But instead of considering it, they have many times whipped, or otherwise abused them, and sometimes imprisoned them.

Others have been moved to go in sackcloth, and to denounce the woes and vengeance of God against the pride and haughtiness of the people; but few regarded it. And in the other power's days, the wicked, envious, and professing priests, put up several petitions both to Oliver and Richard, called Protectors, and to the Parliaments, judges and Justices, against us, full of lies, vilifying words and slanders; but we got copies of them, and, through the Lord's assistance, answered them all, and cleared the Lord's truth and ourselves of them.

But oh! the body of darkness that rose against the Truth in them that made lies their refuge! But the Lord swept them away; and in and with His power, truth, light, and life, hedged his lambs about, and preserved them as on eagles' wings. Therefore we all had, and have, great encouragement to trust the Lord, who, we saw by His power and Spirit, overturned and brought to naught all the confederacies and counsels that were hatched in darkness against His Truth and people; and by the same truth gave His people dominion, that therein they might serve Him.

Indeed, I could not but take notice how the hand of the Lord turned against the persecutors who had been the cause of my imprisonment, or had been abusive or cruel to me in it. The officer that fetched me to Holker-Hall wasted his estate, and soon after fled into Ireland. Most of the justices that were upon the bench at the sessions when I was sent to prison, died in a while after; as old Thomas Preston, Rawlinson, Porter, and Matthew West, of Borwick. Justice Fleming's wife died, and left him thirteen or fourteen motherless children. Colonel Kirby never prospered after. The chief constable, Richard Dodgson, died soon after, and Mount, the petty constable, and the wife of the other petty constable, John Ashburnham, who railed at me in her house, died soon after. William Knipe, the witness they brought against me, died soon after also. Hunter, the jailer of Lancaster, who was very wicked to me while I was his prisoner, was cut off in his young days; and the under-sheriff that carried me from Lancaster prison towards Scarborough, lived not long after. And Joblin, the jailer of Durham, who was prisoner with me in Scarborough Castle, and had often incensed the Governor and soldiers against me, though he got out of prison, yet the Lord cut him off in his wickedness soon after.

When I came into that country again, most of those that dwelt in Lancashire were dead, and others ruined in their estates; so that, though I did not seek revenge upon them for their actings against me contrary to the law, yet the Lord had executed His judgments upon many of them.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

September 4, Tuesday: At first the wind drove the great London fire west away from the Tower of London but when the winds stopped the fire started to burn east. It would have consumed the fortress had firefighters not used barrels of gunpowder to blow up nearby houses.

THIS DAY IN PEPYS'S DIARY

As this was occurring exactly one millennium after the year 666 CE (666 being the Number of the Beast), many Londoners feared the end of the world. The Great Fire of course did nothing to alleviate such trepidations (Schwartz, Hillel. *CENTURY'S END: AN ORIENTATION MANUAL TOWARD THE YEAR 2000*. NY: Doubleday, 1996, page 87, Kyle, Richard. *THE LAST DAYS ARE HERE AGAIN*. Grand Rapids MI: Baker Books, 1998, page 67-68). Friend [George Fox](#), released from Scarborough Castle just before the fire broke out, would be taken back into prison.

MILLENNIALISM

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day referred to his 1661 tirade *FUMIFUGIUM: OR, THE INCONVENIENCE OF*



THE AER AND SMOAKE OF LONDON DISSIPATED and was in part as follows:

John Evelyn's Diary

The burning still rages; I went now on horse back, & it was now gotten as far as the Inner Temple, all Fleetstreete, old baily, Ludgate Hill, Warwick Lane, Newgate, Paules Chaine, Wattling-streete now flaming & most of it reduc'd to ashes, the stones of Paules flew like granados, the Lead mealting down the streetes in a streame, & the very pavements of them glowing with a fiery rednesse, so as nor horse nor man was able to tread on them, & the demolitions had stopped all the passages, so as no help could be applied; the Easter[n] Wind still more impetuously driving the flames forwards: Nothing but the almighty power of God was able to stop them, for vaine was the help of man: on the fift it crossed towards Whitehall, but ô the Confusion was then at that Court:

It pleased his Majestie to command me among the rest to looke after the quenching of fetter-lane end, to preserve (if possible) that part of Holborn, whilst the rest of the Gen[lemen] tooke their several posts, some at one part, some at another, for now they began to bestirr themselves, & not 'til now, who 'til now had stood as men interdict, with their hands a crosse, & began to consider that nothing was like to put a stop, but the blowing up of so many houses, as might make a [wider] gap, than any had yet ben made by the ordinary method of pulling them downe with Engines: This some stout Seamen proposd early enought to have saved the whole Citty: but some tenacious & avaritious Men, Aldermen &c. would not permitt, because their houses must have ben [of] the first: It was therefore now commanded to be practised, & my conerne being particularly for the Hospital of st. Bartholomeus neere Smithfield, where I had many wounded & sick men, made me the more diligent to promote it; nor was my care for the Savoy lesse: So as it pleased Almighty God by abating of the Wind, & the industrie of people, now when all was lost, infusing a new Spirit into them (& such as had if exerted in time undoubtedly preserved the whole) that the furie of it began sensibly to abate, about noone, so as it came no farther than the Temple West-ward, nor than the enterance of Smithfield North; but continued all this day & night so impetuous toward Cripple-Gate, & The Tower, as made us even all despaire; It also brake out againe in the Temple: but the courage of the multitude persisting, & innumerable houses blown up with Gunpowder, such gaps & desolations were soone made, as also by the former three days consumption, as the back fire did not so vehemently urge upon the rest, as formerly:

There was yet no standing neere the burning & glowing ruines neere a furlongs Space; The Coale & Wood wharfes & magazines of Oyle, rozine, [chandler] &c: did infinite mischief; so as the invective I but a little before dedicated to his Majestie & publish'd, giving warning what might probably be the issue of suffering those shops to be in the Citty, was lookd on as prophetic: but there I left this smoking & sultry heape, which mounted up in dismall clouds night & day, the poore Inhabitans dispersd all about St. Georges, Moore filds, as far as higate, & severall miles in Circle, Some under tents, others under miserab[le] Hutts and Hovells, without a rag, or any necessary utinsils, bed or board, who from delicatnesse, riches & easy accommodations in stately & well furnishd houses, were now reduc'd to extreamest misery & poverty: In this Calamitous Condition I returnd with a sad heart to my house, blessing & adoring the distinguishing mercy of God, to me & mine, who in the midst of all this ruine, was like Lot, in my little Zoar, safe and sound:

1667

Metacom was again summoned to Plymouth Town, as had already occurred during 1664, to provide reassurances against their fear that he was plotting to war upon the English.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

Phillip alias Metacom
his mark



It was in this period that Deliverance Smith was born. Although we know that eventually John Smith of Plymouth and Dartmouth would come to be the father a total of thirteen children and although the initial five, Hassadiah, John, Josiah, Eliazer, and Hezekiah, were definitely born to his 1st wife, Friend Deborah Howland Smith, and although the will would make it clear that Hannah, Sarah, and Deborah had been born to the 2d wife, Friend Ruhamah Kirby Smith — about Judah, Gershom, Deliverance, Mehitable, and Eliashib we can only infer that they would also pertain to this 2d Quaker woman, Ruhamah. As to how it was that a 2d Quaker wife was bearing children for this man across the water in Dartmouth while in Plymouth his 1st Quaker wife seems still to have been very much alive, and as to the details of the eventual relocation of this Smith family from Plymouth to Dartmouth, the genealogical record has preferred to remain silent. We notice a reticence in assigning the years of birth to the various children, as if these details would inform us of certain life patterns of which it would be better for the world at large to remain ignorant. We only know that this child, Deliverance, became a Friend.

An indication of how difficult travel was in those days: [William Edmundson](#), a public [Friend](#), journeyed all day from the Falls of the Delaware River southward without glimpsing anyone else, or any domestic animal. Although his party was accompanied by a native American, it lost its way and was obliged to go back so as to come upon the river at some point, and follow its margin until they came upon a small landing “from New York.” By this means only they eventually would find their way via a small path to the Delaware Falls.



An attitude toward the arts, as offered in this year by [Friend](#) Soloman Eccles:
 “Musician. Truly, me thinks when I go to Church, and hear the Organs, and Voyces, and the Discords, and ConCORDS, I am even ravished to hear, and I can praise the Lord with them, and tis to me as the joys of Heaven. Quaker. That Heaven will be shaken, and thy Song will be turned into howling; for such Musick and Singing was never set up of God, but of men; and it takes with that part of man that serves not God aright, but is for wrath and judgement.”¹⁰⁷

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

~~RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS~~
 Friend Nicholas Easton decided that it would be contrary to Quaker principle to mount a “great gun” upon the seawall in [Newport, Rhode Island](#). — For “a killinge Instrument we may neither forme, nor beare” (said by Friend William Ames and others).

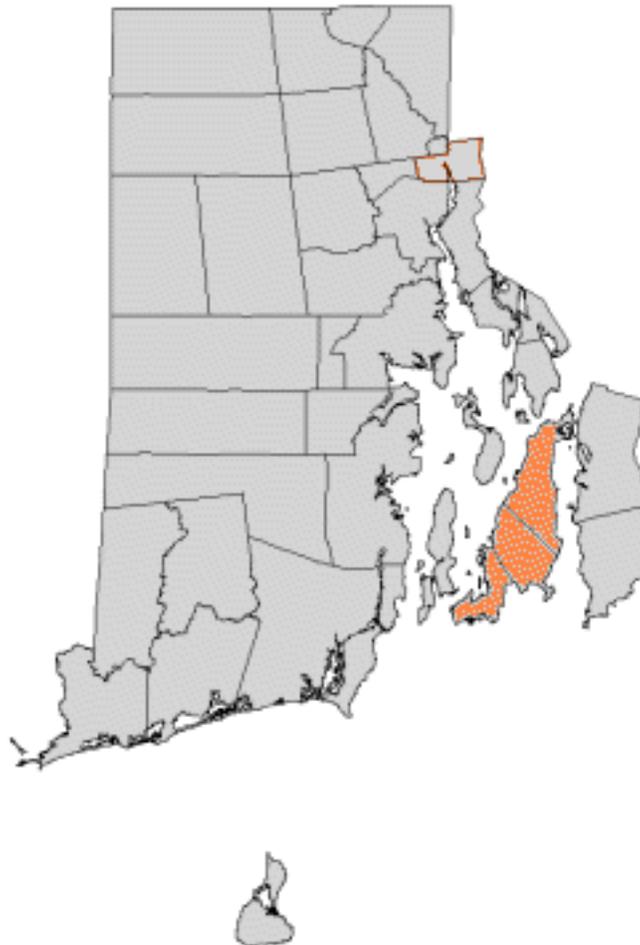
It was made illegal for any white male capable of militia service to leave the island of Aquidneck¹⁰⁸ without a permit from the white authorities to depart, and similarly, it was made illegal for any native American male older than 16 to remain on the island without a permit from the white authorities to remain. No native might possess any weapon, or be up and about at all at night. (The local Quakers were complicit in these decisions, nor is there any evidence on the record that the island’s Friends had any special relationship with the island’s native population.)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

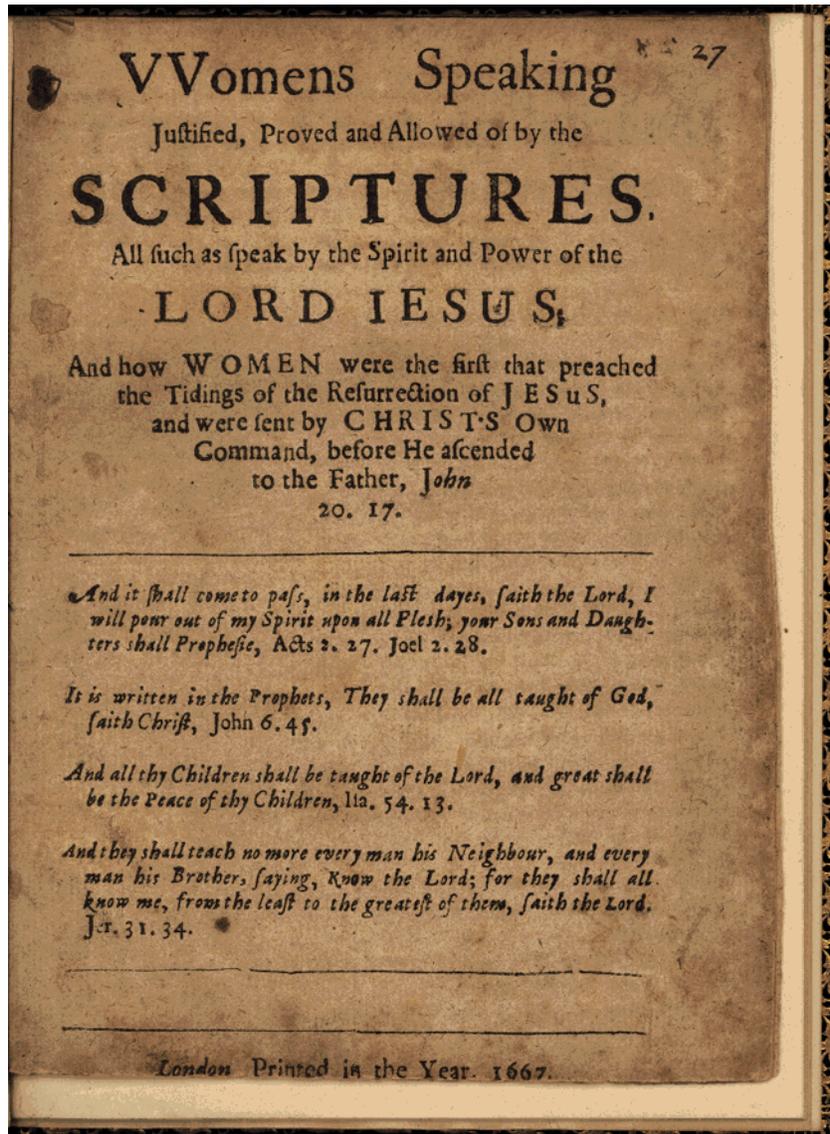
107. A MUSICK-LECTOR; OR, THE ART OF MUSICK (THAT IS SO MUCH VINDICATED IN CHRISTENDOME) DISCOURSED OF... London, 1667

[Friend Margaret Askew Fell](#)'s feminist tract, WOMENS SPEAKING JUFTIFIED, PROVED AND ALLOWED OF BY

108. In Algonquian, "Aquidnet" means "a place of security or tranquility," from "aquene" or "aquidne" meaning secure or peaceful, and "et" meaning place.



THE SCRIPTURES..., boldly presented her interpretation of the BIBLE regarding the role of women in the



church and persuasively responded both to the Pauline injunction against their involvement in church teaching and to the traditional sexist interpretation of the creation stories in GENESIS:

And whereas it is said, I permit not a *Woman to speak, as saith the Law*: But where Women are led by the Spirit of God, they are not under the Law; for Christ in the Male and in the Female is one; and where he is made manifest in Male and Female, he may speak; for *he is the end of the Law for Righteousness to all them that believe*. So here you ought to make a Distinction what sort of Women are forbidden to speak; such as were under the Law, who were not come to Christ, nor to the Spirit of Prophecy: For *Huldah, Miriam, and Hannah*, were Prophetesses, who were not forbidden in the time of the Law, for they all prophesied in the



time of the Law; as you may read in 2 KINGS 22. what *Huldah* said unto the Priest, and to the Ambassadors that were sent to her from the King, *Go, saith she, and tell the Man that sent you to me, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, and on the Inhabitants thereof, even all the Words of the Book which the King of Judah hath read; because they have forsaken me, and have burnt Incense to other Gods, to anger me with all the Works of their Hands: Therefore my Wrath shall be kindled against this place, and shall not be quenched. But to the King of Judah, that sent you to me to ask Counsel of the Lord, so shall you say to him, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Because thy Heart did melt, and thou humbledst thy self before the Lord, when thou heard'st what I spake against this place, and against the Inhabitants of the same, how they should be destroyed; Behold, I will receive thee to thy Father, and thou shalt be put into thy Grave in peace, and thine Eyes shall not see all the evil which I will bring upon this place.*

Now let us see if any of you, blind Priests, can speak after this manner, and see if it be not a better Sermon than any of you can make, who are against Women's Speaking. And *Isaiah*, that went to the Prophetess, did not forbid her Speaking or Prophesying, ISAIAH 8. And was it not prophesied in JOEL 2. that *Hand-maids* should Prophesie? And are not *Hand-maids* Women? Consider this, ye that are against Women's Speaking, how in the Acts the Spirit of the Lord was poured forth upon Daughters as well as Sons. In the time of the Gospel, when *Mary* came to salute *Elizabeth* in the Hill-Country in *Judea*, and when *Elizabeth* heard the Salutation of *Mary*, the Babe leaped in her Womb, and she was filled with the Holy Spirit; and *Elizabeth* spoke with a loud Voice. Blessed art thou amongst Women, blessed is the Fruit of thy Womb. Whence is this to me, that the Mother of my Lord should come to me? For lo, as soon as thy Salutation came to my Ear, the Babe leaped in my Womb for Joy; for blessed is she that believes, for there shall be a Performance of those things which were told her from the Lord. And this was *Elizabeth's* Sermon concerning Christ, which at this day stands upon Record. And then *Mary* said, My Soul doth magnifie the Lord, and my Spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour, for he hath regarded the low Estate of his Handmaid: For, behold, from henceforth all Generations shall call me blessed; for he that is mighty, hath done to me great things, and holy is his Name; and his Mercy is on them that fear him, from Generation to Generation; he hath shewed Strength with his Arm; he hath scattered the Proud in the Imaginations of their own Hearts; he hath put down the Mighty from their Seats, and exalted them of low degree; he hath filled the Hungry with good things, and the Rich he hath sent empty away: He hath holpen his Servant *Israel*, in remembrance of his Mercy, as he spake to his Father, to *Abraham*, and to his Seed for ever. Are you not here beholding to the Woman for her Sermon, to use her Words, to put into your COMMON PRAYER? and yet you forbid Women's Speaking.

Now here you may see how these two Women prophesied of Christ, and preached better than all the blind Priests did in that Age,



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

and better than this Age also, who are beholding to Women to make use of their Words.

From this year into 1670, Friend [George Fox](#) would be at the work of organizing his new religion:

I then visited Friends till I came to York, where we had a large meeting. After this I went to visit Justice Robinson, an ancient justice of the peace, who had been very loving to me and Friends from the beginning. There was a priest with him, who told me that it was said of us, that we loved none but ourselves. I told him that we loved all mankind, as they were God's creation, and as they were children of Adam and Eve by generation; and that we loved the brotherhood in the Holy Ghost. This stopped him. After some other discourse we parted friendly, and passed away.

About this time I wrote a book, entitled, "Fear God, and Honour the King"; in which I showed that none could rightly fear God and honour the King but they that departed from sin and evil. This book greatly affected the soldiers, and most people.

[FOX'S JOURNAL:](#)

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



** Then I was moved of the Lord to recommend the setting up of five monthly meetings of men and women in the city of London (besides the women's meetings and the quarterly meetings), to take care of God's glory, and to admonish and exhort such as walked disorderly or carelessly, and not according to Truth. For whereas Friends had had only quarterly meetings, now Truth was spread, and Friends were grown more numerous, I was moved to recommend the setting up of monthly meetings throughout the nation. [The first Quaker system of Discipline, printed in 1669 by Fox's opponents under the title CANONS AND INSTITUTIONS, would be drawn up soon after his release from Scarborough Castle.] And the Lord opened to me what I must do, and how the men's and women's monthly and quarterly meetings should be ordered and established in this and in other nations; and that I should write to those where I did not come, to do the same. After things were well settled at London, and the Lord's Truth, power, seed, and life reigned and shone over all in the city, I went into Essex.*

[Throughout the counties where he had preached, he now went, setting up monthly meetings, i.e., local meetings for transacting the business of the Church and for ordering and overseeing the moral and spiritual life of the membership. We shall not follow his movements in detail, but it may here be noted that the world's records show few instances of more striking energy, and fidelity to a divine mission, than do the entries of these twenty-four years. Here is one glimpse of him as he is traveling through "the frost and snow," during the winter of 1667.]

I was so exceeding weak, I was hardly able to get on or off my horse's back; but my spirit being earnestly engaged in the work the Lord had concerned me in and sent me forth about, I travelled on therein, notwithstanding the weakness of my body, having confidence in the Lord, that He would carry me through, as He did by His power.

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 [1668]. 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.

Now [1669] was I moved of the Lord to go over into Ireland, to visit the Seed of God in that nation. There went with me Robert Lodge, James Lancaster, Thomas Briggs, and John Stubbs.

We waited near Liverpool for shipping and wind. After waiting some days, we sent James Lancaster to take passage, which he did, and brought word the ship was ready, and would take us in at Black Rock. We went thither on foot; and it being some distance, and the weather very hot, I was much spent with walking.

When we arrived, the ship was not there; so we were obliged to go to the town and take shipping. When we were on board, I said to the rest of my company, "Come, ye will triumph in the Lord, for we shall have fair wind and weather."

Many passengers in the ship were sick, but not one of our company. The captain and many of the passengers were very loving; and we being at sea on the first day of the week, I was moved to declare Truth among them; whereupon the captain said to the passengers, "Here are things that you never heard in your lives."

When we came before Dublin, we took boat and went ashore; and the earth and air smelt, methought, of the corruption of the nation, so that it yielded another smell to me than England did; which I imputed to the Popish massacres that had been committed, and the blood that had been spilt in it, from which a foulness ascended.

We passed through among the officers of the custom four times, yet they did not search us; for they perceived what we were: some of them were so envious they did not care to look at us.



We did not soon find Friends; but went to an inn, and sent out to inquire for some. These, when they came to us, were exceedingly glad of our coming, and received us with great joy.

We stayed there the weekly meeting, which was a large one, and the power and life of God appeared greatly in it. Afterwards we passed to a province meeting, which lasted two days, there being one about the poor, and another meeting more general; in which a mighty power of the Lord appeared. Truth was livingly declared, and Friends were much refreshed therein.

Passing thence about four and twenty miles, we came to another place, where we had a very good, refreshing meeting; but after it some Papists that were there were angry, and raged very much. When I heard of it, I sent for one of them, who was a schoolmaster; but he would not come. Thereupon I sent a challenge to him, with all the friars and monks, priests and Jesuits, to come forth, and "try their God and their Christ, which they had made of bread and wine," but no answer could I get from them. I told them they were worse than the priests of Baal; for Baal's priests tried their wooden god, but these durst not try their god of bread and wine; and Baal's priests and people did not eat their god as these did, and then make another.

He that was then mayor of Cork, being very envious against Truth and Friends, had many Friends in prison. Knowing I was in the country, he sent four warrants to take me; therefore Friends were desirous that I should not ride through Cork. But, being at Bandon, there appeared to me in a vision a very ugly-visaged man, of a black and dark look. My spirit struck at him in the power of God, and it seemed to me that I rode over him with my horse, and my horse set his foot on the side of his face.

When I came down in the morning, I told a friend the command of the Lord to me was to ride through Cork; but I bade him tell no man. So we took horse, many Friends being with me.

When we came near the town, Friends would have shown me a way through the back side of it; but I told them my way was through the streets. Taking Paul Morrice to guide me through the town, I rode on.

As we rode through the market-place, and by the mayor's door, he, seeing me, said, "There goes George Fox"; but he had not power to stop me. When we had passed the sentinels, and were come over the bridge, we went to a Friend's house and alighted. There the Friends told me what a rage was in the town, and how many warrants were granted to take me.

While I was sitting there I felt the evil spirit at work in the town, stirring up mischief against me; and I felt the power of the Lord strike at that evil spirit.

By-and-by some other friends coming in, told me it was over the town, and amongst the magistrates that I was in the town. I said, "Let the devil do his worst." After we had refreshed ourselves, I called for my horse, and having a Friend to guide me, we went on our way.



Great was the rage that the mayor and others of Cork were in that they had missed me, and great pains they afterwards took to catch me, having their scouts abroad upon the roads, as I understood, to observe which way I went. Scarce a public meeting I came to, but spies came to watch if I were there. The magistrates and priests sent information one to another concerning me, describing me by my hair, hat, clothes and horse; so that when I was near an hundred miles from Cork they had an account concerning me and a description of me before I came amongst them.

One very envious magistrate, who was both a priest and a justice, got a warrant from the Judge of assize to apprehend me. The warrant was to go over all his circuit, which reached near an hundred miles. Yet the Lord disappointed all their councils, defeated all their designs against me, and by His good hand of Providence preserved me out of all their snares, and gave us many sweet and blessed opportunities to visit Friends, and spread Truth through that nation.

* For meetings were very large, Friends coming to them from far and near; and other people flocking in. The powerful presence of the Lord was precious felt amongst us. Many of the world were reached, convinced, and gathered to the Truth; the Lord's flock was increased; and Friends were greatly refreshed and comforted in feeling the love of God. Oh the brokenness that was amongst them in the flowings of life! so that, in the power and Spirit of the Lord, many together broke out into singing, even with audible voices, making melody in their hearts.

After I had travelled over Ireland, and visited Friends in their meetings, as well for business as for worship, and had answered several papers and writings from monks, friars, and Protestant priests (for they were all in a rage against us, and endeavoured to stop the work of the Lord, and some Jesuits swore in our hearing that we had come to spread our principles in that nation, but should not do it), I returned to Dublin, in order to take passage for England. I stayed to the First-day's meeting there, which was very large and precious.

There being a ship ready, and the wind serving, we took our leave of Friends; parting in much tenderness and brokenness, in the sense of the heavenly life and power manifested amongst us. Having put our horses and necessaries on board in the morning, we went ourselves in the afternoon, many Friends accompanying us to the ship; and diverse Friends and Friendly people followed us in boats when we were near a league at sea, their love drawing them, though not without danger.

A good, weighty, and true people there is in that nation, sensible of the power of the Lord God, and tender of His truth. Very good order they have in their meetings; for they stand up for righteousness and holiness, which dams up the way of wickedness. A precious visitation they had, and there is an excellent spirit in them, worthy to be visited. Many things more I could write of that nation, and of my travels in it; but thus much I thought good to signify, that the righteous may rejoice in the prosperity of truth.

We travelled till we came to Bristol, where I met with Margaret Fell, who was come to visit her daughter Yeomans.



I had seen from the Lord a considerable time before, that I should take Margaret Fell to be my wife. And when I first mentioned it to her, she felt the answer of Life from God thereunto. But though the lord had opened this thing to me, yet I had not received a command from the Lord for the accomplishing of it then. Wherefore I let the thing rest, and went on in the work and service of the Lord as before, according as he led me; travelling up and down in this nation, and through Ireland.

But now being at Bristol, and finding Margaret Fell there, it opened in me from the Lord that the thing should be accomplished. After we had discoursed the matter together, I told her, if she also was satisfied with the accomplishing of it now, she should first send for her children; which she did. When the rest of her daughters were come, I asked both them and her sons-in-law if they had anything against it, or for it; and they all severally expressed their satisfaction therein.

Then I asked Margaret if she had fulfilled and performed her husband's will to her children. She replied, "The children know that." Whereupon I asked them whether, if their mother married, they would lose by it. And I asked Margaret whether she had done anything in lieu of it, which might answer it to the children.

The children said she had answered it to them, and desired me to speak no more of it. I told them I was plain, and would have all things done plainly; for I sought not any outward advantage to myself.

So, after I had thus acquainted the children with it, our intention of marriage was laid before Friends, both privately and publicly, to their full satisfaction. Many of them gave testimony thereunto that it was of God. Afterwards [the 27th of "Eighth month," 1669], a meeting being appointed for the accomplishing thereof, in the meeting-house at Broad-Mead, in Bristol, we took each other, the Lord joining us together in honourable marriage, in the everlasting covenant and immortal Seed of life. In the sense thereof living and weighty testimonies were borne thereunto by Friends, in the movings of the heavenly power which united us. Then was a certificate, relating both the proceedings and the marriage, openly read, and signed by the relations, and by most of the ancient Friends of that city, besides many others from diverse parts of the nation. We stayed about a week in Bristol, and then went together to Oldstone: where, taking leave of each other in the Lord, we parted, betaking ourselves each to our several service; Margaret returning homewards to the north, and I passing on in the work of the Lord as before. I travelled through Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and so to London, visiting Friends: in all of which counties I had many large and precious meetings. [About three months after marriage, Margaret was thrown into Lancaster prison where she was kept until a few weeks before her husband sailed to the West Indies and the American colonies. Therefore during the first four years of their marriage this couple would be almost continually separated. In 1670 the so-called Conventicle Act, originally passed in 1664, was renewed with increased vigor. The Act limited religious gatherings, other than those of the Established Church, to five persons, and brought all who refused to take an oath under the penalties of the Act.]



On the First-day after the Act came in force, I went to the meeting at Gracechurch Street, where I expected the storm was most likely to begin. When I came there, I found the street full of people, and a guard set to keep Friends out of their meeting-house. I went to the other passage out of Lombard street, where also I found a guard; but the court was full of people, and a Friend was speaking amongst them; but he did not speak long.

When he had done, I stood up, and was moved to say, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against that which pricks thee." Then I showed that it is Saul's nature that persecutes still, and that they who persecute Christ in His members now, where He is made manifest, kick against that which pricks them; that it was the birth of the flesh that persecuted the birth born of the Spirit, and that it was the nature of dogs to tear and devour the sheep; but that we suffered as sheep, that bite not again, for we were a peaceable people, and loved them that persecuted us.

After I had spoken a while to this effect, the constable came with an informer and soldiers; and as they pulled me down, I said, "Blessed are the peacemakers."

The commander put me among the soldiers, and bade them secure me, saying to me, "You are the man I looked for." They took also John Burnyeat and another Friend, and led us away, first to the Exchange, and afterwards towards Moorfields. As we went along the streets the people were very moderate; some of them laughed at the constable, and told him we would not run away.

The informer went with us unknown, till, falling into discourse with one of the company, he said it would never be a good world till all people came to the good old religion that was two hundred years ago. Whereupon I asked him, "Art thou a Papist? What! a Papist informer; for two hundred years ago there was no other religion but that of the Papists."

He saw he had ensnared himself, and was vexed at it; for as he went along the streets I spoke often to him, and manifested what he was.

When we were come to the mayor's house, and were in the courtyard, several of the people that stood about, asked me how and for what I was taken. I desired them to ask the informer, and also what his name was; but he refused to tell his name. Whereupon one of the mayor's officers, looking out at a window, told him he should tell his name before he went away; for the lord mayor would know by what authority he intruded himself with soldiers into the execution of those laws which belonged to the civil magistrate to execute, and not to the military.

After this, he was eager to be gone; and went to the porter to be let out. One of the officers called to him, saying, "Have you brought people here to inform against, and now will you go away before my lord mayor comes?" Some called to the porter not to let him out; whereupon he forcibly pulled open the door and slipped out.

No sooner was he come into the street than the people gave a shout that made the street ring again, crying out, "A Papist informer! a Papist informer!" We desired the constable and soldiers to go and rescue him out of the people's hands, fearing lest they should do him a mischief.



They went, and brought him into the mayor's entry, where they stayed a while; but when he went out again, the people received him with another shout. The soldiers were fain to go and rescue him once more, and they led him into a house in an alley, where they persuaded him to change his periwig, and so he got away unknown.

When the mayor came, we were brought into the room where he was, and some of his officers would have taken off our hats, perceiving which he called to them, and bade them let us alone, and not meddle with our hats; "for," said he, "they are not yet brought before me in judicature." So we stood by while he examined some Presbyterian and Baptist teachers; with whom he was somewhat sharp, and convicted them.

After he had done with them, I was brought up to the table where he sat; and then the officers took off my hat. The mayor said mildly to me, "Mr. Fox, you are an eminent man amongst those of your profession; pray, will you be instrumental to dissuade them from meeting in such great numbers? for, seeing Christ hath promised that where two or three are met in His name, He will be in the midst of them, and the King and Parliament are graciously pleased to allow four to meet together to worship God; why will not you be content to partake both of Christ's promise to two or three, and the King's indulgence to four?" [Fox pointed out sarcastically to the magistrates that their ordinance would have prevented the 12 apostles from meeting, and would have prevented and the 70 disciples from meeting.]

I answered to this purpose: "Christ's promise was not to discourage many from meeting together in His name, but to encourage the few, that the fewest might not forbear to meet because of their fewness. But if Christ hath promised to manifest His presence in the midst of so small an assembly, where but two or three are gathered in His name, how much more would His presence abound where two or three hundred are gathered in His name?"

I wished him to consider whether this Act, if it had been in their time, would not have taken hold of Christ, with His twelve apostles and seventy disciples, who used to meet often together, and that with great numbers? However, I told him this Act did not concern us; for it was made against seditious meetings, of such as met under colour and pretence of religion "to contrive insurrections, as [the Act says] late experience had shown." But we had been sufficiently tried and proved, and always found peaceable, and therefore he would do well to put a difference between the innocent and the guilty.

He said the Act was made against meetings, and a worship not according to the liturgy.

I told him "according to" was not the very same thing; and asked him whether the liturgy was according to the Scriptures, and whether we might not read Scriptures and speak Scriptures.

He said, "Yes."

I told him, "This Act takes hold only of such as meet to plot and contrive insurrections, as late experience hath shown; but they have never experienced that by us. Because thieves are sometimes on the road, must not honest men travel? And because plotters and contrivers have met to do mischief, must not an honest, peaceable people meet to do good?"



If we had been a people that met to plot and contrive insurrections, etc., we might have drawn ourselves into fours; for four might do more mischief in plotting than if there were four hundred, because four might speak out their minds more freely to one another than four hundred could. Therefore we, being innocent, and not the people this Act concerns, keep our meetings as we used to do. I believe thou knowest in thy conscience that we are innocent."

After some more discourse, he took our names, and the places where we lodged; and at length, as the informer was gone, he set us at liberty.

The Friends with me now asked, "Whither wilt thou go?" I told them, "To Gracechurch street meeting again, if it is not over."

When we came there, the people were generally gone; only some few stood at the gate. We went into Gerrard Roberts's. Thence I sent to know how the other meetings in the city were. I found that at some of the meeting-places Friends had been kept out; at others they had been taken; but these were set at liberty again a few days after.

A glorious time it was; for the Lord's power came over all, and His everlasting truth got renown. For in the meetings, as fast as some that were speaking were taken down, others were moved of the Lord to stand up and speak, to the admiration of the people; and the more because many Baptists and other sectaries left their public meetings, and came to see how the Quakers would stand.

As for the informer aforesaid, he was so frightened that hardly any informer dared to appear publicly in London for some time after. But the mayor, whose name was Samuel Starling, though he carried himself smoothly towards us, proved afterwards a very great persecutor of our Friends, many of whom he cast into prison, as may be seen in the trials of William Penn, William Mead, and others, at the Old Bailey this year. [This trial at the Old Bailey is reported in full in the Preface to THE WORKS OF WILLIAM PENN. William Penn had been influenced by the preaching of Thomas Loe while he was a student in Oxford University in 1659 and had explicitly joined with the Quakers in 1666.]

As I was walking down a hill [near Rochester], a great weight and oppression fell upon my spirit. I got on my horse again, but the weight remained so that I was hardly able to ride.

At length we came to Rochester, but I was much spent, being so extremely laden and burthened with the world's spirits, that my life was oppressed under them. I got with difficulty to Gravesend, and lay at an inn there; but could hardly either eat or sleep.

The next day John Rous and Alexander Parker went to London; and John Stubbs being come to me, we went over the ferry into Essex. We came to Hornchurch, where there was a meeting on First-day. After it I rode with great uneasiness to Stratford, to a Friend's house, whose name was Williams, and who had formerly been a captain. Here I lay, exceedingly weak, and at last lost both hearing and sight. Several Friends came to me from London: and I told them that I should be a sign to such as would not see, and such as would not hear the Truth.



In this condition I continued some time. Several came about me; and though I could not see their persons, I felt and discerned their spirits, who were honest-hearted, and who were not. Diverse Friends who practiced physic came to see me, and would have given me medicines, but I was not to meddle with any; for I was sensible I had a travail to go through; and therefore desired none but solid, weighty Friends might be about me. Under great sufferings and travails, sorrows and oppressions, I lay for several weeks, whereby I was brought so low and weak in body that few thought I could live. Some that were with me went away, saying they would not see me die; and it was reported both in London and in the country that I was deceased; but I felt the Lord's power inwardly supporting me. When they that were about me had given me up to die, I spoke to them to get a coach to carry me to Gerrard Roberts's, about twelve miles off, for I found it was my place to go thither. I had now recovered a little glimmering of sight, so that I could discern the people and fields as I went, and that was all.

When I came to Gerrard's, he was very weak, and I was moved to speak to him, and encourage him. After I had stayed about three weeks there, it was with me to go to Enfield. Friends were afraid of my removing; but I told them I might safely go.

When I had taken my leave of Gerrard, and was come to Enfield, I went first to visit Amor Stoddart, who lay very weak and almost speechless. I was moved to tell him that he had been faithful as a man, and faithful to God, and that the immortal Seed of life was his crown. Many more words I was moved to speak to him, though I was then so weak I was hardly able to stand; and within a few days after, Amor died.

** I went to the widow Dry's, at Enfield, where I lay all that winter, warring in spirit with the evil spirits of the world, that warred against Truth and Friends. For there were great persecutions at this time; some meeting-houses were pulled down, and many were broken up by soldiers. Sometimes a troop of horse, or a company of foot came; and some broke their swords, carbines, muskets, and pikes, with beating Friends; and many they wounded, so that their blood lay in the streets.*

Amongst others that were active in this cruel persecution at London, my old adversary, Colonel Kirby, was one. With a company of foot, he went to break up several meetings; and he would often inquire for me at the meetings he broke up. One time as he went over the water to Horsleydown, there happening some scuffle between some of his soldiers and some of the watermen, he bade his men fire at them. They did so, and killed some.

I was under great sufferings at this time, beyond what I have words to declare. For I was brought into the deep, and saw all the religions of the world, and people that lived in them. And I saw the priests that held them up; who were as a company of men-eaters, eating up the people like bread, and gnawing the flesh from off their bones. But as for true religion, and worship, and ministers of God, alack! I saw there was none amongst those of the world that pretended to it.

Though it was a cruel, bloody, persecuting time, yet the Lord's power went over all, His everlasting Seed prevailed; and Friends were made to stand firm and faithful in the Lord's power. Some sober people of other professions would say, "If Friends did not stand, the nation would run into debauchery."



Though by reason of my weakness I could not travel amongst Friends as I had been used to do, yet in the motion of life I sent the following lines as an encouraging testimony to them: –

My dear Friends:

The Seed is above all. In it walk; in which ye all have life. Be not amazed at the weather; for always the just suffered by the unjust, but the just had the dominion.

All along ye may see, by faith the mountains were subdued; and the rage of the wicked, with his fiery darts, was quenched.

Though the waves and storms be high, yet your faith will keep you, so as to swim above them; for they are but for a time, and the Truth is without time. Therefore keep on the mountain of holiness, ye who are led to it by the Light.

Do not think that anything will outlast the Truth. For the Truth standeth sure; and is over that which is out of the Truth. For the good will overcome the evil; the light, darkness; the life, death; virtue, vice; and righteousness, unrighteousness. The false prophet cannot overcome the true; but the true prophet, Christ, will overcome all the false.

So be faithful, and live in that which doth not think the time long.

G. F.

After some time it pleased the Lord to allay the heat of this violent persecution; and I felt in spirit an overcoming of the spirits of those men-eaters that had stirred it up and carried it on to that height of cruelty. I was outwardly very weak; and I plainly felt, and those Friends that were with me, and that came to visit me, took notice, that as the persecution ceased I came from under the travails and sufferings that had lain with such weight upon me; so that towards the spring I began to recover, and to walk up and down, beyond the expectation of many, who did not think I could ever have gone abroad again.

Whilst I was under this spiritual suffering the state of the New Jerusalem which comes down out of heaven was opened to me; which some carnal-minded people had looked upon to be like an outward city dropped out of the elements. I saw the beauty and glory of it, the length, the breadth, and the height thereof, all in complete proportion. I saw that all who are within the Light of Christ, and in His faith, of which He is the author; and in the Spirit, the Holy Ghost, which Christ and the holy prophets and apostles were in; and within the grace, and truth, and power of God, which are the walls of the city; – I saw that such are within the city, are members of it, and have right to eat of the Tree of Life, which yields her fruit every month, and whose leaves are for the healing of the nations.

Many things more did I see concerning the heavenly city, the New Jerusalem, which are hard to be uttered, and would be hard to be received. But, in short, this holy city is within the Light, and all that are within the Light, are within the city; the gates whereof stand open all the day (for there is no night there), that all may come in.



LITTLE JAMES AND HIS JOURNEYS¹⁰⁹

O, how beautiful is the spring in a barren field, where barrenness and deadness fly away. As the spring comes on, the winter casts her coat and the summer is nigh. O, wait to see and read these things within. You that have been as barren and dead and dry without sap; unto you the Sun of Righteousness is risen with healing in his wings and begins to shine in your coasts.... O, mind the secret sprigs and tender plants. Now you are called to dress the garden. Let not the weeds and wild plants remain. Peevishness is a weed; anger is a weed; self-love and self-will are weeds; pride is a wild plant; covetousness is a wild plant; lightness and vanity are wild plants, and lust is the root of all. And these things have had a room in your gardens, and have been tall and strong; and truth, innocence, and equity have been left out, and could not be found, until the Sun of Righteousness arose and searched out that which was lost. Therefore, stand not idle, but come into the vineyard and work. Your work shall be to watch and keep out the fowls, unclean beasts, wild bears and subtle foxes. And he that is the Husbandman will pluck up the wild plants and weeds, and make defence about the vines. He will tell you what to do. He who is Father of the vineyard will be nigh you. And what is not clear to you, wait for the fulfilling.—
JAMES PARNELL. (*Epistle to Friends from prison.*)

109. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



LITTLE JAMES AND HIS JOURNEYS

'Be willing that Self shall suffer for the Truth, and not the Truth for Self.' JAMES PARNELL.

Tramping! Tramping! Tramping! An endless journey along the white, dusty highroad it seemed to little James. Indeed the one hundred and fifty miles that separate Retford in Nottinghamshire from Carlisle in far-off Cumberland would have been a long distance even for a full-grown man to travel on foot in those far-off, railroad-less days of 1652. Whereas little James, who had undertaken this journey right across England, was but a boy of sixteen, delicate and small for his age.

'Ye will never get there, James,' the neighbours cried when he unfolded his plans. 'To go afoot to Carlisle! Did any one ever hear the like? It would be a wild-goose chase, even if a man hoped to come to speak with a King in his palace at the end of it; but for thee to go such a journey in order to speak but for a few moments with a man thou dost not know, and in prison, it is nothing but a daft notion! What ails thee, boy?'

The only answer James gave was to knit his brows more firmly together, and to mutter resolutely to himself, as he gathered his few belongings into a bundle, 'I must and I will see George Fox!'

George Fox! The secret was out. That was the explanation of this fantastic journey. George Fox, after gathering a 'great people' up in the North, was now himself kept a close prisoner in Carlisle Gaol: yet he was the magnet attracting this lad, frail of body but determined of will, to travel right across England for the hope of speaking with him in his prison cell.

Let us look back a little and see how this befell.

In the stately old church of Saint Swithin at East Retford a record shows that 'James, son of Thomas Parnell and Sarah his wife, was baptized there on the sixth day of September 1636.' James' parents were pious church people. It must have been a proud and thankful day for them when they took their baby son to be christened in the beautiful old font in that church, where their elder daughter, Sarah, had received her name a few years before. On the font may still be seen the figure of Saint Swithin himself, the patron Saint of the church. This gentle saint, whose dying wish had been that he might be buried in no stately building of stone but 'where his grave might be trod by human feet and watered with the raindrops of heaven,' was the guardian the parents chose for their little lad. All through his short life the boy seems to have shared this love of Nature and of the open air.

James' parents were well-to-do people, and wisely determined to give their only son a good education. They sent him, therefore, as soon as he was old enough, to the Retford Grammar School, to be 'trained up in the Schools of Literature.' James tells us that he was 'as wild as others during the time he was at school, and that he was perfect in sin and iniquity as any in the town



where he lived, yea and exceeded many in the wickedness of his life,' until something or other happened to sober the wild boy. He does not say what it was. Perhaps it may have been the news that reached Retford during his school days, that the King of England had been executed at Whitehall, one cold January morning. Or it may have been something quite different. Anyhow, before he left school, he was already anxious and troubled about his soul.

School days finished, he sought for help in his difficulties from 'priests and professors.' But, like George Fox, a few years earlier, James Parnell got small help from them. Some of the priests told him that he was deluded. Others, whose words sounded better, did not practise what they preached. He says, they 'preached down with their tongues what they upheld in their lives.' Therefore he decided, out of his scanty experience, that they all were 'hollow Professors,' and could be of no use to him. A very hasty judgment! But little James was tremendously sure of himself at this time, quite certain that he knew more than most of the people he met, feeling entirely able to set his neighbours to rights, and yet with a real wish to learn, if only he could find a true teacher.

He says, 'I was the first in all that town of Retford which the Lord was pleased to make known His power in, and turn my heart towards Him and truly to seek Him, so that I became a wonder to the world and an astonishment to the heathen round about.'

He adds that, at this time or a little later, even 'his own relations became his enemies.' This is not surprising. A young man of fifteen who described his neighbours and friends as 'the heathen round about' must have been a distinctly trying companion to the aforesaid 'heathen.'

Possibly there was more than one sigh of relief heaved in East Retford when the first of little James's journeys began. It was to be only a short one, to 'a people with whom I found union a few miles out of the town where I lived. The Lord was a-gathering them out of the dark world to sit down together and to wait upon His name.'

These people were either a little group of Friends already gathered at Balby, or they may have been 'Seekers' meeting together here in Nottinghamshire, as they did in the North, at Sedbergh and Preston Patrick and many another place, 'not celebrating Baptism or the Holy Communion,' but 'waiting together in silence to be instruments in the hand of the Lord.' Truly helpful 'instruments' they proved to little James, for they sent him straight on to Nottingham, where a company of 'Children of Light' was already gathered, to worship God. 'Children of Light' is the first, and the most beautiful, name given to the Society of Friends in England.

When these Nottingham Friends saw the vehement, impulsive boy, his thin frame trembling, his eyes glowing, as he poured forth his difficulties, naturally their thoughts went back to the other lad who had also passed through severe soul struggles in this same neighbourhood, some ten or twelve years earlier.

They all said to him, one after the other, 'James Parnell, thou



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

must see George Fox.'

'George Fox!' cried little James eagerly, 'I have never even heard his name. Who is he? Where is he? I will go and find him this very moment, if he can help me.'

At these words, all the Nottingham Friends shook their heads very solemnly and sadly and said, 'That is impossible, James, for our Friend languisheth in Carlisle Gaol. But we can tell thee of him.'

Then one after another they recounted the well-known story of George Fox's boyhood, of his difficulties, of his seeking, of his finding, and lastly of his preaching, when the Power of God shone through him as he spoke, and melted men's hearts till they became as wax.

James, drinking in every word, exclaimed breathlessly as soon as the story was finished, 'That is the man for me. I will set out for Carlisle this very minute to find him!'

Of course all the Friends were aghast at the effect of their words. They declared that he really couldn't and really shouldn't, that it was out of the question, and that he must do nothing of the kind! They did their very best to stop him. But little James (who, as we know, was not in the habit of paying over-much attention to other people's opinions at any time) treated all these remonstrances as if they had been thistledown. He swung his small bundle at the end of a short stick over his shoulder, tightened his belt, tore himself from their restraining hands, and exclaiming, 'Farewell, Friends, I go to find George Fox,' off he set on the long, long journey to Carlisle.

His spirit was aflame with desire to meet his unknown friend. The miles seemed few and short that separated him from his goal. But doubtless some of the women among the 'Children of Light' wiped their eyes as they watched the fiery little figure disappear along the dusty road, and said, 'Truly that lad hath a valiant heart!'

Thus, in a burning fury of desire, the journey began. After many weary days of travel the flame still burned unquenchably, although the boy's figure looked yet leaner and more under-sized than when he left his home.

Tramp, tramp, tramp, on and ever on, till at last the long-desired day came, when, over the crest of a low hill, he made out for the first time the distant spire and towers of the fair Border city. The river Eden in the meadows below lay gleaming in the sunshine like a silver bow.

Threadbare and very dusty were his clothes, his feet swollen and sore, but his chin was pressed well forward, and the light in his eyes was that of a conqueror, when at last, tramp, tramp, tramp, his tired feet came pattering up the stones of the steep old bridge that spans the Eden and leads to Carlisle Town.

'Which is the prison?' James asked himself, as his eyes scanned a bewildering maze of towers and roofs. The tall leaden spire of the Cathedral was unmistakable, 'no prisoners there.' Next he made out the big square fortress of sandstone, red as Red William the Norman who built it long ago, on its central mound



frowning over the town.

His unknown friend might very possibly be within those walls. James quickened his tired steps at the thought, and then stopped short, for the gates of the bridge were shut. Drove of sheep and oxen on their way to market filled the entry, and all foot passengers must wait. James threw himself down, full length, on one of the broad stone parapets of the bridge to rest his tired limbs until the way should be clear again. Two men were seated in a stone recess below him, also waiting to pass. At first James noticed only the dress they wore; their tall hats and sombre clothes marked them out as Baptists; the younger man a deacon probably, and the elder a pastor.

Presently James began to listen to their conversation.

'It is well he is safe in the Castle,' said the younger man, 'most pernicious Quaker doctrine did he deliver that Sabbath day in answer to our questions in the Abbey.'

'Pernicious Quaker doctrine!' James pricked up his ears at the words. He settled himself comfortably to listen, without any scruples, seeing that the speakers were in a public place, and besides, the entrance to the bridge was by this time so packed with people that he could hardly have moved off the parapet had he wished.

The older man shook his head. 'I thought I had hewed him in pieces before the Lord,' he said in a low voice, 'for no sooner was he silent than I asked him if he knew what he spake, and what it was should be damned at the last day. Whereat he did but fix his eyes upon me and said that "it was that which spoke in me which should be damned." Even as he spoke my old notions of religion glittered and fell off me, for I knew that through him whom I despised as a wandering Quaker I was listening to the Voice of God. He went on to upbraid me as a flashy notionist and yet, even so, I was constrained to listen to him in silence.' The pastor's voice had sunk very low: James could hardly catch the last words.

'Aye, no wonder,' rejoined the younger man, 'with those eyes he seemeth to pierce the fleshly veil and to read the secrets of a man's inmost heart. I, too, experienced this, the following market day, he being then come to the market cross "a-publishing of truth" as he and his followers term it, in their quaking jargon. The magistrates, godly men, had sent the sergeants commanding them to stop his mouth. Moreover, they had sent their wives as well, and even the sergeants were less bitter against him than the women. For they declared that if the Quaker dared to defile the noble market cross of Carlisle city by preaching there, they themselves would pluck off the hair from his head, while the sergeants should clap him into gaol. Nevertheless the Quaker would not be stopped. Preach he did, standing forth boldly on the high step of the cross.'

'And what said he?' enquired the older man.

'Right forcibly he declared judgment on all the market folk for their deceitful ways. He spoke to the merchants as if he were a merchant himself, beseeching them to lay aside their false weights and measures and deceitful merchandize, with all



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cozening and cheating, and to speak truth only to one another. Ever as he spoke, the people flocked closer around him, hanging on his words as if he were reading their secret hearts, so that the sergeants could not come nigh him for the press to lead him away. Thus only when he had finished he stepped down from the cross and would have passed gently away, but I and some of the brethren, thinking that now our turn had come, followed after him. The contention between us was sharp. Yet his words struck into me like knives, and scarce knowing what I did, I cried out aloud, for a strange power was over me. Thereat he fixed his eyes upon me and spake sharply to me, as if he knew that I was resisting the Spirit of the Lord. I know not why, but I was forced to cry out again, "Do not pierce me so with thine eyes. Keep thine eyes off me."'

'Well,' questioned the elder man, 'and what followed? Did his eyes leave thee?'

'They have never left me,' replied the other. 'Wherever I go those eyes burn me yet, although the man himself lies fast in gaol among the thieves and murderers, in the worst and most loathsome of the dungeons. Thither I go every day to assure myself that he is fast caged behind thick walls, and to rejoice my eyes with the sight of the gibbet nailed high over-head upon the castle wall. Men say he shall swing there soon, but of that I know not. Wilt thou come with me now, for see, the bridge is free?'

'Not I,' returned the pastor, moodily, as he shuffled away, like a man ill at ease with himself.

Little James, from his perch on the parapet, had drunk in greedily every word of this conversation. Directly the bridge was clear he crept down and followed the deacon like a shadow. They passed over the silver Eden and up the main street of the city, paved with rough, uneven stones, and with an open sewer flowing through the centre of it. Right across the busy market-place they passed, before the deacon halted beneath the castle walls.

Full of noise and hubbub was Carlisle city that day; yet, as the two entered the courtyard of the castle, James was aware of another sound, rising clear above the tumult of the town—strains of music, surely, that came from a fiddle. As they stepped under the inner gateway and approached the Norman Keep, the fiddler himself came in sight playing with might and main, under a barred window about six feet from the ground. By the fiddler's side, urging him on, was a huge, burly man with a red face. Whenever the fiddler showed signs of weariness the man beside him raising a large tankard of ale to his lips would force him to drink of it, saying, 'Play up, man! Play up!'

The thin, clear strains of the fiddle rose up steadily towards the barred window, but, above them, James caught another sound that floated yet more steadily out through the bars: the firm, full tones of a deep bass voice within, singing loud and strong. Though he could not see the singer, something in the song thrilled James through and through. Forgetting his weariness he knew that he was near his journey's end at last. As he listened,



he noticed a handful of people, listening also, under the barred window.

Loud jeers arose: 'Play up, Fiddler!' 'Sing on, Quaker!' or even, 'Ply him with more ale, Gaoler: the prisoner is the better musician!'

At these cries the fat man's countenance grew ever more enraged. He looked savage and huge, 'like a bear-ward,' a man more accustomed to deal with bears than with human beings. Finally, in his wrath, he turned the now empty tankard upon the crowd and bespattered them with the last drops of the ale, and then called lustily for more, with which he plied the fiddler anew. So the contest continued, but at last, the ale perhaps taking effect, the fiddler's head dropped, his bow swept the strings more wearily, while the strong notes inside the dungeon grew ever more firm and loud. The gaoler seeing, or rather hearing, himself worsted, caught the bow from the fiddler's hand and cracked it over his skull. The fiddler, seizing this chance to escape, leapt to his feet and dashed across the courtyard, followed by the gaoler and the populace in full chase. Even the sombre Baptist deacon gathered up the skirts of his long coat and bestirred his lean legs. The singing ceased. A face appeared at the window: only for an instant: but one glance was enough for James.

Timidly he approached the window, but he had only taken two steps towards it when he found himself firmly elbowed off the pavement and pushed into the gutter. Someone else also had been watching for the crowd to disperse, in order to have a chance of speaking with the prisoner. The new-comer was a portly lady in a satin gown, a much grander person than James had expected to find in the near neighbourhood of a dungeon. She carried a large, covered basket, and, as soon as the way was clear, she set it down on the pavement and began to take out the contents carefully: bread and salt, beef and elecampane ale. Without looking up from her work she called to the unseen figure at the window above her head: 'So thou hast stopped their vain sounds at length with thy singing?'

'Aye,' answered the deep voice from within. 'Thou mayest safely approach the window now, for the gaoler hath departed. After he had beaten thee and the other Friends with his great cudgel, next he was moved to beat me also, through the window, did I but come near to it to get my meat. And as he struck me I was moved to sing in the Lord's power, and that made him rage the more, whereat he fetched the fiddler, saying he would soon drown my noise if I would not cease.'

'Eat now, Dear Heart,' the woman interrupted, 'whilst thou hast the chance.' So saying, she handed some of the dishes up to the prisoner, standing herself on tiptoe beneath the prison window in order to reach his hand stretched out through the bars.

Here James saw his chance.

'Madam,' he cried, 'let me hand the meat up to you.'

The lady looked down and saw the worn, thin face. Perhaps she thought the boy looked hungry enough to need the food himself, but something in his eager glance touched her, and when he added,



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'For I have come one hundred and fifty miles to see GEORGE FOX,' her kind heart was won.

'Nay, then, thou hast a better right to help him even than I,' she said, 'though I am his very good friend and Colonel Benson's wife. Thou shall hand up the dishes to me, and when our friend is satisfied, thou and I will finish what remains, for in the Lord's power I am moved to eat no meat at my own house, but to share all my sustenance with His faithful servant who lies within this noisome gaol.'

'Madam,' said the boy, speaking with the concentrated intensity of weeks of suppressed longing, 'for the food, it is no matter, though I am much beholden to you. I hunger after but one thing. Bring me within the gaol where I may speak with him face to face. There is that, that I have come afoot a hundred miles to ask him. 'Bring me to him, speedily I pray you, for, though even unseen I love him,

'I MUST SEE GEORGE FOX.'



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HISTORICAL NOTES

'LITTLE JAMES AND HIS JOURNEYS'

Mainly historical. Details taken largely from 'LIFE OF JAMES PARNELL,' by C. Fell Smith. See also 'JAMES PARNELL,' by Thomas Hodgkin, in 'THE TRIAL OF OUR FAITH.' Also 'BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM,' Chapter ix. and Sewel's HISTORY. The discourse of the two Baptists on Carlisle Bridge and James's association with them is imaginary, but they are themselves historical characters, and the incidents they describe are narrated in George Fox's JOURNAL, i. 114, 115, 124-126; 153, 186. For 'The First Quaker Martyr,' see 'THE LAMB'S DEFENCE AGAINST LYES, A TRUE TESTIMONY CONCERNING THE SUFFERINGS AND DEATH OF JAMES PARNELL. 1656.'



July 29: [Friend](#) Solomon Eccles walked through a service at the British nation's prime "steeple-house," Westminster Abbey, wearing only a loincloth, with a pan of burning coals upon his head, crying out in warning.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

This was witnessed by [Samuel Pepys](#), who commented upon the decency of this man's having covered his private parts.

THIS DAY IN PEPYS'S DIARY

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



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*the world began.
G.F.*

A cursive signature in black ink that reads 'George Fox'. The signature is fluid and elegant, with a large initial 'G' and a long, sweeping tail on the 'x'.



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.



THE FIRST QUAKER MARTYR¹¹⁰

(From another point of view.)

Extracts from the Diary of the Rev. Ralph Josselin, Vicar of Earls Colne, Essex.

1655.— 'Preacht at Gaines Coln, the Quakers' nest, but no disturbance. God hath raised up my heart not to fear but willing to bear and to make opposition to their ways, in defence of truth.'

Ap. 11, 1656.— 'Heard this morning that James Parnell, the father of the Quakers in these parts, having undertaken to fast forty days and forty nights was in the morning found dead. He was by jury found guilty of his own death and buried in the Castle yard.'

'Heard and true that Turner's daughter was distract in the Quaking business.'

'Sad are the fits at Coxall, like the pow-wow among the Indians.'

1660.— 'The Quakers, after a stop and a silence, seem to be swarming and increased, and why, Lord thou only knowest!'

'So there is no obtaining of Life but through Death, nor no obtaining the Crown but through the Cross.'—JAMES PARNELL.

110. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



THE FIRST QUAKER MARTYR

How Mrs. Benson managed it, there is no record. Perhaps she hardly knew herself! But she was not a woman to be easily turned aside from her purpose, and her husband, Colonel Gervase Benson, had been one of the 'considerable people' in the County before he had turned Quaker and 'downed those things.' Even after the change, it may be that prison doors were more easily unlocked by certain little golden and silver keys in those days, than they are in our own.

Anyway, somehow or other, the interview was arranged. 'Little James' found his desire fulfilled at last. When he passed into the stifling, crowded prison den, where human beings were herded together like beasts, he never heeded the horrible stench or the crawling vermin that abounded everywhere. Rather, he felt as if he were entering the palace of a king. He paid no attention to the crowd of savage figures all around him. He saw nothing, knew nothing, felt nothing, until at last he found that his hand was lying in the grasp of a stronger, firmer hand, that held it, and would not let it go. Then, indeed, for the first time he looked up, and knew that his long journey was ended, as he met the penetrating gaze of George Fox.

'Keep thine eyes off me, they pierce me,' the Baptist Deacon had cried, a few weeks before, in that same city. As James looked up, he too felt for the first time the piercing power of those eyes, but to him it brought no terror, only joy, as he yielded himself wholly to his teacher's scrutiny. In silence the two stood, reading each the other's soul. James felt, instinctively, that his new friend knew and understood everything that had happened to him, all his life long; that there was no need to tell him anything, or to explain anything.

Of an older friendship between two men it was written, 'Thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women.' Thus it proved once more in that crowded dungeon. No details remain of the interview; no record of what James said, or what George said. No one else could have reported what passed between them, and, though each of them has left a mention of their first meeting, the silence remains unbroken.

The Journal says merely: 'While I was in ye dungeon at Carlisle, a little boy, one James Parnell, about fifteen years old, came to me, and he was convinced and came to be a very fine minister and turned many to Christ.'

The boy's own account is shorter still. He does not even mention George Fox by name. 'I was called for,' he says, 'to visit some friends in the North part of England, with whom I had union before I saw their faces, and afterwards I returned to my outward dwelling-place.'

His 'outward dwelling-place': the lad's frail body might tramp back along the weary miles to Retford; his spirit remained in the North, freely imprisoned with his friend.

'George' and 'James' were brothers in heart, ever after that



short interview in Carlisle Gaol: united in one inseparable purpose. While George was confined, James, the free brother, must carry forward George's work. Triumphantly he did it. By the following year he had earned his place right well among the 'Valiant Sixty' who were then sent forth, 'East and West and South and North,' to 'Publish Truth.'

The Eastern Counties, hitherto almost unbroken ground, fell to James's share. Assisted by two other 'Valiants,' Richard Hubberthorne and George Whitehead, the seed was scattered throughout the length and breadth of East Anglia. Within three short years 'gallant Meetings' were already gathered and settled everywhere.

James Parnell was the first Quaker preacher to enter the city of Colchester, which was soon to rank third among the strongholds of Quakerism. This boy of eighteen, still so small and delicate in appearance that his enemies taunted him with the name of 'little Quaking lad,' has left an account of one of his first crowded days of work in that city. In the morning, he says, he received any of the townspeople who were minded to come and ask him questions at his lodgings. He was a guest, at the time, of a weaver named Thomas Shortland, who, with his wife Ann, had been convinced shortly before, by their guest's ministry. In adversity also they were soon to prove themselves tried and faithful friends.

Later, that same Sunday morning (4th July 1655), James went down the High Street to Saint Nicholas' Church, and, when the sermon was ended, preached to the people in his turn.

In the afternoon 'he addressed a very great meeting of about a thousand people, in John Furly's yard, he being mounted above the crowd and speaking out of a hay-chamber window.' Still later, that same day, he not only carried on a discussion with 'the town-lecturer and another priest,' he, the boy of eighteen, but also 'appeared in the evening at a previously advertised meeting held in the schoolroom for the children of the French and Flemish weaver refugees in Colchester, who were being at this time hospitably entertained in John Furly's house.'¹¹¹

George Fox says, 'many hundreds of people were convinced by the words and labours of this young minister.' But, far better than preaching to other people, he had by this time learned to rule his own spirit. Once, as he was coming out of the 'Steeple-house of Colchester, called Nicholas,' one person in particular struck him with a great staff and said to him, 'Take that for Jesus Christ's sake,' to whom James Parnell meekly replied, 'Friend, I do receive it for Jesus Christ's sake.'

The journey his soul had travelled from the time, only three short years before, when he had described his neighbours as 'the heathen round about,' until the day that he could give such an answer was perhaps a longer one really than all the weary miles he had traversed between Retford and far Carlisle.

The two friends, George and James, had one short happy time of service together, both of them free. After that they parted. Then, all too soon it was George's turn to visit James, now

111. JAMES PARNELL, by C. Fell Smith.



himself in prison at Colchester Castle, an even more terrible prison than Carlisle, where only death could open the doors and set the weary prisoner free. George's record of his visit to his friend is short and grim. 'As I went through Colchester,' he says, 'I went to visit James Parnell in prison, but the cruel gaoler would hardly let us come in or stay with him, and there the gaoler's wife threatened to have his blood, and there they did destroy him.'

An account, written by his Colchester friends, expands the terrible, glorious tale of his sufferings.

'The first Messenger of the Lord that appeared in this town to sound the everlasting Gospel was that eminent Minister and Labourer, James Parnell, whose first coming to ye town was in ye fourth month (June) in the year 1655.... Great were the sufferings which this faithful minister of the Lord underwent, being beat and abused by many.

'As touching the cause of his sufferings in this his last imprisonment unto death, which was the fruits of a fast kept at Great Coggeshall against error (as they said), the 12th day of the fifth month 1655, where he spoke some words when the priests had done speaking; and when he was gone out of the high place one followed him, called Justice Wakering, and clapt him on the back and said he arrested him. And so, by the means of divers Independent priests and others, he was committed to this prison at Colchester. And in that prison he was kept close up, and his friends and acquaintance denied to come at him. Then at the Assizes he was carried to Chelmsford, about eighteen miles through the country, as a sport or gazing-stock, locked on a chain with five accused for felony and murder, and he with three others remained on the chain day and night. But when he appeared at the Bar, he was taken off the chain, only had irons on his hands, where he appeared before Judge Hill ... the first time. But seeing some cried out against this cruelty, and what shame it would be to let the irons be seen on him, the next day they took them off, and he appeared without, where the priests and justices were the accusers. And the judge gathered what he could out of what they said, to make what he could against the prisoner to the jury, and urged them to find him guilty, lest it fall upon their own heads.... And when he would have spoken truth for himself to inform the jury, the judge would not permit him thereto. So the judge fined him about twice twenty marks, or forty pounds, and said the Lord Protector had charged him to see to punish such persons as should contemn either Magistracy or Ministry. So he committed him close prisoner till payment, and gave the jailor charge to let no giddy-headed people come at him; for his friends and those that would have done him good were called "giddy-headed people," and so kept out; and such as would abuse him by scorning or beating, those they let in and set them on. And the jailor's wife would set her man to beat him, who threatened to knock him down and make him shake his heels, yea, the jailor's wife did beat him divers times, and swore she would have his blood, or he should have hers. To which he answered, "Woman, I would not have thine."¹¹²



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One of James' own letters remains written about this time: 'The day I came in from the Assize,' he says, 'there was a friend or two with me in the jaylor's house, and the jaylor's wife sent her man to call me from them and to put me into a yard, and would not suffer my friends to come at me. And one friend brought me water, and they would not suffer her to come to me, but made her carry it back again.'

The name of this woman Friend is not given in this letter, but I daresay we shall not be far wrong if we fill it in for ourselves here, and think of her as the same Anne Langley, who would not be kept out of the prison later on. Other people mention her by name. It is only in little James' own account that her name does not appear. Perhaps the tie that bound them was something more than friendship, and he did not wish her to suffer for her love and faith.

James' letter continues: 'At night they locked me up into a hole with a condemned man ... and the same day a friend desired the jaylor's wife that she would let her come and speak with me, and the jaylor's wife answered her and the other friends who were with her, calling them "Rogues, witches ... and the devil's dish washers" ... and other names, and saying "that they had skipped out of hell when the devil was asleep!" and much more of the same unchristian-like speeches which is too tedious to relate.... And thus they make a prey upon the innocent; and when they do let any come to me they would not let them stay but very little,' (Poor James! the visits were all too short, and the lonely hours alone all too long for the prisoner) 'and the jaylor's wife would threaten to pull them down the stairs.... And swore that she would have my blood several times, and told my friends so, and that she would mark my face, calling me witch and rogue, shake hell ... and the like; and because I did reprove her for her wickedness, the jaylor hath given order that none shall come to me at any occasion, but only one or two that brings my food.'

Even this small mercy was not to be allowed much longer. The account of the Colchester Friend continues: 'And sometimes they would stop any from bringing him victuals, and set the prisoners to take his victuals from him; and when he would have had a trundle bed to have kept him off the stones, they would not suffer friends to bring him one, but forced him to lie on the stones, which sometimes would run down with water in a wet season. And when he was in a room for which he paid 4d. a night, he was threatened, if he did but walk to and fro in it, by the jaylor's wife. Then they put him in a hole in the wall, very high, where the ladder was too short by about six foot, and when friends would have given him a cord and basket to have taken up his victuals, he was denied thereof and could not be suffered to have it, though it was much desired, but he must either come up and down by that rope, or else famish in the hole, which he did a long time, before God suffered them to see their desires in which time much means was used about it, but their wills were unalterably set in cruelty towards him. But after long suffering

112. 'LAMB'S DEFENCE AGAINST LYES.'



in this hole, where there was nought but misery as to the outward man, being no hole either for air or for smoke, being much benumbed in the naturals, as he was climbing up the ladder with his victuals in one hand, and coming to the top of the ladder, catching at the rope with the other hand, missed the rope, and fell a very great height upon stones, by which fall he was exceedingly wounded in the head and arms, and his body much bruised, and taken up for dead, but did recover again that time. 'Then they put him in a low hole called the oven, and much like an oven, and some have said who have been in it that they have seen a baker's oven much bigger, except for the height of the roof, without the least airhole or window for smoke and air, nor would they suffer him to have a little charcoal brought in by friends to prevent the noisome smoke. Nor would they suffer him, after he was a little recovered, to take a little air upon the castle wall, which was but once desired by the prisoner, feeling himself spent for want of breath. All which he bore with much patience and still kept his suffering much from friends there, seeing they was much sorrowful to see it. Yea, others who were no friends were wounded at the sight of his usage in many other particulars, which we forbear here to mention.

'And divers came to see him, who heard of his usage from far, not being friends, had liberty to see him, who was astonished at his usage, and some of them would say "IF THIS BE THE USAGE OF THE PROTECTOR'S PRISONERS IT WERE BETTER TO BE ANYBODY'S PRISONERS THAN HIS," as Justice Barrington's daughter said, who saw their cruelty to him. And many who came to see him were moved with pity to the creature, for his sufferings were great.'

'And although some did offer of their bond of forty pounds [to pay the fine and so set him at liberty] and one to lie body for body, that he might come to their house till he was a little recovered, yet they would not permit it, and it being desired that he might but walk in the yard, it was answered he should not walk so much as to the castle door. And the door being once opened, he did but take the freedom to walk forth in a close, stinking yard before the door, and the gaoler came in a rage and locked up the hole where he lay, and shut him out in the yard all night in the coldest time of the winter. So, finding that nothing but his blood would satisfy them, great application was made to them in a superior authority but to no purpose. Thus he having endured about ten months' imprisonment, and having passed through many trials and exercises, which the Lord enabled him to bear with courage and faithfulness, he laid down his head in peace and died a prisoner and faithful Martyr for the sake of the Truth, under the hands of a persecuting generation in the year 1656.'¹¹³

It was his former host, Thomas Shortland the weaver, who had offered to lie 'body for body' in prison, if only James might be allowed to return to his house and be nursed back to health again there. After the boy's death this kind man wrote as follows:

'Dear Friend-In answer to thine, is this, James Parnell being

113. FIRST PUBLISHERS OF TRUTH.



dead, the Coroner sent an officer for me, and one Anne Langley, a friend, who both of us watched with him that night that he departed. And coming to him [the Coroner] he said, "that it was usual when any died in prison, to have a jury got on them," and James being dead, and he hearing we two watched with him, he sent for us to hear what we could say concerning his death, whether he died on his fair death [i.e. a natural death] or whether he were guilty of his own death.... He asked whether he had his senses and how he behaved himself late-ward toward his departure. I answered that he had his senses and that he spake sensibly, and to as good understanding as he used to do. He then enquired what words he spoke. To which Anne Langley answered that she heard him say, "HERE I DIE INNOCENTLY," and she said that she had been at the departing of many, but never was where was such sweet departing; and at his departing his last words were, "NOW I MUST GO," and turned his head to me and said, "THOMAS, THIS DEATH I MUST DIE," and further said, "O THOMAS, I HAVE SEEN GREAT THINGS," and bade me that I should not hold him, but let him go, and said it over again, "WILL YOU NOT HOLD ME?" And then said Anne, "Dear Heart, we will not hold thee." And he said, "NOW I GO," and stretched out himself, and fell into a sweet sleep and slept about an hour (as he often said, that one hour's sleep would cure him of all), and so drew breath no more.' Little James was free at last. He had left his frail, weary body behind and had departed on the longest, shortest journey of all. A journey this, ending in no noisome den in Carlisle Castle, as when he first saw the earthly teacher he had loved so long, but leading straight and swift to the heavenly abiding-places: to the welcome of his unseen yet Everlasting Friend.

'How know I that it looms lovely, that land I have never
seen,
With morning-glory and heartsease, and unexampled
green?
All souls singing, seeing, rejoicing everywhere,
Yea, much more than this I know, for I know that Christ
is there.'¹¹⁴

114. Christina Rossetti.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

HISTORICAL NOTES

‘THE FIRST QUAKER MARTYR.’

Mainly historical. Details taken largely from ‘LIFE OF JAMES PARNELL,’ by C. Fell Smith. See also ‘JAMES PARNELL,’ by Thomas Hodgkin, in ‘THE TRIAL OF OUR FAITH.’ Also ‘BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM,’ Chapter ix. and Sewel’s HISTORY. The discourse of the two Baptists on Carlisle Bridge and James’s association with them is imaginary, but they are themselves historical characters, and the incidents they describe are narrated in George Fox’s JOURNAL, i. 114, 115, 124-126; 153, 186. For ‘The First Quaker Martyr,’ see ‘THE LAMB’S DEFENCE AGAINST LYES, A TRUE TESTIMONY CONCERNING THE SUFFERINGS AND DEATH OF JAMES PARNELL. 1656.’

Friend [William Penn](#), son of Admiral Sir [William Penn](#), declined to do “hat honour” to the King of England.¹¹⁵

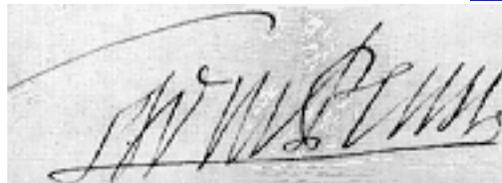
PHILADELPHIA
ANTINOMIANISM

In the late, antinomian sixties, a student who called the president of an ancient university a “motherfucker” to his face and in front of parents and the student body (and got away with it) was attacking the authority structure of his society much as William Penn did by keeping his hat on in the presence of King Charles II.

– Edward Digby Baltzell.
PURITAN BOSTON AND QUAKER PHILADELPHIA:
TWO PROTESTANT ETHICS AND THE SPIRIT
OF CLASS AUTHORITY AND LEADERSHIP.
NY: The Free Press of Macmillan
Publishing Company, 1979, page 21.



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



115. Or was it that young Penn the convert alleged that, **were he ever granted such an opportunity**, he would decline? –We all know how these “obligate” stories –stories that need to be true– can become truer every time they get repeated!



December 12: Friend [William Penn](#) was given virtually a life sentence for so called crimes against the Crown and Christianity, in that he had been the author of a tract entitled SANDY FOUNDATION SHAKEN. He was taken to the Tower of London, on the grounds of which, ironically, he had grown up, and closely confined in the southernmost attic in the west wing of Queen's House. While there he would write NO CROSS NO CROWN on the Christian duty of self-sacrifice. Told he must recant or remain a prisoner for life, he remained as inflexible as a teenager. The Tower, he commented, was to him the worst argument in the world. "My prison shall be my grave before I will budge a jot."

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1669

Friend [George Fox](#) kept, or caused to be kept, a running account of his journey in Ireland. Continuing in this year, and until 1670, he would be at the work of organizing his new religion — for instance his epistle of this year entitled "And All Ye Believers In The Heavenly Light":



And all ye believers in the heavenly light, as Christ hath taught, you seek that which is lost and driven away; but the false prophets, false ministers, and teachers, they did not seek that which was lost, and driven away from God; they put no difference between the precious and the vile, but mash all together, like the priests and prophets of our time. Therefore, seek that which was lost and driven away. Some may away by the storms, some may be driven away by the great winds of the wicked, and storms of the ungodly; some may be driven away by tempests and foul weather, and some may be lost in the foul weather, and lost in the sea of the world; for it is this wicked one that raiseth all this foul weather and these storms. Therefore seek that which is lost, ye that believe in the light, by which you see, then you are distinguished from the false prophets and teachers, and by the light you put a difference between the precious and the vile; for Jacob was found in a desert land, and you see all the prophets, how they sought that which was lost, and the apostle, and how Christ encouraged to seek that which was lost. And when the lost sheep was found, what joy there was, more than the ninety and nine. And who are they that make the land desolate, but the rough Esaus, and wild Ishmaels, and Cores? And who makes the world as a wilderness but the devil? and who brings the whole world to lie in wickedness, but the devil, that wicked one? And if you should not find that which is lost and driven away, at the first, nor second, nor third time of seeking, if you should not find him that is lost, go again, that you may have your joy, and rejoice others; for Christ in the parable saith, "the prodigal son was lost, yea, was dead, and is alive again;" when he had been feeding among swine, and upon husks, and could never fill his belly. When any such come back again, they will tell you how hungry they were, they could never fill their bellies among the husks, while they went astray, and tell you long declarations of the citizen that they were joined to: and therefore when the lost is found, and brought



back again to the Father's house, where there is bread enough, there is joy, and the heavenly instruments of music, and the heavenly feast of the heavenly fat things, and the heavenly robes of righteousness are enjoyed. And so all be diligent, ye believers in the light, as Christ hath taught you; look up and down, in the light you will see where the lost sheep are, and such as have been driven away, you will spy them out, out of the woods, or brambles, or pits, where there is no water, where they are ready to be famished, where they are tied with thorns and briars; and so with the light you will see, and put a difference between the precious and the vile. For "whatsoever makes manifest is light;" for by that you see, and you will see with it, how the false prophets, and ministers, and teachers drive people away; they drive them away from God, and his way, from Christ, and the covenant of light. How angry they are with them that believe in it! With their clubbed, how have they beaten many, and wounded many, and imprisoned many, because they would not be driven by them into the devil's pit-fold, or prison! But do you never give over seeking, for the light shines over all, which believe in, and walk in the path of the just, which is as a shining light; for it hath been the work of all the false teachers and ministers to drive away from God, and his truth, and light, and those have been the devil's servants, and the wages he gives them is death. this hath been the way of all true minister, "to seek that which was lost, and that which was driven away;" as you may see Christ and the apostles, and all the true prophets did, and to bring them to feed in the pastures of life, and gently to lead them, whose wages is life; and he gives them their heavenly penny of life eternal.

G.F.

George Fox

And, his epistle entitled "Concerning Those That Go Out Of Unity":



Those that are gone from the light, from the spirit and power of God, and so from unity, buy the light, and by the spirit, and by the power are judged; and the power, and light, and spirit are over them. And they being gone into their own wills, and into a perverse spirit, then they say, they will not be subject to men's will, nor to the will of man; and that spirit leads them out of the bonds of humanity. When they are thus gone from the light, and the power and spirit of God, they go out of all true forms, into confusion and emptiness, without form; then they say, they will not be subject to forms, and cry down all forms with their darkness and a perverse spirit, and so mash all together. for there is a form of godliness. And there is a form of sound words; many have a form. All creatures have a form, the earth hath a form, and all things were brought into a form by the power of God; for the earth was once without form, and was void, and empty and confused. So they that be gone out of the covenant of God and life, and out of the power of God, are gone



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

*into a confused condition without form, a state which is out of the bond of civil men and women. And so such are confused without the right form; for the form that God hath made, viz. the form of the earth, the form of the creatures, the form of men and women, the form of sound words, the form of godliness, nor the form of sound doctrine, was never denied by the men and women of God. But such as got the form only, and denied the power of godliness, those were denied, for they deny the power; an do not only so, but quench the spirit, and grieve and vex it, and hate the light; by which light they are condemned.
G.F.*

Friend [George](#)'s epistle entitled "Not To Trust In Uncertain Riches" also dates to this year:



*All Friends, be ye as strangers to all things visible and created, but be acquainted with the Creator, your maker, the Lord God Almighty; for outward things are not durable riches, nor durable substance, nor durable habitations, for they have wings and will fly away; and so therefore be as pilgrims and strangers to the world, and all worldly, created and visible things, and witness redemptions from the earth, that you may reign upon the earth, as kings and priest to God, that you may know a habitation in god, and the riches of his grace and life, that is everlasting, and a substance that fadeth not away, the riches which hath not wings, and the riches that is not deceitful, that is durable and true. For men trusting in outward riches, and outward things, they will deceive and fail them, and have wings and flee away from them. And so man in that state is deceived, and riches are deceitful to him. Therefore, as I said before, be as strangers and pilgrims to the world, and all things therein, possess, as though you did not; be above all such things, and loose to them in the invisible life and power, which is over all things: for the birth that is born again of the immortal seed by the word of God, that lives and abides, and endures forever, and is above all things; for all things are upheld by his word and power. And so be acquainted with the heavenly and certain riches, the durable substance, and the everlasting possession and inheritance of life, through which you may be acquainted with your maker and Creator, the Lord God Almighty.
G.F.*



Now was I moved of the Lord to go over into Ireland, to visit the Seed of God in that nation. There went with me Robert Lodge, James Lancaster, Thomas Briggs, and John Stubbs.

We waited near Liverpool for shipping and wind. After waiting some days, we sent James Lancaster to take passage, which he did, and brought word the ship was ready, and would take us in at Black Rock. We went thither on foot; and it being some distance, and the weather very hot, I was much spent with walking.

When we arrived, the ship was not there; so we were obliged to go to the town and take shipping. When we were on board, I said to the rest of my company, "Come, ye will triumph in the Lord, for we shall have fair wind and weather."

Many passengers in the ship were sick, but not one of our company. The captain and many of the passengers were very loving; and we being at sea on the first day of the week, I was moved to declare Truth among them; whereupon the captain said to the passengers, "Here are things that you never heard in your lives."

When we came before Dublin, we took boat and went ashore; and the earth and air smelt, methought, of the corruption of the nation, so that it yielded another smell to me than England did; which I imputed to the Popish massacres that had been committed, and the blood that had been spilt in it, from which a foulness ascended.

We passed through among the officers of the custom four times, yet they did not search us; for they perceived what we were: some of them were so envious they did not care to look at us.

We did not soon find Friends; but went to an inn, and sent out to inquire for some. These, when they came to us, were exceedingly glad of our coming, and received us with great joy.

We stayed there the weekly meeting, which was a large one, and the power and life of God appeared greatly in it. Afterwards we passed to a province meeting, which lasted two days, there being one about the poor, and another meeting more general; in which a mighty power of the Lord appeared. Truth was livingly declared, and Friends were much refreshed therein.

Passing thence about four and twenty miles, we came to another place, where we had a very good, refreshing meeting; but after it some Papists that were there were angry, and raged very much. When I heard of it, I sent for one of them, who was a schoolmaster; but he would not come. Thereupon I sent a challenge to him, with all the friars and monks, priests and Jesuits, to come forth, and "try their God and their Christ, which they had made of bread and wine," but no answer could I get from them. I told them they were worse than the priests of Baal; for Baal's priests tried their wooden god, but these durst not try their god of bread and wine; and Baal's priests and people did not eat their god as these did, and then make another.



He that was then mayor of Cork, being very envious against Truth and Friends, had many Friends in prison. Knowing I was in the country, he sent four warrants to take me; therefore Friends were desirous that I should not ride through Cork. But, being at Bandon, there appeared to me in a vision a very ugly-visaged man, of a black and dark look. My spirit struck at him in the power of God, and it seemed to me that I rode over him with my horse, and my horse set his foot on the side of his face.

When I came down in the morning, I told a friend the command of the Lord to me was to ride through Cork; but I bade him tell no man. So we took horse, many Friends being with me.

When we came near the town, Friends would have shown me a way through the back side of it; but I told them my way was through the streets. Taking Paul Morrice to guide me through the town, I rode on.

As we rode through the market-place, and by the mayor's door, he, seeing me, said, "There goes George Fox"; but he had not power to stop me. When we had passed the sentinels, and were come over the bridge, we went to a Friend's house and alighted. There the Friends told me what a rage was in the town, and how many warrants were granted to take me.

While I was sitting there I felt the evil spirit at work in the town, stirring up mischief against me; and I felt the power of the Lord strike at that evil spirit.

By-and-by some other friends coming in, told me it was over the town, and amongst the magistrates that I was in the town. I said, "Let the devil do his worst." After we had refreshed ourselves, I called for my horse, and having a Friend to guide me, we went on our way.

Great was the rage that the mayor and others of Cork were in that they had missed me, and great pains they afterwards took to catch me, having their scouts abroad upon the roads, as I understood, to observe which way I went. Scarce a public meeting I came to, but spies came to watch if I were there. The magistrates and priests sent information one to another concerning me, describing me by my hair, hat, clothes and horse; so that when I was near an hundred miles from Cork they had an account concerning me and a description of me before I came amongst them.

One very envious magistrate, who was both a priest and a justice, got a warrant from the Judge of assize to apprehend me. The warrant was to go over all his circuit, which reached near an hundred miles. Yet the Lord disappointed all their councils, defeated all their designs against me, and by His good hand of Providence preserved me out of all their snares, and gave us many sweet and blessed opportunities to visit Friends, and spread Truth through that nation.

* For meetings were very large, Friends coming to them from far and near; and other people flocking in. The powerful presence of the Lord was preciousely felt amongst us. Many of the world were reached, convinced, and gathered to the Truth; the Lord's flock was increased; and Friends were greatly refreshed and comforted in feeling the love of God. Oh the brokenness that was amongst them in the flowings of life! so that, in the power and Spirit of the Lord, many together broke out into singing, even with audible voices, making melody in their hearts.



After I had travelled over Ireland, and visited Friends in their meetings, as well for business as for worship, and had answered several papers and writings from monks, friars, and Protestant priests (for they were all in a rage against us, and endeavoured to stop the work of the Lord, and some Jesuits swore in our hearing that we had come to spread our principles in that nation, but should not do it), I returned to Dublin, in order to take passage for England. I stayed to the First-day's meeting there, which was very large and precious.

There being a ship ready, and the wind serving, we took our leave of Friends; parting in much tenderness and brokenness, in the sense of the heavenly life and power manifested amongst us. Having put our horses and necessaries on board in the morning, we went ourselves in the afternoon, many Friends accompanying us to the ship; and diverse Friends and Friendly people followed us in boats when we were near a league at sea, their love drawing them, though not without danger.

A good, weighty, and true people there is in that nation, sensible of the power of the Lord God, and tender of His truth. Very good order they have in their meetings; for they stand up for righteousness and holiness, which dams up the way of wickedness. A precious visitation they had, and there is an excellent spirit in them, worthy to be visited. Many things more I could write of that nation, and of my travels in it; but thus much I thought good to signify, that the righteous may rejoice in the prosperity of truth.

We travelled till we came to Bristol, where I met with Margaret Fell, who was come to visit her daughter Yeomans.

I had seen from the Lord a considerable time before, that I should take Margaret Fell to be my wife. And when I first mentioned it to her, she felt the answer of Life from God thereunto. But though the Lord had opened this thing to me, yet I had not received a command from the Lord for the accomplishing of it then. Wherefore I let the thing rest, and went on in the work and service of the Lord as before, according as he led me; travelling up and down in this nation, and through Ireland.

But now being at Bristol, and finding Margaret Fell there, it opened in me from the Lord that the thing should be accomplished. After we had discoursed the matter together, I told her, if she also was satisfied with the accomplishing of it now, she should first send for her children; which she did. When the rest of her daughters were come, I asked both them and her sons-in-law if they had anything against it, or for it; and they all severally expressed their satisfaction therein.

Then I asked Margaret if she had fulfilled and performed her husband's will to her children. She replied, "The children know that." Whereupon I asked them whether, if their mother married, they would lose by it. And I asked Margaret whether she had done anything in lieu of it, which might answer it to the children.

The children said she had answered it to them, and desired me to speak no more of it. I told them I was plain, and would have all things done plainly; for I sought not any outward advantage to myself.



THE CHILDREN OF READING MEETING¹¹⁶

'And all must be meeke, sober and jentell and quiet and loving, and not give one another bad word noe time in the skouell, nor out of it ... all is to mind their lessons and be digelent in their rightings, and to lay up their boukes when they go from the skouell and ther pens and inkonerns and to keep them sow, else they must be louk'd upon as carles and slovenes; and soe you must keep all things clean, suet and neat and hanson.'—G. FOX. *Advice to Schoolmasters.*

'Dear and tender little Babes, as well as strong men, ... let not anything straiten you, when God moves: And thou, faithful Babe, though thou stutter and stammer forth a few words in the dread of the Lord, they are accepted, and all that are strong, serve the weak in strengthening them and wait in wisdom to give place to the motion of the Spirit in them, that it may have time to bring forth what God hath given ... that ... you maybe a well spring of Life to one another in the power of the endless love of God.'—W. DEWSBURY.

'When the Justices threatened Friend John Boulton and told him that he and other Reading Friends should be sent to prison, he replied: "That's the weakest thing thou canst do. If thou canst convince me of anything that is evil, I will hear thee and let the prisons alone."'—W.C. BRAITHWAITE.

116. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. *A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS*. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



THE CHILDREN OF READING MEETING

It was a most uncomfortable First Day morning. The children looked at each other and wondered what would happen next, as they stood in the small bedroom under the thatched roof. Dorcas, the eldest, already half dressed, held Baby Stephen in her arms; but the twins, Tryphena and Tryphosa, were running about the floor with bare feet and only their petticoats on, strings and tapes all flying loose. Baby was crying, whilst the Twins shouted with mischievous glee. Something must be done. So Dorcas seated herself in a big chair and tried to dress Baby. But Baby was hungry. He wanted his breakfast and he did not at all want to be dressed! Oh, if only Mother was here! Where was Mother all this long time? Had she and Father really been taken to prison? Dorcas felt heart-sick at the thought. Happily the Twins and Baby were too little to understand. She herself was nearly ten and therefore almost grown up. She understood now all about it quite well. This was what Mother had meant when she bent down to kiss her little girl in bed last night, saying that she was going out to a Meeting at Friend Curtis' house, hoping to be back in an hour or two. 'But if not'—here Dorcas remembered that Mother's eyes had filled with tears. She had left the sentence unfinished, adding only: 'Anyway, I know I can trust thee, Dorcas, to be a little mother to the little ones while I am away.' 'But if not....' Dorcas had been too sleepy last night to think what the words meant, or to keep awake until Mother's return. It seemed as if she had only just closed her eyes for a minute or two; and yet, when she opened them again, the bright morning sunlight was filling the room.

'But if not....' After all, there had been no need for Mother to finish the sentence. Now that Dorcas was wide awake she could complete it for herself only too well. For Dorcas knew that at any moment a Meeting of five or more persons who met to practise a form of worship not authorized by law might be rudely interrupted by the constables, and all the Friends who were sitting in silence together dragged off to prison for disobeying the Quaker Act. Since that Act had been passed in this same month of May 1662, Quaker children understood that this might happen at any moment, but of course each child hoped that it would not happen just yet, or at least not to his own Father and Mother. But now apparently it had happened here in peaceful Reading beside the broad Thames.

Last night's Meeting had been fixed at an unusually late hour. For, as the late Spring evenings were lengthening, the Reading Quakers had wished to take advantage of the long May twilight to gather together and meet with a Friend, one of the Valiant Sixty, who had come in for a few hours unexpectedly on his way to London. So the children had fallen asleep as usual, fully expecting to find their parents beside them when they woke. But now the empty places and the unslept-in beds told their own tale. 'Be a mother to the little ones, Dorcas,' Mother had said. Well,



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Dorcas was trying her very best, but it was not easy. Baby had many strings to tie and many buttons to fasten, and just as she was getting the very last button safely into its button-hole the Twins came running up to say that they had got into each other's clothes by mistake and could not get out of them again. This was serious; for though Phenie's frock was only a little too big for Phosie, Phosie's frock was much too small for Phenie.

Dorcas was obliged to put Baby down to attend to them; but this reminded Baby that he had still not been provided with his much-desired breakfast, whereupon he began to howl, till Dorcas took him up in her arms again, and dandled him as Mother did. This made him crow for happiness, just as he did when Mother took him, so for a few minutes Dorcas was happy too, till she saw that the Twins were now beginning to squabble again, and to tear out each other's hair with the comb. At that unlucky moment up came brother Peter's big voice calling from below, 'Dorcas, Dorcas, what are you all doing up there? Why is not breakfast ready? I have milked the cow for you. You must come down this very minute; I am starving!'

It was an uncomfortable morning; and the worst of it was that it was First Day morning too. Dorcas had not known before that a First Day morning could be uncomfortable. Usually First Day was the happiest day in the whole week. Mother's hands were so gentle that, though the children had been taught to help themselves as soon as they were old enough, still Mother always seemed to know just when there was an unruly button that needed a little coaxing to help it to find its hole, or a string that wanted to get into a knot that ought to be persuaded to tie itself into a bow.

Then breakfast was always a pleasant meal, with the big blue bowls full of milk, warm from the cow, set out on the wooden table, and Father sitting at one end raising his hand as he said a silent Grace. Father never said any words at these times. But he bent his head as if he were thanking Someone he loved very much, Someone close beside him, for giving him the milk and bread to give to the children and for making him very happy. So the children felt happy too. Dorcas thought that the brown bread always tasted especially good on First Day morning, because Father was at the head of the table to cut it and hand it to them himself. On other, week-day, mornings he had to go off much earlier, ploughing, or reaping, or gathering in the ripe corn from the harvest-fields behind the farm. Also, Peter never teased the little ones when Father was there. But to-day if there were no breakfast, (and where was breakfast to come from?) Peter would be dreadfully cross. Yet how could Dorcas go and get breakfast for Peter when the three little ones were all wanting her help at once?

'I'm coming, Peter, as fast as ever I can,' she called back, in answer to a second yet more peremptory summons. But, oh! how glad she was to hear a gentle knock at the door of the thatched cottage a minute or two later.

'Come in! come in!' she heard Peter saying joyfully as he opened the door, and then came the sound of light footsteps on the



wooden stairs. Another minute, and the bedroom door opened gently, and a sunshiny face looked into the children's untidy room.

'Why, it is thee, Hester!' Dorcas exclaimed, with a cry of joy. 'Oh, I am glad to see thee! And how glad Mother would be to know thou wert here.'

The girl who entered was both taller and older than Dorcas. She was a well-loved playfellow evidently, for Tryphena and Tryphosa toddled towards her across the room at once, to be caught up in her arms and kissed.

'Of course, it is I, Dorcas,' she answered promptly. 'Who else should it be? Prudence and I determined that we would come over and try to help thee as soon as we could. We brought a basket of provisions too, in case you were short. Prudence is helping Peter to set out breakfast in the kitchen now, so we must hasten.'

Life often becomes easy when you are two, however difficult it may have been when you were only one! With Hester to help, the dressing was finished at lightning speed. Yet, when the children came down to the kitchen, Prudence and Peter already had the fire blazing away merrily; the warm milk was foaming in the bowls. The hungry children thought, as they drank it up, that never before had breakfast tasted so good.

'Hester, what made thee think of coming?' Dorcas asked a little later, when, Baby's imperious needs being satisfied, she was able to begin her own breakfast, while he drummed an accompaniment on the back of her hand with a wooden spoon. 'How did the news reach thee? Or have they taken thy Father and Mother away too? Have all the Friends gone to gaol this time?'

Hester nodded. Her bright face clouded for a moment or two. Then she resolutely brushed the cloud away.

'Yea, in truth, Dorcas,' she answered. 'I fear much that only we children are left. Anyhow, thy parents and mine are taken, and the others as well most like. My Father had warning from a trusty source that he and other Friends had best not meet in Thomas Curtis' house last night. But he is never one to be turned aside from his purpose, thou knows. So he took me between his knees and said, "Hester, dear maid, thy mother and I must go. 'Tis none of our choosing. If we are taken, fear not for us, nor for thyself and Prue. Only seek to nourish and care for the tender babes in the other houses, whence Friends are likely to be taken also." Therefore I hastened hither to help thee, Dorcas, bringing Prudence with me, partly because I love thee, and thou art mine own dear friend, but also because it was my Father's command. If I can be of service to thee, perhaps he will pat my head when he returns out of gaol and say, as he doth sometimes, "I knew I could trust thee, my Hester."''

'Will they be long in prison, dost thou think?' asked Dorcas, with a tremor in her voice. She was always an anxious-minded little girl, and inclined to look on the gloomy side of things, whereas Hester was sunshine itself.

'Who can say?' answered Hester, and again even her bright face clouded. 'The Justices are sure to tender to them the oath, but



since they follow Him who commanded, "Swear not at all," how can they take it?'

'Then, if they refuse, they will be said to be out of the King's protection, and the Justices and the gaolers may do with them as they will,' added Peter doggedly.

At these words Hester, seeing that Dorcas looked very sorrowful and almost ready to cry, checked Peter suddenly, and said, 'At any rate, we can but hope for the best. And now we must hasten, or we shall be late for Meeting.'

'Meeting?' Dorcas looked up in surprise. 'I thought thou saidst that all the Friends had been taken.'

'All the men and women, yes,' answered Hester; 'but we children are left. We know what our Fathers and Mothers would have us do.' Here Peter broke in, 'Yes, of course, Dorcas, we must go to show them that Friends are not cowards, and that we will keep up our Meetings come what may. Dost thou not mind what friend Thomas Curtis' wife, Mistress Nan, has often told us of her father, the Sheriff of Bristol? How he was hung before his own door, because men said he was endeavouring to betray the city to Prince Rupert, and thus serve his king in banishment. Shall we be less loyal than he?'

'Loyal to our King, Dorcas,' added Hester gently.

Dorcas hesitated no longer.

'Thou art right, Hester,' she answered, 'and Peter, thou art right too. We will go all together. I had forgotten. Of course children as well as grown-up people can wait upon God.'

The children arrived at the Friends' usual meeting place, only to find it locked and strongly guarded. They went on, undismayed, to Friend Lamboll's orchard, but, there also, two heavy padlocks, sealed with the King's seal, were upon the green gate. An old goody from a cottage hard by waved them away. 'Be off, children! Here is no place for you,' she said; adding not unkindly, 'your parents were taken near here yester eve, and the officers of the law are still prowling round. This orchard is sure to be one of the first places they will visit.'

Then seeing the tired look on Dorcas' face, as she turned to go, with heavy Stephen in her arms: 'Here, give the babe to me,' she said, 'I'll care for him this forenoon. Thy mother managed to get a word with me last night as the officers dragged her away, and I promised her I would do what I could to help you, though you be Quakers and I hold to the Church. See, he'll be safe in this cradle while you go and play, though it is forty years and more since it held a babe of my own.'

Very thankfully Dorcas laid Stephen, now sleeping peacefully, down in the oaken cradle in the old woman's flagged kitchen. Then she ran off to join the others assembled at a little distance from the orchard gate. By this time a few more children had joined them: two or three girls, and four or five older boys. Where were they to meet? The sight of the closed house, and the sealed gate, even the mention of the officers of the law, far from frightening the children, had only made them more than ever clear that, somewhere or other, the Meeting must be held.

At length one of the elder boys suggested 'My father's granary?'



The very place!—they all agreed: so thither the little flock of children trooped. The granary was a large building of grey stone lighted only by two mullioned windows high up in the walls. In Queen Elizabeth's days these windows had lighted the small rooms of an upper storey, but now the dividing floor had been removed to make more room for the grain which lay piled up as high as the roof over more than half the building. But, at one end, there was an empty space on the floor, and here the children seated themselves on scattered bundles of hay.

Quietly Meeting began. At first some of the children peeped up at one another anxiously under their eyelids. It felt very strange somehow to be gathering together in silence alone without any grown-up people. Were they really doing right? Dorcas' heart began to beat rather nervously, and a hot flush dyed her cheek, until she looked across at Hester sitting opposite, and was calmed by the peaceful expression of the elder girl's face. Hester's hood had fallen back upon her shoulders. Her fair hair, slightly ruffled, shone like a halo of pale gold against the grey stone wall of the granary. Her blue eyes were looking up, up at the blue sky, far away beyond the high window. 'Hester looks happy, almost as if she were listening to something,' Dorcas said to herself, 'something that comforts her although we are all sad.' Then, settling herself cosily down into the hay, 'Now I will try to listen for comfort too.'

A few moments later the silence was broken by a half-whispered prayer from a dark corner of the granary, 'Our dear, dear parents! help them to be brave and faithful, and make us all brave and faithful too.'

None of the boys and girls looked round to see who had spoken, for the words seemed to come from the deepest place in their own hearts.

Swiftly and speedily the children's prayer was answered. Help was given to them, but they needed every scrap of their courage and faith during the next half-hour. Almost before the last words of the prayer died away, a loud noise was heard and the tramp of heavy feet coming round the granary wall. The officers of the law were upon them: 'What, yet another conventicle of these pestilential heretics to be broken up?' shouted a wrathful voice. The next moment the door was roughly burst open, and in the doorway appeared a much dreaded figure, no less a person than Sir William Armorer himself, Justice of the Peace and Equerry to the King. None of the children had any very clear idea as to the meaning of that word 'equerry'; therefore it always filled them with a vague terror of unknown possibilities. In after years, whenever they heard it they saw again an angry man with a florid face, dressed in a suit of apple-green satin slashed with gold, standing in a doorway and wrathfully shaking a loaded cane over their heads.

'Yet more of ye itching to be laid by the ears in gaol!' shouted this apparition as he entered and slammed the heavy wooden door behind him. But an expression of amazement followed when he was once inside the room.

'Brats! By my life! Quaker brats! and none beside them!' he



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exclaimed astonished, as he looked round the band of children. 'Quaker brats holding a conventicle of their own, as if they were grown men and women! Having stopped the earth and gaoled the fox, must we now deal with the litter? Look you here, do you want a closer acquaintance with this?'

With these words, he pointed his loaded stick at each of the children in turn and drew out a sharp iron point concealed in one end of it, and began to slash the air. Then, changing his mind again, he went back to the door and called out to his followers in the passage outside, 'Here, men, we will let the maidens go, but you must teach these lads what it is to disobey the law, or I'm no Justice of His Majesty's Peace.'

Even in that moment of terror the children wondered not only at the loud angry voice but at the unfamiliar scent that filled the room. The air, which had been pure and fragrant with the smell of hay, was now heavy and loaded with essences and perfumes. Well it might be, for though the children knew it not, the flowing lovelocks of the curly wig that descended to the Justice's shoulders had been scented that very morning with odours of ambergris, musk, and violet, orris root, orange flowers, and jessamine, as well as others besides. The stronger scents of kennel and stable, and even of ale and beer, that filled the room as the constables trooped into it were almost a relief to the children, because they at least were familiar, and unlike the other strange, sickly fragrance.

The constables seized the boys, turned them out into the road, and there punched and beat them with their own staffs and the Justice's loaded stick until they were black in the face. The girls were driven in a frightened bunch down the lane. Only Hester sat on in her place, still and unmoved, sheltering the Twins in her bosom and holding her hands over their eyes. Up to her came the angry Justice in a fine rage, until it seemed as if the perfumed wig must almost touch her smooth plaits of hair. Then, at last, Hester moved, but not in time to prevent the Justice seizing her by the shoulder and flinging her down the road after the others. Her frightened charges, torn from her arms, still clung to her skirts, while the full-grown men strode along after them, threatening to duck them all in the pond if they made the slightest resistance, and did not at once disperse to their homes.

It certainly was neither a comfortable thing nor a pleasant thing to be a Quaker child in those stormy days.

Nevertheless, pleasant or unpleasant, comfortable or uncomfortable, made no difference. It was thanks to the courage of this handful of boys and girls that, in spite of the worst that Mr. Justice Armorer could do, in spite of the dread of him and his constables, in spite of his angry face, of his scented wig and loaded cane, in spite of all these things,—still, Sunday after Sunday, through many a long anxious month, God was worshipped in freedom and simplicity in the town by silver Thames. Reading Meeting was held.

Meantime, throughout these same long months, within the prison walls the fathers and mothers prayed for their absent children.



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Although apart from one another, the two companies were not really separated; for both were listening to the same Shepherd's voice. Until, at last, the happy day came when the gaol-doors were opened and the prisoners released. Then, oh the kissing and the hugging! the crying and the blessing! as the parents heard of all the children had undergone in order to keep faithful and true! That was indeed the most joyful meeting of all!

Thankfulness and joy last freshly through the centuries, as an old letter, written at that time by one of the fathers to George Fox still proves to us to-day: 'Our little children kept the meetings up, when we were all in prison, notwithstanding that wicked Justice when he came and found them there, with a staff that had a spear in it would pull them out of the Meeting, and punch them in the back till some of them were black in the face ... his fellow is not, I believe, to be found in all England a Justice of the Peace.'

'For they might as well think to hinder the Sun from shining, or the tide from flowing, as to think to hinder the Lord's people from meeting to wait upon Him.'



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5th day of 3rd month: The [Quakers](#) of London chided the [Quakers](#) of the [Rhode Island](#) and Providence Plantations colony for having somewhat exaggerated certain reports of their persecution by the Puritans, in entries made in the Book of Sufferings. They pointed out that “there may not be the least addition in the relation of those things.” There must be no “publicke misrepresentation.” Instead, the Christian principle of forgiveness should motivate the Quakers to moderate “rather than extenuate” such reports for the official record.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

October 27: Continuing in this year, and until 1670, Friend [George Fox](#) would be at the work of organizing his new religion. He kept, or caused to be kept, a running account of his journey in Ireland. After raising nine children and being for eleven years a widow, Friend [Margaret Askew Fell](#) married with George, ten years her junior.

So, after I had thus acquainted the children with it, our intention of marriage was laid before Friends, both privately and publicly, to their full satisfaction. Many of them gave testimony thereunto that it was of God. Afterwards [the 27th of “Eighth month,” 1669], a meeting being appointed for the accomplishing thereof, in the meeting-house at Broad-Mead, in Bristol, we took each other, the Lord joining us together in honourable marriage, in the everlasting covenant and immortal Seed of life. In the sense thereof living and weighty testimonies were borne thereunto by Friends, in the movings of the heavenly power which united us. Then was a certificate, relating both the proceedings and the marriage, openly read, and signed by the relations, and by most of the ancient Friends of that city, besides many others from diverse parts of the nation.

We stayed about a week in Bristol, and then went together to Oldstone: where, taking leave of each other in the Lord, we parted, betaking ourselves each to our several service; Margaret returning homewards to the north, and I passing on in the work of the Lord as before. I travelled through Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and so to London, visiting Friends: in all of which counties I had many large and precious meetings.

[FOX'S JOURNAL:](#)

About three months after marriage, Friend Margaret Askew Fell Fox would be thrown into Lancaster prison where she would be kept until a few weeks before her husband sailed to the West Indies and the American colonies. Therefore during the first four years of their marriage this couple would be almost continually separated.



1670

It would be during this decade that [Quaker](#) meetings would begin in Lynn.

Despite persecution, unprogrammed [Quaker](#) meetings were spreading all over Maryland with the exception of St. Mary's County. There were such worship groups on the Severn River, the South River, the West River, Herring Creek, the Cliffs, and the Patuxent.

It was in this period, on the coast of America, that Gershom Smith would have been born. Although we know that eventually [John Smith](#) of Plymouth and [Dartmouth](#) would come to be the father a total of thirteen children and although the initial five, Hassadiah, John, Josiah, Eliazer, and Hezekiah, were definitely born to his 1st wife, Friend Deborah Howland Smith, and although the will would make it clear that Hannah, Sarah, and Deborah had been born to the 2d wife, Friend Ruhamah Kirby Smith — about Judah, Gershom, Deliverance, Mehitable, and Eliashib we can only infer that they would also pertain to this 2d [Quaker](#) woman, Ruhamah. As to how it was that a 2d Quaker wife was bearing children for this man across the water in Dartmouth while in Plymouth his 1st Quaker wife seems still to have been very much alive, and as to the details of the eventual relocation of this Smith family from Plymouth to Dartmouth, the genealogical record has preferred to remain silent. We notice a reticence in assigning the years of birth to the various children, as if these details would inform us of certain life patterns of which it would be better for the world at large to remain ignorant.

There was a secret treaty entered into at Dover, between King Charles II of England and King Louis XIV of France, to restore Roman Catholicism in England. The so-called Conventicle Act of 1664 was renewed and expanded. This renewed and expanded Act limited religious gatherings, other than those of the Established Church, to not more than five persons, while penalizing any who were unwilling to take an oath. However, Friend [George Fox](#) was completing the task of organizing his new religion, the [Religious Society of Friends](#), as witness his epistle of this year entitled “All Dear Friends Everywhere, Who Have No Helper But The Lord”:



All dear Friends everywhere, who have no helper but the Lord, who is your strength and your life, let your cries and prayers be to him, from whom all your help and strength comes; who with his eternal power, hath kept up your heads above all waves and storms. Let none go out of their habitations in the stormy time of the night, whose habitation is in the Lord; let everyone keep his habitation, and stand in his lot, the seed, Christ Jesus, to the end of the day. There is the lot of your inheritance, and in this seed your will see the bright and morning star appear, which will expel the night of darkness that hath been in your hearts; by which morning star your will come to the everlasting day, which was before night was. So everyone feel this bring morning star in your hearts, there to expel the darkness.
G.F.

Also, his epistle “To Friends In Bristol, In The Time Of Suffering” dates to the latter part of this year:



Dear friends, now is the time for you to stand; therefore put on the whole armour of God, from the crown of the head to the soles of your feet, that you may stand in the possession of life: and you that have been public men, and formerly did travel



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abroad, mind to keep up your testimony, both in the city and in the countries, that you may encourage Friends to keep up their meetings as usual thereaway; so that none faint in the time of trial; but that all may be encouraged, both small and great, to stand faithful to the Lord God, and his power, and truth; that their heads may not sink in the storms, but may be kept up above the waves. So, go into your meeting places, as at other times: and keep up your public testimony, and visit Friends thereabouts, now in this time of storms for there is your crown, in the universal power and spirit of God. So let your minds, and souls, and hearts, be kept above all outward and visible things; for God took care for man in the beginning, and set him above the works of his hands: and therefore mind the heavenly treasure, that will never fade away; and dwell in the seed, in which you may know your election. It is hard for me to give forth in writing what is before me, because of my bodily weakness; but I was desirous in some measure to ease my mind, desiring that you may stand fast, and be faithful to the truth. Of my travels and weakness it is like you have heard, and of my affliction, both by them that are without, and also by them that are within, which are hard to be uttered and spoken. My love is to all faithful Friends.

G.F. The 2d of the 11th month, 1670

Dating to about this year, we can notice that our Founding Father was exhibiting an attitude toward Quakers in the arts similar to that of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini: “And therefore, all friends and people, pluck down your images...; I say, pluck them out of your houses, walls, and signs, or other places, that none of you be found imitators of his Creator, whom you should serve and worship; and not observe the idle lazy mind, that would go invent and make things like a Creator and Maker...”¹¹⁷

117. “A Hammer to break down all Invented Images, Image-makers, and Image-worshippers. Showing how contrary they are both to the Law and Gospel.” Works (1831), IV: 367.



On the First-day after the Act came in force, I went to the meeting at Gracechurch Street, where I expected the storm was most likely to begin.

When I came there, I found the street full of people, and a guard set to keep Friends out of their meeting-house. I went to the other passage out of Lombard street, where also I found a guard; but the court was full of people, and a Friend was speaking amongst them; but he did not speak long.

When he had done, I stood up, and was moved to say, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against that which pricks thee." Then I showed that it is Saul's nature that persecutes still, and that they who persecute Christ in His members now, where He is made manifest, kick against that which pricks them; that it was the birth of the flesh that persecuted the birth born of the Spirit, and that it was the nature of dogs to tear and devour the sheep; but that we suffered as sheep, that bite not again, for we were a peaceable people, and loved them that persecuted us.

After I had spoken a while to this effect, the constable came with an informer and soldiers; and as they pulled me down, I said, "Blessed are the peacemakers."

The commander put me among the soldiers, and bade them secure me, saying to me, "You are the man I looked for." They took also John Burnyeat and another Friend, and led us away, first to the Exchange, and afterwards towards Moorfields. As we went along the streets the people were very moderate; some of them laughed at the constable, and told him we would not run away.

The informer went with us unknown, till, falling into discourse with one of the company, he said it would never be a good world till all people came to the good old religion that was two hundred years ago. Whereupon I asked him, "Art thou a Papist? What! a Papist informer; for two hundred years ago there was no other religion but that of the Papists."

He saw he had ensnared himself, and was vexed at it; for as he went along the streets I spoke often to him, and manifested what he was.

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When we were come to the mayor's house, and were in the courtyard, several of the people that stood about, asked me how and for what I was taken. I desired them to ask the informer, and also what his name was; but he refused to tell his name. Whereupon one of the mayor's officers, looking out at a window, told him he should tell his name before he went away; for the lord mayor would know by what authority he intruded himself with soldiers into the execution of those laws which belonged to the civil magistrate to execute, and not to the military.

After this, he was eager to be gone; and went to the porter to be let out. One of the officers called to him, saying, "Have you brought people here to inform against, and now will you go away before my lord mayor comes?" Some called to the porter not to let him out; whereupon he forcibly pulled open the door and slipped out.

No sooner was he come into the street than the people gave a shout that made the street ring again, crying out, "A Papist informer! a Papist informer!" We desired the constable and soldiers to go and rescue him out of the people's hands, fearing lest they should do him a mischief. They went, and brought him into the mayor's entry, where they stayed a while; but when he went out again, the people received him with another shout. The soldiers were fain to go and rescue him once more, and they led him into a house in an alley, where they persuaded him to change his periwig, and so he got away unknown.

When the mayor came, we were brought into the room where he was, and some of his officers would have taken off our hats, perceiving which he called to them, and bade them let us alone, and not meddle with our hats; "for," said he, "they are not yet brought before me in judicature." So we stood by while he examined some Presbyterian and Baptist teachers; with whom he was somewhat sharp, and convicted them.

After he had done with them, I was brought up to the table where he sat; and then the officers took off my hat. The mayor said mildly to me, "Mr. Fox, you are an eminent man amongst those of your profession; pray, will you be instrumental to dissuade them from meeting in such great numbers? for, seeing Christ hath promised that where two or three are met in His name, He will be in the midst of them, and the King and Parliament are graciously pleased to allow four to meet together to worship God; why will not you be content to partake both of Christ's promise to two or three, and the King's indulgence to four?"

I answered to this purpose: "Christ's promise was not to discourage many from meeting together in His name, but to encourage the few, that the fewest might not forbear to meet because of their fewness. But if Christ hath promised to manifest His presence in the midst of so small an assembly, where but two or three are gathered in His name, how much more would His presence abound where two or three hundred are gathered in His name?"



I wished him to consider whether this Act, if it had been in their time, would not have taken hold of Christ, with His twelve apostles and seventy disciples, who used to meet often together, and that with great numbers? However, I told him this Act did not concern us; for it was made against seditious meetings, of such as met under colour and pretence of religion "to contrive insurrections, as [the Act says] late experience had shown." But we had been sufficiently tried and proved, and always found peaceable, and therefore he would do well to put a difference between the innocent and the guilty.

He said the Act was made against meetings, and a worship not according to the liturgy.

I told him "according to" was not the very same thing; and asked him whether the liturgy was according to the Scriptures, and whether we might not read Scriptures and speak Scriptures.

He said, "Yes."

I told him, "This Act takes hold only of such as meet to plot and contrive insurrections, as late experience hath shown; but they have never experienced that by us. Because thieves are sometimes on the road, must not honest men travel? And because plotters and contrivers have met to do mischief, must not an honest, peaceable people meet to do good? If we had been a people that met to plot and contrive insurrections, etc., we might have drawn ourselves into fours; for four might do more mischief in plotting than if there were four hundred, because four might speak out their minds more freely to one another than four hundred could. Therefore we, being innocent, and not the people this Act concerns, keep our meetings as we used to do. I believe thou knowest in thy conscience that we are innocent."

After some more discourse, he took our names, and the places where we lodged; and at length, as the informer was gone, he set us at liberty.

The Friends with me now asked, "Whither wilt thou go?" I told them, "To Gracechurch street meeting again, if it is not over."

When we came there, the people were generally gone; only some few stood at the gate. We went into Gerrard Roberts's. Thence I sent to know how the other meetings in the city were. I found that at some of the meeting-places Friends had been kept out; at others they had been taken; but these were set at liberty again a few days after.

A glorious time it was; for the Lord's power came over all, and His everlasting truth got renown. For in the meetings, as fast as some that were speaking were taken down, others were moved of the Lord to stand up and speak, to the admiration of the people; and the more because many Baptists and other sectaries left their public meetings, and came to see how the Quakers would stand.

As for the informer aforesaid, he was so frightened that hardly any informer dared to appear publicly in London for some time after. But the mayor, whose name was Samuel Starling, though he carried himself smoothly towards us, proved afterwards a very great persecutor of our Friends, many of whom he cast into prison, as may be seen in the trials of William Penn, William Mead, and others, at the Old Bailey this year.



As I was walking down a hill [near Rochester], a great weight and oppression fell upon my spirit. I got on my horse again, but the weight remained so that I was hardly able to ride.

At length we came to Rochester, but I was much spent, being so extremely laden and burthened with the world's spirits, that my life was oppressed under them. I got with difficulty to Gravesend, and lay at an inn there; but could hardly either eat or sleep.

The next day John Rous and Alexander Parker went to London; and John Stubbs being come to me, we went over the ferry into Essex. We came to Hornchurch, where there was a meeting on First-day. After it I rode with great uneasiness to Stratford, to a Friend's house, whose name was Williams, and who had formerly been a captain. Here I lay, exceedingly weak, and at last lost both hearing and sight. Several Friends came to me from London: and I told them that I should be a sign to such as would not see, and such as would not hear the Truth. In this condition I continued some time. Several came about me; and though I could not see their persons, I felt and discerned their spirits, who were honest-hearted, and who were not. Diverse Friends who practiced physic came to see me, and would have given me medicines, but I was not to meddle with any; for I was sensible I had a travail to go through; and therefore desired none but solid, weighty Friends might be about me.

Under great sufferings and travails, sorrows and oppressions, I lay for several weeks, whereby I was brought so low and weak in body that few thought I could live. Some that were with me went away, saying they would not see me die; and it was reported both in London and in the country that I was deceased; but I felt the Lord's power inwardly supporting me.

When they that were about me had given me up to die, I spoke to them to get a coach to carry me to Gerrard Roberts's, about twelve miles off, for I found it was my place to go thither. I had now recovered a little glimmering of sight, so that I could discern the people and fields as I went, and that was all.

When I came to Gerrard's, he was very weak, and I was moved to speak to him, and encourage him. After I had stayed about three weeks there, it was with me to go to Enfield. Friends were afraid of my removing; but I told them I might safely go.

When I had taken my leave of Gerrard, and was come to Enfield, I went first to visit Amor Stoddart, who lay very weak and almost speechless. I was moved to tell him that he had been faithful as a man, and faithful to God, and that the immortal Seed of life was his crown. Many more words I was moved to speak to him, though I was then so weak I was hardly able to stand; and within a few days after, Amor died.



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** I went to the widow Dry's, at Enfield, where I lay all that winter, warring in spirit with the evil spirits of the world, that warred against Truth and Friends. For there were great persecutions at this time; some meeting-houses were pulled down, and many were broken up by soldiers. Sometimes a troop of horse, or a company of foot came; and some broke their swords, carbines, muskets, and pikes, with beating Friends; and many they wounded, so that their blood lay in the streets.*

Amongst others that were active in this cruel persecution at London, my old adversary, Colonel Kirby, was one. With a company of foot, he went to break up several meetings; and he would often inquire for me at the meetings he broke up. One time as he went over the water to Horsleydown, there happening some scuffle between some of his soldiers and some of the watermen, he bade his men fire at them. They did so, and killed some.

I was under great sufferings at this time, beyond what I have words to declare. For I was brought into the deep, and saw all the religions of the world, and people that lived in them. And I saw the priests that held them up; who were as a company of men-eaters, eating up the people like bread, and gnawing the flesh from off their bones. But as for true religion, and worship, and ministers of God, alack! I saw there was none amongst those of the world that pretended to it.

Though it was a cruel, bloody, persecuting time, yet the Lord's power went over all, His everlasting Seed prevailed; and Friends were made to stand firm and faithful in the Lord's power. Some sober people of other professions would say, "If Friends did not stand, the nation would run into debauchery."

Though by reason of my weakness I could not travel amongst Friends as I had been used to do, yet in the motion of life I sent the following lines as an encouraging testimony to them: -

My dear Friends:

The Seed is above all. In it walk; in which ye all have life. Be not amazed at the weather; for always the just suffered by the unjust, but the just had the dominion.

All along ye may see, by faith the mountains were subdued; and the rage of the wicked, with his fiery darts, was quenched. Though the waves and storms be high, yet your faith will keep you, so as to swim above them; for they are but for a time, and the Truth is without time. Therefore keep on the mountain of holiness, ye who are led to it by the Light. Do not think that anything will outlast the Truth. For the Truth standeth sure; and is over that which is out of the Truth. For the good will overcome the evil; the light, darkness; the life, death; virtue, vice; and righteousness, unrighteousness. The false prophet cannot overcome the true; but the true prophet, Christ, will overcome all the false. So be faithful, and live in that which doth not think the time long.

G.F.

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After some time it pleased the Lord to allay the heat of this violent persecution; and I felt in spirit an overcoming of the spirits of those men-eaters that had stirred it up and carried it on to that height of cruelty. I was outwardly very weak; and I plainly felt, and those Friends that were with me, and that came to visit me, took notice, that as the persecution ceased I came from under the travails and sufferings that had lain with such weight upon me; so that towards the spring I began to recover, and to walk up and down, beyond the expectation of many, who did not think I could ever have gone abroad again.

Whilst I was under this spiritual suffering the state of the New Jerusalem which comes down out of heaven was opened to me; which some carnal-minded people had looked upon to be like an outward city dropped out of the elements. I saw the beauty and glory of it, the length, the breadth, and the height thereof, all in complete proportion. I saw that all who are within the Light of Christ, and in His faith, of which He is the author; and in the Spirit, the Holy Ghost, which Christ and the holy prophets and apostles were in; and within the grace, and truth, and power of God, which are the walls of the city; – I saw that such are within the city, are members of it, and have right to eat of the Tree of Life, which yields her fruit every month, and whose leaves are for the healing of the nations.

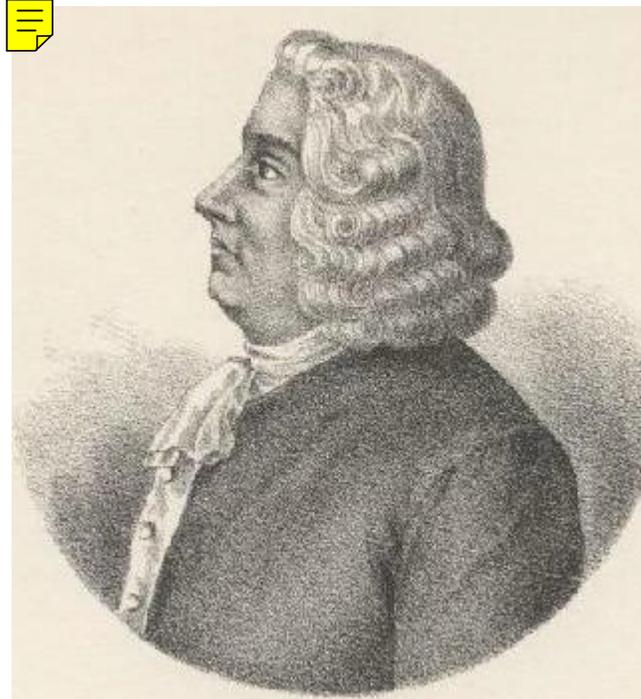
Many things more did I see concerning the heavenly city, the New Jerusalem, which are hard to be uttered, and would be hard to be received. But, in short, this holy city is within the Light, and all that are within the Light, are within the city; the gates whereof stand open all the day (for there is no night there), that all may come in.

FOX'S JOURNAL:

July 29: On the 29th of 7th month, 1670 (this is the way [Quakers](#) were recording dates), Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, directed the noted architect of churches Christopher Wren to demolish the meeting-house of the Friends at Horsley Down.

August 20: On the 20th of the Eighth month, 1670 (this is the way [Quakers](#) were recording dates), a company of soldiers, with carpenters and others, went to the meeting-house of the Friends at Horsley Down and pulled it down, carting away its windows, doors, lumber, &c. to be sold, and the money kept. (The next meeting-day, the Friends would meet on the rubbish of their demolished house and attempt to hold their regular meeting for worship, until beaten by the soldiery and dragged away. Following this the meeting house at Ratcliff would also be pulled down, and the Friends at Horsley Down would continue to meet as close to the rubble of their former meeting-house as they were allowed.)

September 1, 3, 4, and 5: THE TRYAL OF WILLIAM PENN & WILLIAM MEAD FOR CAUSING A TUMOLT, ETC. 1670. (This edition Boston: Marshall Jones, 1919) would prove significant in the development of free speech. This record of the transcript was made by [Friend William Penn](#), who also listed himself as the “Observer”:



**THE TRYAL of WILLIAM PENN and WILLIAM MEAD,
at the Sessions held at the Old Baily in London,
the 1st, 3d, 4th, and 5th of September, 1670.**

Done by themselves.

Reprinted Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1919.

PRESENT

SAM. STARLING, *Mayor.*

THO. HOWEL, *Recorder.*

THO. BLOODWORTH, *Alderm.*

WILLIAM PEAK, *Alderm.*

JOHN ROBINSON, *Alderm.*

RICHARD FORD, *Alderman.*

JOSEPH SHELDEN, *Alderman.*

JOHN SMITH and JAMES EDWARDS, *Sheriffs.*

RICHARD BROWNE.



CRYER. O yes, *Thomas Veer, Edward Bushel, John Hammond, Charles Milson, Gregory Walklet, John Brightman, William Plumstead, Henry Henley, Thomas Damask, Henry Michel, William Lever, John Bailly.*

The Form of the OATH.

“You shall well and truly Try, and true “Deliverance make betwixt our Sovereign Lord the King, and the Prisoners at the Bar, according to your Evidence. *So help you God.*”

That *William Penn*, Gent. and *William Mead*, late of *London*, Linnen-Draper, with divers other Persons to the Jurors unknown, to the Number of 300, the 14th Day of August, in the 22d Year of the King, about Eleven of the Clock in the Forenoon, the same Day, with Force and Arms, &c. in the Parish of *St. Bennet Gracechurch* in *Bridge-Ward, London*, in the Street called *Gracechurch-Street*, unlawfully and tumultuously did Assemble and Congregate themselves together, to the Disturbance of the Peace of the said Lord the King: And the aforesaid *William Penn* and *William Mead*, together with other Persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, then and there so Assembled and Congregated together; the aforesaid *William Penn*, by Agreement between him and *William Mead* before made, and by Abetment of the aforesaid *William Mead*, then and there, in the open Street, did take upon himself to Preach and Speak, and then and there did Preach and Speak unto the aforesaid *William Mead*, and other Persons there, in the Street aforesaid, being Assembled and Congregated together, by Reason whereof a great Concourse and Tumult of People in the Street aforesaid, then and there, a long time did remain and continue, in contempt of the said Lord the King, and of his Law, to the great Disturbance of his Peace; to the great Terror and Disturbance of many of his Leige People and Subjects, to the ill Example of all others in the like Case Offenders, and against the Peace of the said Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity.

What say you, *William Penn* and *William Mead*, are you Guilty, as you stand indicted, in Manner and Form, as aforesaid, or Not Guilty?

PENN. It is impossible, that we should be able to remember the Indictment verbatim, and therefore we desire a Copy of it, as is customary in the like Occasions.

RECORDER. You must first plead to the Indictment, before you can have a Copy of it.

PEN. I am unacquainted with the Formality of the Law, and therefore, before I shall answer directly, I request two Things of the Court. First, that no Advantage may be taken against me, nor I deprived of any Benefit, which I might otherwise have received. Secondly, that you will promise me a fair hearing, and liberty of making my Defence.

COURT. No Advantage shall be taken against you; you shall have Liberty; you shall be heard.

PEN. Then I plead Not guilty in Manner and Form.

CLERK. What sayest thou, *William Mead*, art thou Guilty in Manner and Form, as thou standest indicted, or Not guilty?

MEAD. I shall desire the same Liberty as is promised *William Penn*.

COURT. You shall have it.

MEAD. Then I plead Not guilty in Manner and Form.

The Court adjourn'd until the Afternoon.

CRYER. O Yes, etc.

CLER. Bring *William Penn* and *William Mead* to the Bar.

OBSERV. The said Prisoners were brought, but were set aside, and other Business prosecuted. Where we cannot choose but observe, that it was the constant and unkind Practices of the Court to the Prisoners, to make them wait upon the Trials of Felons and Murderers, thereby designing, in all probability, both to affront and tire them.



After five Hours Attendance, the Court broke up and adjourned to the third Instant.

The third of September 1670, the Court sate.

CRYER. O Yes, etc.

CLER. Bring *William Penn* and *William Mead* to the Bar.

MAYOR. Sirrah, who bid you put off their Hats. Put on their Hats again.

OBSER. Whereupon one of the Officers putting the Prisoners Hats upon their heads (pursuant to the Order of the court) brought them to the Bar.

RECORD. Do you know where you are?

PEN. Yes.

RECORD. Do not it is the King's Court?

PEN. I know it to be a Court, and I suppose it to be the King's Court.

RECORD. Do you not know there is Respect due to the Court?

PEN. Yes.

RECORD. Why do you not pay it then?

PEN. I do so.

RECORD. Why do you not pull off your Hat then?

PEN. Because I do not believe that to be any Respect.

RECORD. Well, the Court sets forty Marks a piece upon your Heads, as a Fine for your Contempt of the Court.

PEN. I desire it might be observed, that we came into the Court with our Hats off (that is, taken off) and if they have been put on since, it was by Order from the Bench; and therefore not we, but the Bench should be fined.

MEAD. I have a Question to ask the Recorder. Am I fined also?

RECORD. Yes.

MEAD. I desire the Jury, and all People to take notice of this Injustice of the Recorder; who spake to me to pull off my Hat? and yet hath he put a Fine upon my Head. O fear the Lord, and dread his Power, and yield to the Guidance of his Holy Spirit, for he is not far from every one of you.

The Jury sworn again.

OBSER. *J. Robinson*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, disingenuously objected against — *Bushel*, as if he had not kiss'd the Book, and therefore would have him sworn again; tho' indeed it was on purpose to have made use of his Tenderness of Conscience in avoiding reiterated Oaths, to have put him by his being a Jury-man, apprehending him to be a Person not fit to answer their Arbitrary Ends.

The Clerk read the Indictment, as aforesaid.

CLERK. Cryer, Call *James Cook* into the Court, give him his Oath.

CLERK. *James Cook*, lay your Hand upon the Book.

The Evidence you shall give to the Court, betwixt our Sovereign the King, and the prisoners at the Bar, shall be the Truth, and the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth. So help you God.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

COOK. I was sent for, from the Exchange, to go and disperse a Meeting in *Gracechurch-Street*, where I saw *Mr. Penn* speaking to the People, but I could not hear what he said, because of the Noise; I endeavoured to make way to take him, but I could not get to him for the Crowd of People; upon which *Capt. Mead* came to me, about the Kennel of the Street, and desired me to let him go on; for when he had done, he would bring *Mr. Penn* to me.

COURT. What Number do you think might be there?

COOK. About three or four Hundred People.

COURT. Call *Richard Read*, give him his Oath.

READ being sworn was ask'd, what do you know concerning the Prisoners at the Bar?

READ. My Lord, I went to *Gracechurch Street*, where I found a great Crowd of People, and I heard *Mr. Penn* preach to them; and I saw *Capt. Mead* speaking to *Lieutenant Cook*, but what he said, I could not tell.

MEAD. What did *William Penn* say?

READ. There was such a great Noise, that I could not tell what he said.

MEAD. Jury, observe this Evidence, He saith he heard him Preach, and yet faith, he doth not know what he said.

Jury, take notice, he swears now a clean contrary thing to what he swore me in *Gracechurch-Street*, and yet swore before the Mayor, when I was committed, that he did not see me there. I appeal to the Mayor himself, if this be not true. But no Answer was given.

COURT. What Number do you think might be there?

READ. About four or five hundred.

PENN. I desire to know of him what Day it was?

READ. The 14th Day of August.

PEN. Did he speak to me, or let me know he was there; for I am very sure I never saw him.

CLER. Cryer, call ——— into the Court.

CLER. Give him his Oath.

———. My Lord, I saw a great Number of People, and *Mr. Penn* I suppose was speaking; I see him make a Motion with his Hands, and heard some Noise, but could not understand what he said. But for *Capt. Mead*, I did not see him there.

REC. What say you, *Mr. Mead*, were you there?

MEAD. It is a Maxim in your own Law, *Nemo tenetur accusare seipsum*, which if it be not true Latin, I am sure it is true English, That no Man is bound to accuse himself. And why dost thou offer to ensnare me with such a Question? Doth not this shew thy Malice? Is this like unto a Judge, that ought to be Counsel for the Prisoner at the Bar?

REC. Sir, hold your Tongue, I did not go about to ensnare you.

PEN. I desire we may come more close to the Point, and that Silence be commanded in the Court.

CRY. O yes, all manner of Persons keep Silence upon Pain of Imprisonment — Silence Court.

PEN. We confess our selves to be so far from recanting, or declining to vindicate the Assembling of our selves to Preach, Pray, or Worship the Eternal, Holy, Just God, that we declare to all the World, that we do believe it to be our indispensable Duty, to meet incessantly upon so good an Account; nor shall all the Powers upon Earth be able to divert us from reverencing and adoring our God who made it.



BROWN. You are not here for worshipping God, but for breaking the Law; you do yourselves a great deal of Wrong in going on in that Discourse.

PEN. I affirm I have broken no Law, nor am I guilty of the Indictment that is laid to my Charge; and to the End the Bench, the Jury, and my self, with these that hear us, may have a more direct Understanding of this Procedure, I desire you would let me know by what Law it is you prosecute me, and upon what Law you ground my Indictment.

REC. Upon the Common Law.

PEN. Where is that Common Law?

REC. You must not think that I am able to run up so many Years, and over so many adjudged Cases, which we call Common Law, to answer your Curiosity.

PEN. This Answer I am sure is very short of my Question, for if it be Common, it should not be so hard to produce.

REC. Sir, will you plead to your Indictment?

PEN. Shall I, plead to an Indictment that hath no Foundation in Law? If it contain that Law you say I have broken, why should you decline to produce that Law, since it will be impossible for the Jury to determine, or agree to bring in their Verdict, who have not the Law produced, by which they should measure the Truth of this Indictment, and the Guilt, or contrary of my Fact?

REC. You are a sawcy Fellow, speak to the Indictment.

PEN. I say, it is my place to speak to Matter of Law; I am arraign'd a Prisoner; my Liberty, which is next to Life it self, is now concerned: You are many Mouths and Ears against me, and if I must not be allowed to make the best of my Case, it is hard. I say again, unless you shew me, and the People, the Law you ground your Indictment upon, I shall take it for granted your Proceedings are meerly Arbitrary.

OBSER. At this time several upon the Bench urged hard upon the Prisoner to bear him down.

REC. The Question is, whether you are guilty of this Indictment?

PEN. The Question is not whether I am guilty of this Indictment, but whether this Indictment be legal. It is too general and imperfect an Answer, to say it is the. Common Law, unless we knew both where, and what it is: For where there is no Law, there is no Transgression; and that Law which is not in being, is so far from being Common, that it is no Law at all.

REC. You are an impertinent Fellow, will you teach the Court what Law is? It's *Lex non scripta*, that which many have studied thirty or forty Years to know, and would you have me to tell you in a Moment?

PEN. Certainly, if the Common Law be so hard to be understood, it's far from being very Common; but if the *Lord Cook*, in his Institutes, be of any Consideration, he tells us, That Common Law is Common Right, and that Common Right is the Great Charter-Privileges: Confirmed 9 *Hen.* 3. 29. 25, *Edw.* I. i. 2, *Edw.* 3. 8, *Cook Instit.* 2 p. 56.

REC. Sir, you are a troublesome Fellow, and it is not for the Honour of the Court to suffer you to go on.

PEN. I have asked but one Question, and you have not answer'd me; tho' the Rights and Privileges of every *Englishman* be concerned in it.

REC. If I should suffer you to ask Questions till to Morrow Morning, you would be never the wiser.

PEN. That is according as the Answers are.

REC. Sir, we must not stand to hear you talk all Night.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

PEN. I design no Affront to the Court, but to be heard in my just Plea: And I must plainly tell you, that if you will deny me Oyer of that Law, which you suggest I have broken, you do at once deny me an acknowledged Right, and evidence to the whole World your Resolution to sacrifice the Privileges of *Englishmen* to your sinister and Arbitrary Designs.

REC. Take him away. My Lord, if you take not some Course with this pestilent Fellow, to stop his Mouth, We shall not be able to do any thing to Night.

MAYOR. Take him away, take him away, turn him into the Bale-dock.

PEN. These are but so many vain Exclamations; is this Justice or true Judgment? Must I therefore be taken away because I plead for the Fundamental Laws of England? However, this I leave upon your Consciences, who are of the Jury (and my sole Judges) that if these Ancient Fundamental Laws, which relate to Liberty and Property, and (are not limited to particular Persuasions in Matters of Religion) must not be indispensibly maintained and observed. Who can say he hath Right to the Coat upon his Back? Certainly our Liberties are openly to be invaded, our Wives to be ravished, our Children slaved, our Families ruined, and our Estates led away in Triumph, by every sturdy Beggar and malicious Informer, as their Trophies, but our (pretended) Forfeits for Conscience sake. The Lord of Heaven and Earth will be Judge between us in this Matter. REC. Be silent there.

REC. Be silent there.

PEN. I am not to be silent in a Case wherein I am so much concerned, and not only my self, but many ten thousand Families besides.

OBSER. They having rudely haled him into the Bale-dock, *William Mead* they left in Court, who spake as followeth.

MEAD. You Men of the Jury, here I do now stand, to answer to an Indictment against me, which is a Bundle of Stuff, full of Lyes and Falshoods; for therein I am accused, that I met *Vi & armis, illicite & tumultuose*: Time was, when I had Freedom to use a carnal Weapon, and then I thought I feared no Man; but now I fear the Living God, and dare not make use thereof, nor hurt any Man; nor do I know I demeaned my self as a tumultuous Person: I say, I am a peaceable Man, therefore it is a very proper Question what *William Penn* demanded in this Case, An Oyer of the Law, in which our Indictment is grounded.

REC. I have made Answer to that already.

MEAD. Turning his Face to the Jury, saith, you Men of the Jury, who are my Judges, if the Recorder will not tell you what makes a Riot, a Rout, or an unlawful Assembly, Cook, he that once they called the Lord Cook, tells us what makes a Riot, a Rout, and an unlawful Assembly — A Riot is when three, or more, are met together to beat a Man, or to enter forcibly into another Man's Land, to cut down his Grass, his Wood, or break down his Pales.

OBSER. Here the Recorder interrupted him, and said, I thank you Sir, that you will tell me what the Law is, scornfully pulling off his Hat.

MEAD. Thou mayst put on thy Hat, I have never a Free for thee now.

BROWN. He talks at random, one while an Independent, another while some other Religion, and now a Quaker, and next a Papist.

MEAD. *Turpe est doctori cum culpa redarguit ad ipsum.*

MAY. You deserve to have your Tongue cut out.

REC. If you discourse on this Manner, I shall take Occasion against you.

MEAD. Thou didst promise me, I should have fair Liberty to be heard; why may I not have the Privilege of an *Englishman*? I am an *Englishman*, and you might be ashamed of this dealing.



REC. I look upon you to be an Enemy to the Laws of England, which ought to be observed and kept, nor are you worthy of such Privileges, as others have.

MEAD. The Lord is Judge between me and thee in this Matter.

OBSER. Upon which they took him away into the Bale-dock, and the Recorder proceeded to give the Jury their Charge, as followeth.

REC. You have heard what the Indictment is. It is for preaching to the People, and drawing a tumultuous Company after them, and *Mr. Penn* was speaking; if they should not be disturbed, you see they will go on; there are three or four Witnesses that have proved this, that he did preach there; that Mr. Mead did allow of it; after this, you have heard by substantial Witnesses what is said against them: Now we are upon the Matter of Fact, which you are to keep to, and observe, as what hath been fully sworn, at your Peril.

OBSER. The Prisoners were put out of the Court into the Bale-dock, and the Charge given to the Jury in their Absence, at which W.P. with a very raised Voice, it being a considerable distance from the Bench, spake.

PEN. I appeal to the Jury, who are Judges, and this great Assembly, the Proceedings of the Court are not most Arbitrary, and void of all Law, in offering to give the Jury their Charge in the Absence of the Prisoners; I say, it is directly opposite to, and destructive of, the undoubted Right of every English Prisoner, as *Cook* in the 2 *Instit.* 29. on the Chap. of *Magna Charta*, speaks.

OBSER. The Recorder being thus unexpectedly lash'd for his extrajudicial Procedure, said, with an enraged Smile.

REC. Why, ye are present, you do hear, do you not?

PEN: No thanks to the Court, that commanded me into the Bale-dock; and you of the Jury take notice, that I have not been heard, neither can you legally depart the Court, before I have been fully heard, having at least ten or twelve material Points to offer, in order to invalid their Indictment.

REC. Pull that Fellow down, pull him down.

MEAD. Are these according to the Rights and Privileges of *Englishmen*, that we should not be heard, but turned into the Bale-dock, for making our Defence, and the Jury to have their Charge given them in our Absence; I say these are barbarous and unjust Proceedings.

REC. Take them away into the Hole: To hear them talk all Night, as they would, that I think doth not become the Honour of the Court, and I think you (i.e. the Jury) your selves would be tired out, and not have Patience to hear them.

OBSER. The Jury were commanded up to agree upon their Verdict, the Prisoners remaining in the stinking Hole. After an Hour and half's time eight came down agreed, but four remained above; the Court sent an Officer for them, and they accordingly came down. The Bench used many unworthy Threats to the four that dissented; and, the Recorder, addressing himself to *Bushel*, said, Sir, You are the Cause of this Disturbance, and manifestly shew your self an Abettor of Faction; I shall set a Mark upon you, Sir.

J. ROBINSON. *Mr. Bushel*, I have known you near this fourteen Years; you have thrust your self upon this Jury, because you think there is some Service for you. I tell you, you deserve to be indicted more than any Man that hath been brought to the Bar this Day.

BUSHEL. No, *Sir John*, there were threescore before me, and I would willingly have got off, but could not.

BLOODW. I said, when I saw *Mr. Bushel*, what I see is come to pass, for I knew he would never yield. *Mr. Bushel*, we know what you are.

MAY. Sirrah, you are an impudent Fellow, I will put a Mark upon you.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

OBSER. They used much menacing Language, and behaved themselves very imperiously to the Jury, as Persons not more void of Justice than sober Education: After this barbarous Usage, they sent them to consider of bringing in their Verdict, and after some considerable time they returned to the Court. Silence was call'd for, and the Jury call'd by their Names.

CLER. Are you agreed upon your Verdict?

JURY. Yes.

CLER. Who shall speak for you?

JURY. Our Fore-man.

CLER. Look upon the Prisoners at the Bar. How say you? Is *William Penn* Guilty of the Matter whereof he stands indicted in Manner and Form, or Not Guilty?

FORE-M. Guilty of Speaking in *Gracechurch-Street*.

COURT. Is that all?

FORE-M. That is all I have in Commission.

REC. You had as good say nothing.

MAY. Was it not an unlawful Assembly? You mean he was speaking to a Tumult of People there?

FORE-M. My Lord, This is all I had in Commission.

OBSER. Here some of the Jury seemed to buckle to the Questions of the Court; upon which, *Bushel*, Hammond, and some others, opposed themselves, and said, they allowed of no such Word, as an unlawful Assembly in their Verdict; at which the Recorder, Mayor, Robinson and Bloodworth took great occasion to villifie them with most opprobrious Language; and this Verdict not serving their Turns, the Recorder express'd himself thus.

REC. The Law of England will not allow you to part till you have given in your Verdict.

JURY. We have given in our Verdict, and we can give in no other.

REC. Gentlemen, you have not given in your Verdict, and you had as good say nothing; therefore go and consider it once more, that we may make an end of this troublesome Business.

JURY. We desire we may have Pen, Ink and Paper.

OBSER. The Court adjourn'd for half an Hour; which being expired, the Court returns, and the Jury not long after.

The Prisoners were brought to the Bar, and the Jury's Names called over.

CLER. Are you agreed of your Verdict?

JUR. Yes.

CLER. Who shall speak for you?

JUR. Our Fore-man.

CLER. What say you, look upon the Prisoners: Is *William Penn* Guilty in Manner and Form, as he stands indicted, or Not Guilty?

FORE-M. Here is our verdict, holding forth a piece of Paper to the Clerk of the Peace, We the Jurors, hereafter named, do find *William Penn* to be Guilty of Speaking or Preaching to an Assembly, met together in *Gracechurch-Street*, the 14th of August last, 1670. And that *William Mead* is Not guilty of the said Indictment.

Fore-m, *Thomas Veer*,

Edward Bushel,



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

*John Hammond,
Henry Henley,
Henry Michel,
John Brightman,
Charles Milson,
Gregory Walklet,
John Baily,
William Lever,
James Damask,
Wm. Plumsted.*

OBSER. This both Mayor and Recorder resented as so high a rate, that they exceeded the Bounds of all Reason and Civility.

MAY. What will you be led by such a silly Fellow as *Bushel*? an impudent canting Fellow? I warrant you, you shall come no more upon Juries in haste: You are a Fore-man indeed, addressing himself to the Fore-man, I thought you had understood your Place better.

PEN. My Jury, who are my Judges, ought not to be thus menaced; their Verdict should be free, and not compelled; the Bench ought to wait upon them, but not forestall them. I do desire that Justice may be done me, and that the Arbitrary Resolves of the Bench may not be made the Measure of my Jury's Verdict.

REC. Stop that prating Fellow's Mouth, or put him out of the Court.

MAY. You have heard that he preach'd, that he gathered a Company of tumultuous People, and that they do not only disobey the Martial Power, but Civil also.

PEN. It is a great Mistake; we did not make the Tumult, but they that interrupted us: The Jury cannot be so ignorant, as to think, that we met there, with a Design to disturb the Civil Peace, since (1st.) we were by Force of Arms kept out of our lawful House, and met as near it in the Street, as their soldiers would give us leave; and (2dly.) because it was no new thing (nor with the Circumstances expres'd in the Indictment) but what was usual and customary with us; 't is very well known that we are a peaceable People, and cannot offer Violence to any Man.

OBSER. The Court being ready to break up, and willing to huddle the Prisoners to their Goal, and the Jury to their Chamber, Penn spoke as follows:

PEN. The Agreement of Twelve Men is a Verdict in Law, and such a one being given by the Jury, I require the Clerk of the Peace to record it, as he will answer it at his Peril. And if the Jury bring in another Verdict contradictory to this, I affirm they are perjur'd Men in Law. And looking upon the Jury, said, You are *Englishmen*, mind your Privilege, give not away your Right.

BUSH, etc. Nor will we ever do it.

OBSER. One of the Jury-men pleaded Indisposition of Body, and therefore desired to be dismiss.

MAY. You are as strong as any of them; starve with them; and hold your Principles.

REC. Gentlemen, You must be contented with your hard Fate, let your Patience overcome it; for the Court is resolved to have a Verdict, and that before you can be dismiss.

JURY. We are agreed, we are agreed, we are agreed.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

OBSER. The Court swore several Persons, to keep the Jury all Night without Meat, Drink, Fire, or any other Accomodation; they had not so much as a Chamberpot, tho' desired.

CRY. O Yes, etc.

OBSER. The Court adjourns till Seven of the Clock next Morning (being the 4th Instant, vulgarly call'd Sunday) at which time the Prisoners were brought to the Bar: The Court sat, and the Jury called to bring in their Verdict.

CRY. O Yes, etc. — Silence in the Court, upon pain of Imprisonment.

The Jury's Names called over.

CLER. Are you agreed upon your Verdict?

JUR. Yes.

CLER. Who shall speak for you?

JUR. Our Fore-man.

CLER. What say you? Look upon the Prisoners at the Bar. Is *William Penn* Guilty of the Matter whereof he stands indicted, in Manner and Form as aforesaid, or Not guilty?

FORE-M. *William Penn* is guilty of Speaking in *Gracechurch-Street*.

MAY. To an unlawful Assembly?

BUSH. No, my Lord, we give no other Verdict than what we gave last Night; we have no other Verdict to give.

MAY. You are a factious Fellow, I '11 take a Course with you.

BLOOD. I knew *Mr. Bushel* would not yield.

BUSH. *Sir Thomas* I have done according to my Conscience.

MAY. That Conscience of yours would cut my Throat.

BUSH. No, my Lord, it never shall.

MAY. But I will cut yours so soon as I can.

REC. He has inspired the Jury; he has the Spirit of Divination, methinks I feel him. I will have a positive Verdict, or you shall starve for it.

PEN. I desire to ask the Recorder one Question, Do you allow of the Verdict given of *William Mead*?

REC. It cannot be a Verdict, because you were indicted for a Conspiracy, and one being found Not guilty, and not the other, it could not be a Verdict.

PEN. If Not guilty be not a Verdict, then you make of the Jury and Magna Charta but a meer Nose of Wax.

MEAD. How! is Not guilty no Verdict?

REC. No, 'tis no Verdict.

PEN. I affirm, that the Consent of a Jury is a Verdict in Law; and if *William Mead* be Not guilty, it consequently follows, that I am clear, since you have indicted us of a Conspiracy, and I could not possibly conspire alone.

OBSER. There were many Passages, that could not be taken, which past between the Jury and the Court. The Jury went up again, having received a fresh Charge from the Bench, if possible to extort an unjust Verdict.

CRY. O Yes, etc. Silence in the Court.

COUR. Call over the Jury. Which was done.



CLER. What say you? Is *William Penn* Guilty of the Matter whereof he stands indicted, in Manner and Form aforesaid, or Not Guilty?

FORE-MAN. Guilty of speaking in Grace-church-Street.

REC. What is this to the Purpose? I say, I will have a Verdict. And speaking to *Edw. Bushel*, said, You are a factious Fellow; I will set a Mark upon you; and whilst I have anything to do in the City, I will have an eye upon you.

MAY. Have you no more Wit than to be led by such a pitiful Fellow? I will cut his Nose.

PEN. It is intolerable that my Jury should be thus menaced: Is this according to the Fundamental Laws? Are not they my proper Judges by the great *Charter* of England? What hope is there of ever having Justice done, when Juries are threatened, and their Verdicts rejected? I am concerned to speak and grieved to see such Arbitrary Proceedings. Did not the Lieutenant of the *Tower* render one of them worse than a Felon? And do you not plainly seem to condemn such for factious Fellows, who answer not your Ends? Unhappy are those Juries, who are threatened to be fined, and starved, and ruined, if they give not in Verdicts contrary to their Consciences.

REC. My Lord, you must take a Course with that same Fellow.

MAY. Stop his Mouth; Jaylor, bring Fetters, and stake him to the Ground.

PEN. Do your Pleasure, I matter not your Fetters.

REC. Till now I never understood the Reason of the Policy and Prudence of the Spaniards, in suffering the Inquisition among them: And certainly it will never be well with us, till something like unto the Spanish Inquisition be in England.

OBSER. The Jury being required to go together to find another Verdict, and steadfastly refusing it (saying they could give no other Verdict than what was already given) the Recorder in great Passion was running off the Bench, with these Words in his Mouth, I protest I will sit here no longer to hear these Things; at which the Mayor calling, Stay, stay, he returned, and directed himself unto the Jury, and spoke as followeth:

REC. Gentlemen, we shall not be at this trade always with you; you will find the next Sessions of Parliament there will be a Law made, that those that will not conform shall not have the Protection of the Law. Mr. Lee, draw up another Verdict, that they may bring it in special.

LEE. I cannot tell how to do it.

JUR. We ought not to be return'd, having all agreed, and set our Hands to the Verdict.

REC. Your Verdict is nothing, you play upon the Court; I say you shall go together, and bring in another Verdict, or you shall starve; and I will have you charted about the City, as in Edward the Third's time.

FORE-M. We have given in our Verdict, and all agreed to it; and if we give in another, it will be a Force upon us to save our Lives.

MAY. Take them up.

OFFIC. My Lord, they will not go up.

OBSER. The Mayor spoke to the Sheriff, and he came off of his seat, and said.

SHER. Come, Gentlemen, you must go up; you see I am commanded to make you go.

OBSER. Upon which the Jury went up; and several sworn to keep them without any Accommodation, as aforesaid, till they brought in their Verdict.

CRY. O yes, etc. The Court adjourns till to Morrow Morning, at seven of the Clock.



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OBSER. The Prisoners were remanded to *Newgate*, where they remained till next Morning, and then were brought unto the Court, which being sat, they proceeded as followeth.

CRY. O yes, etc. Silence in the Court, upon pain of Imprisonment.

CLER. Set *William Penn* and *William Mead* to the Bar. Gentlemen of the Jury, answer to your Names: *Tho. Veer, Edw. Bushel, John Hammond, Henry Henly, Henry Michell, John Brightman, Charles Milson, Gregory Walklet, John Baily, William Leavet, James Damask, William Plumstead*. Are you all agreed of your Verdict?

JUR. Yes.

CLER. Who shall speak for you?

JUR. Our Fore-man.

CLER. Look upon the Prisoners. What say you? Is *William Penn* Guilty of the Matter whereof he stands indicted, in Manner and Form, etc., or Not Guilty?

FORE-MAN. Here is our Verdict in Writing, and our Hands subscribed.

OBSER. The Clerk took the paper, but was stopt by the Recorder from reading of it; and he commanded to ask for a positive Verdict.

FORE-MAN. That is our Verdict; we have subscribed to it.

CLER. How say you? Is *William Penn* Guilty, &c., or Not Guilty?

FORE-MAN. Not guilty.

CLER. How say you? Is *William Mead* Guilty, &c., or Not Guilty?

FORE-MAN. Not guilty.

CLER. Then hearken to your Verdict; you say that *William Penn* is Not Guilty in Manner and Form as he stands indicted; you say that *William Mead* is Not guilty in Manner and Form as he stands indicted, and so you say all?

JUR. Yes, we do so.

OBSER. The Bench being unsatisfied with the Verdict, commanded that every Person should distinctly answer to their Names, and give in their Verdict, which they unanimously did, in saying, Not Guilty, to the great Satisfaction of the Assembly.

REC. I am sorry, Gentlemen, you have followed your own Judgments and Opinions, rather than the good and wholesome Advice, which was given you; God keep my Life out of your Hands; but for this the Court Fines you forty Mark a Man; and Imprisonment till paid. At which *Penn* stept up towards the Bench, and said:

PEN. I demand my Liberty, being freed by the Jury.

MAY. No, you are in for your Fines.

PEN. Fines, for what?

MAY. For contempt of the Court.

PEN. I ask, if it be according to the Fundamental Laws of England, that any English-Man should be Fined or Amerced, but by the Judgment of his Peers or Jury; since it expressly contradicts the fourteenth and twenty-ninth Chap. of the great Charter of England, which say, No Free-Man ought to be amerced, but by the Oath of good and Lawful Men of the Vicinage.

REC. Take him away, Take him away, take him out of the Court.



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PEN. I can never urge the Fundamental Laws of England, but you cry, Take him away, take him away. But it is no wonder, Since the Spanish Inquisition hath so great a place in the Recorder's Heart. God Almighty, who is just, will judge you all for these things.

ORSER. They haled the Prisoners into the Bale-dock, and from thence sent them to *Newgate*, for Non-payment of their Fines; and so were their Jury.

[\[End of transcript.\]](#)

Appendix:

(Several letters of *William Penn* from *Newgate Prison* to his father, *William Penn* the Admiral, taken from another source.)

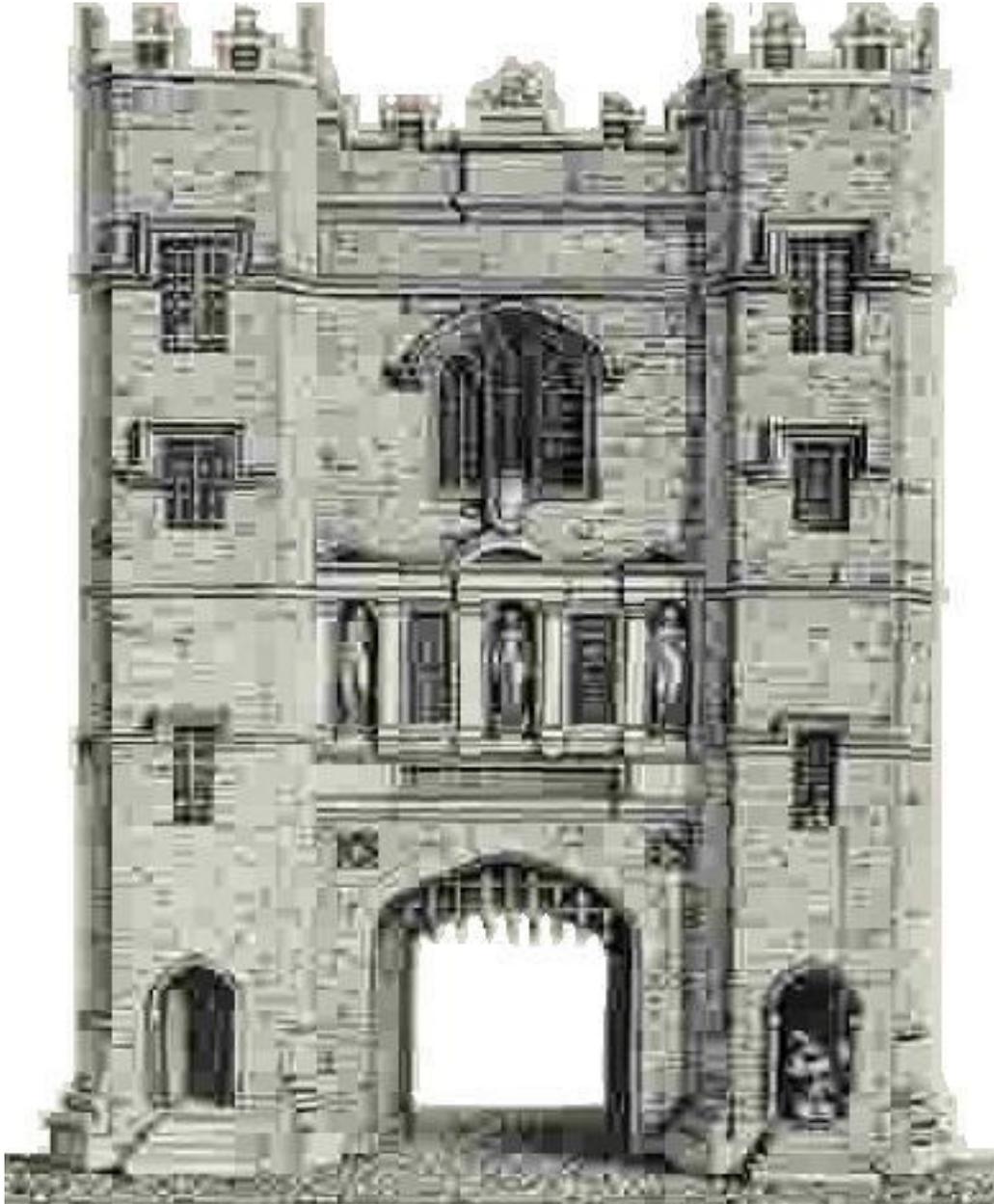
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WHAT?

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5th of 7th month, 1670.

Dear Father,



Because I cannot come, I write. These are to let thee know that this morning about sever we were remanded to the sessions. The jury, after two nights and two days being locked up, came down and offered their former verdict; but that being refused as not positive, they explained themselves by pronouncing the prisoners Not Guilty. Upon this the bench were amazed, and the whole court so satisfied they made a kind of hymn. But that the Mayor, Recorder, and Robinson might add to their malice, they fined us for not pulling off our hats, and have kept us prisoners for the money — an injurious trifle, which will blow over, as we shall bring it to the Common Pleas, because it was against law, as not sessed by a jury.

How great a dissatisfactions their actions have begot may reasonably be conjectured by the bare mention of them.

1st. — That the jury was about six times rejected in their verdict; and besides illegal menaces, were kept two days and two nights without bed, [tobacco](#), provisions, etc.

2nd. — That a session should be held on the first day of the week.

3rd. — That the jury, the only judges by law, should be fined forty marks each for the verdict they brought in, and to be prisoners till they have paid it. However, their verdict for us is accepted, because they dare not deny it.

This is the substance. The particular circumstances I shall personally relate, if the Lord will. I am more concerned at thy distemper and the pains that attend it, than at my own mere imprisonment, which works for the best.

I am, dear father,

Thy obedient son,

William Penn.

Newgate, 6th, 7th mo., 1670.

Dear Father,

I desire thee not to be troubled at my present confinement; I could scarce suffer on a better account, nor by a worse hand, and the will of God be done. It is more grievous and uneasy to me that that should be so heavily exercised, God Almighty knows, than any world confinement. I am cleared by the jury, and they are here in my place, and resolved to lie till they get out by law. Every six hours they demand their freedom, by advice of counsel.

They (the court) have so overshot themselves, that the generality of people much detest them. I entreat thee not to purchase my liberty. They will repent them of their proceedings. I am now a prisoners notoriously against law. I desire in fervent prayer the Lord God to strengthen and support thee, and to anchor thy mind in thoughts of the immutable blessed state which is over all perishing concerns.

I am, dear father,

Thy obedient son,

William Penn.

Newgate, 7th September, 1670.

Dear Father,

I am truly grieved to hear of thy present illness.

If God in His holy will did see meet that I should be freed, I could heartily embrace it; yet, considering I cannot be free but upon such terms as strengthen their arbitrary and base proceedings, I rather choose to suffer nay hardship, and I am persuaded some clearer way will suddenly be found to obtain my liberty; which is no way so desirable to me as on the account of being with thee.



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I am not without hope that the Lord will sanctify the endeavours of thy physician unto a cure, and then much of my solicitude will be at an end. My present restraint is so far from being humour, that I would rather perish than release myself by an indirect course, or to satiate their revengeful, avaricious appetites. The advantage of such freedom would fall very short of the trouble of accepting it. Solace thy mind in the thoughts of better things, dear father. Let not this wicked world disturb thy mind, and whatever shall come to pass, I hope in all conditions to approve myself thy obedient son,

William Penn.



THE INTRIGUING DOCTRINE OF

JURY NULLIFICATION

Julius J. Marke

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Jury nullification, despite the role it played in the O.J. Simpson trial, has had a long and meaningful tradition. In that context, the Seventeenth Century trial of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, and Bushell's Case which arose from it, played a dramatically inspiring role.

Prior to Penn's trial, judges could require juries in criminal trials to render a verdict not only on the facts in issue, but as well, on the applicable law. Questions of law involved in criminal cases, judges then maintained, were not so complicated as to excuse jurors from reaching a verdict.

Judges used many methods to force a jury to do as they charged. A jury could be locked up, without water, food, heat, [tobacco](#), or light, until it returned a unanimous verdict or one the judge directed. Judges could also levy a fine against members of the jury if they brought in a contrary or "corrupt" verdict and even impose imprisonment until the fine was paid.

Penn was placed on trial in the Old Bailey Court in 1670 for the crime of "tumultuous assembly," because he preached a sermon in Grace Church Street in violation of the "Conventicle Act" which prohibited any meeting for worship other than those of the Church of England. The Court ordered the jury to find Penn guilty, for if they found the Quakers had met at all, the very meeting by itself was unlawful. The jury, however, found that the meeting had taken place, but refused to find the law had been violated.

Penn, at the time, was only 26 years old, and had to conduct his own defense, as accused persons in criminal cases in those days were not allowed counsel to represent them.

The trial is a dramatic example of the cavalier methods used by judges at the time. The jury consisted of twelve ordinary middle-class men selected at random from the jury rolls of the City of London. The ten judges who heard the case included the Lord Mayor, the Recorder (a Magistrate), and other representatives of government who were motivated to enforce the "Conventicle Act."

As we read the transcript of the trial (which Penn published in 1670 as the Peoples Ancient and Just Liberties, Asserted in the Trial of William Penn and William Mead ... Against The Most Arbitrary Procedure Of That Court.), Penn's logic and legal acumen must be admired. He baited the judges so skillfully on the role of the Common law, that they in turn tired to heckle and bully him. Finally, completely frustrated, they ordered that he be locked up in the bale dock. The bale dock was a locked cage, recessed below the floor level, located at the very end of the courtroom. There he could be heard but not seen by the jury.

When the jury returned a verdict of "guilty of speaking in Grace Church Street," the Lord Mayor shouted out, "was it not an unlawful assembly? You mean he was speaking to a tumult of people there?" The jury refused to so find.

The Recorder then angrily responded "Gentlemen, you shall not be dismissed till you bring in a verdict which the court will accept. You shall be locked up, without meat, drink, fire and [tobacco](#). You shall not think thus to abuse the court. We will have a verdict by the help of God or you shall starve for it."



Penn objected: “My jury, who are my judges, ought not to be thus menaced. Their verdict should be free-not forced. The agreement of twelve men is a verdict in law ... and if, after this, the jury brings in another verdict, contrary to this, I affirm they are perjured men.”

At this point while Penn was still talking, the soldiers started to push the jury back to the jury room and then occurred one of the most inspiring incidents in the annals of English jurisprudence.

Penn called out: “Ye are Englishmen, mind your privilege, give not away your right.”

And the jury replied, “Nor will we ever do it.”

The jury was kept for two days and nights, without food, water, and heat, but refused to change its verdict. Finally the court ended the trial abruptly, fining each juror forty marks and committing them to imprisonment until they paid their fines.

Bushell, the foreman, and the other jurors obtained a writ of habeas corpus from the Court of Common Pleas.

Releasing them from their imprisonment, Chief Justice Sir John Vaughan held “...for if it be demanded what is the fact? The judge cannot answer it: if it be asked, what is the law in this case, the jury cannot answer it.”

Although the judgment was later reversed on appeal because the Court of Common Pleas did not have jurisdiction in criminal matters, Bushell’s Case established the right of trial juries to decide cases according to their convictions.

Andrew Hamilton, one of the foremost attorneys in the Colonies, used the case with telling effect as a precedent in Peter Zenger’s trial in 1735 in New York, which established freedom of the press.

Zenger was accused of publishing a seditious libel in his newspaper defaming the Governor General of the Province of New York. Though the Court ruled that the truth of a seditious libel could not be set up as a defense as a matter of law, Hamilton insisted, based on Bushell’s Case, that it is for the jury to determine whether Zenger’s comments were true. “The right of the jury,” he argued, “to find such a verdict in their conscience do think is agreeable to their evidence, is supported by the authority of Bushell’s Case beyond any doubt....”

The jury followed his advice, and despite the judge’s charge to the contrary, acquitted Zenger.

Bushell’s Case gave a new meaning to the jury system in that it made the jury an equal to the executive and legislative branches of the government in the enforcement of criminal law.

In this context, it is recognized as the power of the jury to nullify the law by reflecting in their verdict the “Conscience of the Community,” and is considered “one of the most potent forces in the criminal law.”

As brought out by Professor A.D. Leipold, in his article “Rethinking Jury Nullification,” (82 Va.L.Rev. 253, March 1996) “Nullification occurs when the defendant’s guilt is clear beyond a reasonable doubt, but the jury based on its own sense of justice or fairness, decides to acquit [against the evidence, the judge’s legal instructions and a legislative definition of culpable conduct]. In terms of raw power, nullification has few parallels: rarely can a public entity, make such a critical decision with no obligation to justify its action and with no recourse for the aggrieved party.”

Jury nullification has been praised, in that the acquittal reflects a democratic process by which the jury can interpose its own moral or political judgment in defiance of an unpopular expression of governmental action.

By the same process however, it has been denounced as an act of anarchy.

In addition to the Simpson Case, jury nullification has played a significant role in other recent high profile cases, in which despite the obvious evidence that the defendant committed the crime charged yet the jury disregarded the evidence and acquitted in whole or part. For example, those involving Washington D.C. Mayor Marion Barry



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(although the Mayor was videotaped smoking cocaine, the jury convicted Barry of only one misdemeanor count of drug possession, acquitted on another and deadlocked on the remaining twelve charges); Dr. Jack Kevorkian (although the evidence was uncontroverted that Kevorkian had assisted in the suicide of the deceased, in violation of Michigan law, still the jury acquitted him); and Oliver North, (a former White House aid, was acquitted of nine of the twelve charges against him, in that he lied to Congress, obstructed justice by diverting funds in the sale of arms to Iran and money to the Nicaraguan Contra rebels, despite the judge's charge that his claim that he acted on the orders of superiors, was not a defense, still the jury convicted him only on the charges that he acted alone). In his book, "A Crime of Self Defense" (1996), Prof. George Fletcher, thoughtfully adds: "Although jury nullification seems to stand in conflict with the rule of law [still] careful reflection underscores the power of the jury not to defeat the law, but to perfect the law, to realize the law's inherent values!"

1671

Richard Borden of [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#) died. In the estate of this [Quaker](#) we can't help but notice that among the livestock are listed not only swine, pigs, turkeys, geese, and fowls, but also a negro man and woman valued at £50 and their three children valued at £25.

SLAVERY



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, WHERIN IT IS POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO BE FAVED. 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 FORT AND ANOTHER PROVED BY MANY INFALLIBLE ARGUEMENTS, IN THE EVIDENCE AND DEMONFTRATION OF THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH, ACCORDING TO SCRIPTURE TESTIMONIES AND FOUND REAFON. WITH THE OBJECTIONS OF ANY FEEMING WEIGHT AGAINFT IT, ANFWERED BY GEORGE KEITH:¹¹⁸

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, wherin 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 found 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

118. 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.



In his GOSPEL FAMILY-ORDER: BEING A SHORT DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE ORDERING OF FAMILIES, BOTH OF WHITES AND BLACKS AND INDIANS, Friend [George Fox](#) sought to negate the racism associated with the curse of God upon the son of Noah who saw his nakedness, by saying that it was not a curse upon a race but a curse upon any who spend themselves in “debaucheries.” What the curse means is not racial at all, could in no way serve as any defense of the practice of enslavement, but was merely a warning that should a people “serve sin and Evil, they must look for Destruction, both of families and Nations, who profess in God in words, but deny him in their works, lives, and conversations.” Regardless of race, there is a spiritual kinship which unites all who truly lead lives of faithfulness. Therefore instruct slaves, and preach “to the Ethiopians, the Blacks, and Tawnymoors ... Jesus Christ to them in your families.” Fox’s practical proposal was that, since spiritual conditions are so more important than physical conditions, the way out of the situation is to begin to treat present [slaves](#) not as slaves but as indentured servants, in the Jewish “poor brother slave” tradition.

As slaves were freed after a period of service, they were not simply to be turned loose, but were to be compensated for their slave labor so that they would have the means with which to begin free life (and, in fact, later, Quakers were the only body of the English community to provide such compensation along with the [manumission](#) papers). In about the same period, Fox wrote in his journal:

Then as to their blacks or negroes, I desire them to endeavor to train them up in the fear of God, as well them that were bought with their money as them that were born in their families, that all might come to the knowledge of the Lord; that so, with Joshua, every master of a family might say, "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." I desire them also that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and not use cruelty toward them, as the manner of some hath been and is; and that after certain years of servitude they would make them free. Many sweet and precious things were opened in these meetings by the Spirit, and in the power of the Lord, to the edifying, confirming, and building up of Friends, both in the faith and holy order of the gospel.

Ann Conway was acquainted with Friend [George](#) and other early Friends, and herself would become a [Quaker](#) shortly before her death. Written in English presumably during this period between 1671 and 1675 and published posthumously in 1890 in Latin translation, her THE PRINCIPLES OF THE MOST ANCIENT AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY, CONCERNING GOD, CHRIST, AND THE CREATURE; THAT IS CONCERNING SPIRIT AND MATTER IN GENERAL would have an influence upon Leibniz. When an English edition would be prepared in 1692, it would have to be back-translated from the Latin version, the original manuscript in the meanwhile having been lost. (In 1996 her opus would be republished by Cambridge UP in a new translation as edited by Alison P. Coudert and Taylor Corse.)

At this point in the writings, the chronology of events is reiterated: The sentence of *præmunire* had been passed against Margaret Fell in 1663, whereupon for about seven years (George Fox supposed ten years) she had been the prisoner of the Binges, and her estate in jeopardy. She was taken to prison again about three months after their marriage, in 1669. When the husband received notice of this, he sent two of her daughters to the King



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and the King ordered the sheriff of Lancashire to release her. One would have supposed that with such a writ, she would have been set at liberty, but in the storm of persecution that had come suddenly over England, the local authorities found means to hold her still.

Fox's AMERICAN DIARIES, which date to this period between 1671 and 1673, are the **only** materials now extant which may correctly be characterized as a "[JOURNAL](#)" kept by Fox. They are the only ones, that is, which are even roughly contemporary with the events of his life which are described in what now purports to have been his journals — and they also happen to be the only ones of which any originals have survived for us to evaluate the extent of the editorial emendations which have silently been made in layer after layer upon the basal materials:

But now the persecution a little ceasing, I was moved to speak to Martha Fisher, and another woman Friend, to go to the King about her liberty. They went in the faith, and in the Lord's power; and He gave them favour with the King, so that he granted a discharge under the broad seal, to clear both her and her estate, after she had been ten years a prisoner, and præmunired; the like whereof was scarce to be heard in England.

** I sent down the discharge forthwith by a Friend; by whom also I wrote to her, to inform her how to get it delivered to the justices, and also to acquaint her that it was upon me from the Lord to go beyond sea, to visit the plantations in America; and therefore I desired her to hasten to London, as soon as she could conveniently after she had obtained her liberty, because the ship was then fitting for the voyage. In the meantime I got to Kingston, and stayed at John Rous's till my wife came up, and then I began to prepare for the voyage. But the yearly meeting being near at hand, I tarried till that was over. Many Friends came up to it from all parts of the nation, and a very large and precious meeting it was; for the Lord's power was over all, and His glorious, everlastingly-renowned Seed of Life was exalted above all.*

[JOURNAL](#)

August 12: A fast but leaky vessel, the *Industry*, sailed from England for the New World with 13 [Quaker](#) preachers aboard, on a missionary journey first to the West Indies and then to North America. One of the Quaker missionary preachers was [George Fox](#).



After this meeting was over, and I had finished my services for the Lord in England, the ship and the Friends that intended to go with me being ready, I went to Gravesend on the 12th of Sixth month, my wife and several Friends accompanying me to the Downs.

We went from Wapping in a barge to the ship, which lay a little below Gravesend, and there we found the Friends that were bound for the voyage with me, who had gone down to the ship the night before. Their names were Thomas Briggs, William Edmundson, John Rous, John Stubbs, Solomon Eccles, James Lancaster, John Cartwright, Robert Widders, George Pattison, John Hull, Elizabeth Hooton, and Elizabeth Miers. The vessel was a yacht, called the Industry; the captain's name Thomas Forster, and the number of passengers about fifty.

I lay that night on board, but most of the Friends at Gravesend. Early next morning the passengers, and those Friends that intended to accompany us to the Downs, being come on board, we took our leave in great tenderness of those that came with us to Gravesend only, and set sail about six in the morning for the Downs.

Having a fair wind, we out-sailed all the ships that were outward-bound, and got thither by evening. Some of us went ashore that night, and lodged at Deal, where, we understood, an officer had orders from the governor to take our names in writing, which he did next morning, though we told him they had been taken at Gravesend.

In the afternoon, the wind serving, I took leave of my wife and other Friends, and went on board. Before we could sail, there being two of the King's frigates riding in the Downs, the captain of one of them sent his press-master on board us, who took three of our seamen. This would certainly have delayed, if not wholly prevented, our voyage, had not the captain of the other frigate, being informed of the leakiness of our vessel, and the length of our voyage, in compassion and much civility, spared us two of his own men.

Before this was over, a custom-house officer came on board to peruse packets and get fees; so that we were kept from sailing till about sunset; during which delay a very considerable number of merchantmen, outward-bound, were several leagues before us.

Being clear, we set sail in the evening, and next morning overtook part of that fleet about the height of Dover. We soon reached the rest, and in a little time left them all behind; for our yacht was counted a very swift sailer. But she was very leaky, so that the seamen and some of the passengers did, for the most part, pump day and night. One day they observed that in two hours' time she sucked in sixteen inches of water in the well.

JOURNAL



One of the results of this trip was a letter which has troubled the Society of Friends ever since, for it makes Fox appear to have been soft on [slavery](#). The letter was as follows:

For the Governor of Barbadoes, with his council and assembly, and all others in power, both civil and military, in this island; from the people called Quakers.

WHEREAS many scandalous lies and slanders have been cast upon us, to render us odious; as that "We deny God, and Christ Jesus, and the scriptures of truth", &c. This is to inform you, that all our books and declarations, which for these many years have been published to the world, clearly testify the contrary. Yet, for your satisfaction, we now plainly and sincerely declare, that we own and believe in God, the only wise, omnipotent, and everlasting God, who is the creator of all things both in heaven and in the earth, and the preserver of all that he hath made; who is God over all, blessed for ever; to whom be all honour, glory, dominion, praise and thanksgiving, both now and for evermore! and we own and believe in Jesus Christ, his beloved and only begotten Son, in whom he is well pleased; who was conceived by the holy ghost, and born of the virgin Mary; in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins; who is the express image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature, by whom were all things created that are in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, dominions, principalities, or powers; all things were created by him. And we own and believe that he was made a sacrifice for sin, who knew no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; and that he was crucified for us in the flesh, without the gates of Jerusalem; and that he was buried, and rose again the third day by the power of his Father, for our justification; and we believe that he ascended up into heaven, and now sitteth at the right hand of God. This Jesus, who was the foundation of the holy prophets and apostles, is our foundation; and we believe there is no other foundation to be laid but that which is laid, even Christ Jesus who we believe tasted death for every man, and shed his blood for all men, and is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world: according as John the Baptist testified of him, when he said, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world" [John 1:29]. We believe that he alone is our Redeemer and Saviour, even the captain of our salvation, who saves us from sin, as well as from hell and the wrath to come, and destroys the devil and his works; who is the seed of the woman that bruises the serpent's head, to wit, Christ Jesus, the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last. That he is (as the scriptures of truth say of him) our wisdom and righteousness, justification and redemption; neither is there salvation in any other, for there is no other name under heaven given among men whereby we may be saved. He alone is the shepherd and bishop of our souls: he is our prophet, whom Moses long since testified of saying, "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear in all things, whatsoever he shall say unto you: and it shall come to pass, that every soul that will not hear that prophet shall be destroyed from among the people" [Acts 2:22-23]. He it is that



is now come "and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true". And he rules in our hearts by his law of love and life, and makes us free from the law of sin and death. We have no life, but by him; for he is the quickening spirit, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, by whose blood we are cleansed, and our consciences sprinkled from dead works, to serve the living God. He is our Mediator, that makes peace and reconciliation between God offended and us offending; he being the oath of God, the new covenant of light, life, grace, and peace, the author and finisher of our faith. Now this Lord Jesus Christ, the heavenly man, the Emanuel, God with us, we all own and believe in; he whom the high priest raged against, and said, he had spoken blasphemy; whom the priests and elders of the Jews took counsel together against, and put to death; the same whom Judas betrayed for thirty pieces of silver, which the priests gave him as a reward for his treason; who also gave large money to the soldiers to broach a horrible lie, namely, "That his disciples came and stole him away by night whilst they slept". And after he was risen from the dead, the history of the Acts of the apostles sets forth how the chief priests and elders persecuted the disciples of this Jesus, for preaching Christ and his resurrection. This, we say, is that Lord Jesus Christ, whom we own to be our life and salvation. "And as concerning the holy scriptures, we believe they were given forth by the holy spirit of God, through the holy men of God, who "spoke as they were moved by the holy ghost" [2 Peter 1:21]. We believe they are to be read, believed, and fulfilled, (he that fulfils them is Christ): and they are "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works, (2 Tim. iii. 16.) and are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus". We believe the holy scriptures are the words of God; for it is said in Exod. xx. 1 "God spake all these words, saying", &c. meaning the ten commandments given forth upon mount Sinai. And in Rev. xxii. 18. saith John, "I testify to every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, if any man addeth unto these, and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy", (not the Word), &c. So in Luke i. 20. "Because thou believest not my words" And so in John v. 47. xv. 7. xiv. 23. xii. 47. So that we call the holy scriptures, as Christ, the apostles, and holy men of God called them, viz. the words of God. "Another slander they have cast upon us, is, "that we teach the negroes to rebel"; a thing we utterly abhor and detest in our hearts, the Lord knows it, who is the searcher of all hearts, and knows all things, and can testify for us, that this is a most abominable untruth. For that which we have spoken to them, is to exhort and admonish them to be sober, to fear God, to love their masters and mistresses, and to be faithful and diligent in their service and business, and then their masters and overseers would love them, and deal kindly and gently with them; also that they should not beat their wives, nor the wives their husbands; neither should the men have many wives; that they should not steal, nor be drunk, nor commit adultery, nor fornication, nor curse, swear, nor lie, nor give bad words to one another, nor to any one else; for there is something in them that tells them they should not practise these nor any other evils.



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But if they notwithstanding should do them, then we let them know there are but two ways, the one that leads to heaven where the righteous go; and the other that leads to hell, where the wicked and debauched, whoremongers, adulterers, murderers, and liars go. To the one the Lord will say, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world"; to the other, "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels": so the wicked go into "everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal" [Matthew 25]. Consider, friends it is no transgression for a master of a family to instruct his family himself, or for others to do it in his behalf; but rather it is a very great duty incumbent upon them. Abraham and Joshua did so: of the first, we read the Lord said, Gen. xviii. 19. "I know that Abraham will command his children, and his household after him; and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment, that the Lord may bring upon Abraham the things that he hath spoken of him". And the latter, we read, said, Josh. xxiv. 15. "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord". We declare, that we esteem it a duty incumbent on us to pray with and for, to teach, instruct, and admonish those in and belonging to our families; this being a command of the Lord, disobedience whereunto will provoke his displeasure; as may be seen in Jer. x. 25. "Pour out thy fury upon the Heathen that know thee not, and upon the families that call not upon thy name".



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Fox commented upon this letter and its circumstance, in his journal:

Now, negroes, tawnies, indians, make up a very great part of the families in this island; for whom an account will be required by him who comes to judge both quick and dead at the great day of judgment, when every one shall be "rewarded according to the deeds done in the body, whether they be good, or whether they be evil"; at that day, we say, of the resurrection both of the good and of the bad, and of the just and of the unjust, when, "the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power, when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and admired in all them that believe in that day" [2 Thessalonians 1:8, 2 Peter 3:3, &c.]. This wicked slander (of our endeavouring to make the negroes rebel) our adversaries took occasion to raise, from our having some meetings amongst the negroes; for we had several meetings with them in divers plantations, wherein we exhorted them to justice, sobriety, temperance, chastity, and piety, and to be subject to their masters and governors. Which was altogether contrary to what our envious adversaries maliciously suggested against us. As I had been to visit the governor, as soon as I was well able, after I came thither; so sometime after when I was at Thomas Rouse's, the governor came to see me, carrying himself very courteously.

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Early in September: The fast but leaky vessel sailing from England for the New World with 13 [Quaker](#) preachers aboard including Friend [George Fox](#), the *Industry*, was at about this time threatened by a [pirate](#) vessel out of



the Moorish port of Sallee.

George Fox

** When we had been about three weeks at sea, one afternoon we spied a vessel about four leagues astern of us. Our master said it was a Sallee man-of-war, that seemed to give us chase. He said, "Come, let us go to supper, and when it grows dark we shall lose him." This he spoke to please and pacify the passengers, some of whom began to be very apprehensive of the danger. But Friends were well satisfied in themselves, having faith in God, and no fear upon their spirits.*

When the sun was gone down, I saw out of my cabin the ship making towards us. When it grew dark, we altered our course to miss her; but she altered also, and gained upon us.

At night the master and others came into my cabin, and asked me what they should do. I told them I was no mariner; and I asked them what they thought was best to do. They said there were but two ways, either to outrun him, or to tack about, and hold the same course we were going before. I told them that if he were a thief, they might be sure he would tack about too; and as for outrunning him, it was to no purpose to talk of that, for they saw he sailed faster than we. They asked me again what they should do, "for," they said, "if the mariners had taken Paul's counsel, they had not come to the damage they did." I answered that it was a trial of faith, and therefore the Lord was to be waited on for counsel.

So, retiring in spirit, the Lord showed me that His life and power were placed between us and the ship that pursued us. I told this to the master and the rest, and that the best way was to tack about and steer our right course. I desired them also to put out all their candles but the one they steered by, and to speak to all the passengers to be still and quiet.

About eleven at night the watch called and said they were just upon us. This disquieted some of the passengers. I sat up in my cabin, and, looking through the port-hole, the moon being not quite down, I saw them very near us. I was getting up to go out of the cabin; but remembering the word of the Lord, that His life and power were placed between us and them, I lay down again.

The master and some of the seamen came again, and asked me if they might not steer such a point. I told them they might do as they would.

By this time the moon was quite down. A fresh gale arose, and the Lord hid us from them; we sailed briskly on and saw them no more.

The next day, being the first day of the week, we had a public meeting in the ship, as we usually had on that day throughout the voyage, and the Lord's presence was greatly among us. I desired the people to remember the mercies of the Lord, who had delivered them; for they might have been all in the Turks' hands by that time, had not the Lord's hand saved them.

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About a week after, the master and some of the seamen endeavoured to persuade the passengers that it was not a Turkish pirate that had chased us, but a merchantman going to the Canaries. When I heard of it I asked them, "Why then did you speak so to me? Why did you trouble the passengers? and why did you tack about from him and alter your course?" I told them they should take heed of slighting the mercies of God. Afterwards, while we were at Barbadoes, there came in a merchant from Sallee, and told the people that one of the Sallee men-of-war saw a monstrous yacht at sea, the greatest that ever he saw, and had her in chase, and was just upon her, but that there was a spirit in her that he could not take. This confirmed us in the belief that it was a Sallee-man we saw make after us, and that it was the Lord that delivered us out of his hands.

[JOURNAL](#)





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October 3: Captain Thomas Foster brought his ketch *Industry* to anchor within Carlisle Bay at the island of Barbadoes in the New World and the 13 [Quaker](#) preachers including 47-year-old Friend [George Fox](#) were able to rest and get their land legs back. Fox had eaten some tainted meat, and his legs and feet were badly swollen. It would require three weeks of land recuperation at the plantation house of Thomas Rous, before he would be able toward the end of the month to begin to address meetings.¹¹⁹

Handwritten signature of George Fox in cursive script.

119. Larry Gragg, Professor of Early American History at the University of Missouri-Rolla, has, in an article for that scholarly source, [History Today](#) magazine, in 2002, made the accusation that Fox had brought a dozen other Quaker Traveling Friends along with him to represent the disciples of Jesus, so that he could present himself to the New World as a Christ figure. He also observed, in the pages of this magazine, that Quakers were called Quakers because during their worship services they were guilty of regular body movements, called “quaking.” –Please don’t ask me about Professor Gragg’s powers of imagination.



The third of the Eighth month, early in the morning, we discovered the island of Barbadoes; but it was between nine and ten at night ere we came to anchor in Carlisle bay.

We got on shore as soon as we could, and I with some others walked to the house of a Friend, a merchant, whose name was Richard Forstall, above a quarter of a mile from the bridge. But being very ill and weak, I was so tired, that I was in a manner spent by the time I got thither. There I abode very ill several days, and though they several times gave me things to make me sweat, they could not effect it. What they gave me did rather parch and dry up my body, and made me probably worse than otherwise I might have been.

** Thus I continued about three weeks after I landed, having much pain in my bones, joints, and whole body, so that I could hardly get any rest; yet I was pretty cheery, and my spirit kept above it all. Neither did my illness take me off from the service of Truth; but both while I was at sea, and after I came to Barbadoes, before I was able to travel about, I gave forth several papers (having a Friend to write for me), some of which I sent by the first conveyance for England to be printed.*

Soon after I came into the island, I was informed of a remarkable passage, wherein the justice of God did eminently appear. It was thus. There was a young man of Barbadoes whose name was John Drakes, a person of some note in the world's account, but a common swearer and a bad man, who, when he was in London, had a mind to marry a Friend's daughter, left by her mother very young, with a considerable portion, to the care and government of several Friends, whereof I was one. He made application to me that he might have my consent to marry this young maid.

I told him I was one of her overseers, appointed by her mother, who was a widow, to take care of her; that if her mother had intended her for a match to any man of another profession, she would have disposed her accordingly; but she committed her to us, that she might be trained up in the fear of the Lord; and therefore I should betray the trust reposed in me if I should consent that he, who was out of the fear of God, should marry her; and this I would not do.

When he saw that he could not obtain his desire, he returned to Barbadoes with great offense of mind against me, but without a just cause. Afterwards, when he heard I was coming to Barbadoes, he swore desperately, and threatened that if he could possibly procure it, he would have me burned to death when I came there. A Friend hearing of this, asked him what I had done to him that he was so violent against me. He would not answer, but said again, "I'll have him burned." Whereupon the Friend replied, "Do not march on too furiously, lest thou come too soon to thy journey's end."

About ten days after he was struck with a violent, burning fever, of which he died; by which his body was so scorched that the people said it was as black as a coal; and three days before I landed his body was laid in the dust. This was taken notice of as a sad example.



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While I continued so weak that I could not go abroad to meetings, the other Friends that came over with me bestirred themselves in the Lord's work. The next day but one after we came on shore, they had a great meeting at the Bridge, and after that several meetings in different parts of the island; which alarmed the people of all sorts, so that many came to our meetings, and some of the chiefest rank. For they had got my name, understanding I was come upon the island, and expected to see me, not knowing I was unable to go abroad.

And indeed my weakness continued the longer on me, because my spirit was much pressed down at the first with the filth and dirt, and with the unrighteousness of the people, which lay as an heavy weight and load upon me. But after I had been above a month upon the island my spirit became somewhat easier; I began to recover my health and strength, and to get abroad among Friends. [As George Fox was too ill to travel, the meetings for worship and for business were held at the house where he was staying. Here he first dealt with the issue of human enslavement: "I desired them also that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and not use cruelty towards them as the manner of some hath been and is; and that after certain years of servitude, they would make them free."]

After I was able to go about, and had been a little amongst Friends, I went to visit the Governor, Lewis Morice, Thomas Rous, and some other Friends being with me. He received us very civilly, and treated us very kindly, making us dine with him, and keeping us the greater part of the day before he let us go away.

The same week I went to Bridgetown. There was to be a general meeting of Friends that week; and the visit I had made to the Governor, and the kind reception I had with him, being generally known to the officers, civil and military, many came to this meeting from most parts of the island, and those not of the meanest rank; several being judges or justices, colonels or captains; so that a very great meeting we had, both of Friends and others.

The Lord's blessed power was plentifully with us; and although I was somewhat straitened for time, three other Friends having spoken before me, yet the Lord opened things through me to the general and great satisfaction of them that were present. Colonel Lewis Morice came to this meeting, and with him a neighbour of his, a judge in the country, whose name was Ralph Fretwell, who was very well satisfied, and received the Truth.

Paul Gwin, a jangling Baptist, came into the meeting, and asked me how I spelt Cain, and whether I had the same spirit as the apostles had. I told him, "Yes." And he bade the judge take notice of it.

I told him, "He that hath not a measure of the same Holy Ghost as the apostles had, is possessed with an unclean spirit." And then he went his way.



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We had many great and precious meetings, both for worship and for the affairs of the Church; to the former of which many of other societies came. At one of these meetings Colonel Lyne, a sober person, was so well satisfied with what I declared that he said, "Now I can gainsay such as I have heard speak evil of you; who say, you do not own Christ, nor that He died; whereas I perceive you exalt Christ in all His offices beyond what I have ever heard before."

As I had been to visit the Governor as soon as I was well able, after I came thither, so, when I was at Thomas Rous's, the Governor came to see me, carrying himself very courteously.

FOX'S JOURNAL

End of October: Friend [George Fox](#) was finally well enough, after his problems due to eating contaminated meat during the voyage, to begin to address assemblies. The first assembly which he addressed was of 300 to 400 persons, at the plantation house of Thomas Rous. He would go on to speak in the colony's capital town, Bridgetown, at a "General Meeting," with many members of the island's elite in attendance, "colonels, and justices, and judges, and captains." He would meet a couple of times with Deputy Governor Christopher Codrington, who had control of the colony during William Lord Willoughby's absence between 1669 and 1672.

Remarks he made during this period would later be published as GOSPEL FAMILY-ORDER. He suggested that the whites not "slight" the "Ethiopians, the Blacks" among them, because Christ "died for Tawn[i]es and for the Blacks as well as for you that are called whites." He suggested that to the "Ethiopians that are in your Families," which is to say, house servants rather than field slaves, they "preach Christ," "so they may be free Men indeed." He suggested that it would be in order, to begin to keep record of the births, marriages, and deaths of their blacks. He and two other Traveling Friends, Solomon Eccles and John Stubbs, would hold several meetings among the slaves. He alarmed the planter class by suggesting that slaves who served their white masters "faithfully," perhaps for "30 yeares after more or less," might properly be set free in their old age, and not only that, but "not goe away empty handed." We can imagine the planter caste responding with something like: "Hey, [Quaker](#) dude, get a clue will you, [slavery](#) isn't about masters serving slaves — it's about slaves serving masters." Fox asked, "Did not Christ dye for the Blacks and the Taunies, as well as for the Whites? and was not [Christ's] Blood shed for all men and are they not men?" Some island clergymen, it is to be noted, charged that what Fox and the other itinerants had mind in the making of such outrageous remarks was "a Design to teach the Blacks to rebel," quote unquote. Fox would feel the need to respond, in a letter to Governor Codrington and the Assembly, that his Quakers in fact "utterly abhor[red] and detest[ed]" the prospect of slave rebellion, and merely desired to urge the island's slaves "to be sober and to fear God, and to love their masters and mistresses."

From the journal that would be published in 1715, written by Friend [William Edmundson](#), pages 65/66: At length we got within the Cape of Virginia, and up the great Bay of Cheseapeak, to the Mouth of the Patuxent River in Maryland, where we anchored ; but a violent Storm arising we could not get ashore for some Days, though our Provision and Water were spent. When the Storm ceased, Friends hearing of us, came in a Boat and Fetched us ashore.

Here we met with John Burnyeat ready to take Shipping for



England. We had several large heavenly Meetings, and the Lord's Power and Presence with us, to or great Comfort : Then we traveled severally in our Services, as the Lord Ordered us ; George Fox, John Burnyeat, and several other Friends accompanying them, traveled to New-England. I took Boat, and went to Virginia, where Things were much out of Order ; but the Lord's Power and Testimony went over all.

1672

The attorney at law Richard Bellingham, who had become the governor of the Bay Colony in 1641, in 1654, and most recently in 1665, died in office. Several months prior to his death he had visited the Boston jail and while there had purported to whisper some great secret into the ear of one of the prisoners, [Friend](#) John Stubbs. The [Quaker](#) prisoner reported afterward that what the Governor had taken the time to whisper into his ear was that the devil had sucked his blood, and so he was sealed to the devil. When Friend George Fox would learn that this governor had died, he would record that the governor had died “distracted, when the vengeance was revealed from heaven upon him for his wickedness.” (Fox was forever needing to reassure himself that God was on his side by persuading himself that God had played one or another supremely nasty trick on an enemy.)

A

Chronological TABLE

*Of the most remarkable passages in that part of
America, known to us by the name of NEW-
ENGLAND.*

Anno Dom.

1672. Mr. *Richard Bellingham*, Governour of the
Massachusets in *New-England*.

Beginning in about this year, and continuing until about 1678, a series of three daughters, Hannah Smith, Sarah Smith, and Deborah Smith, would be being born to [John Smith](#) and the new wife [Friend](#) Ruhamah Kirby Smith whom he would marry in about 1674 — presumably in Dartmouth, probably in that sequence.

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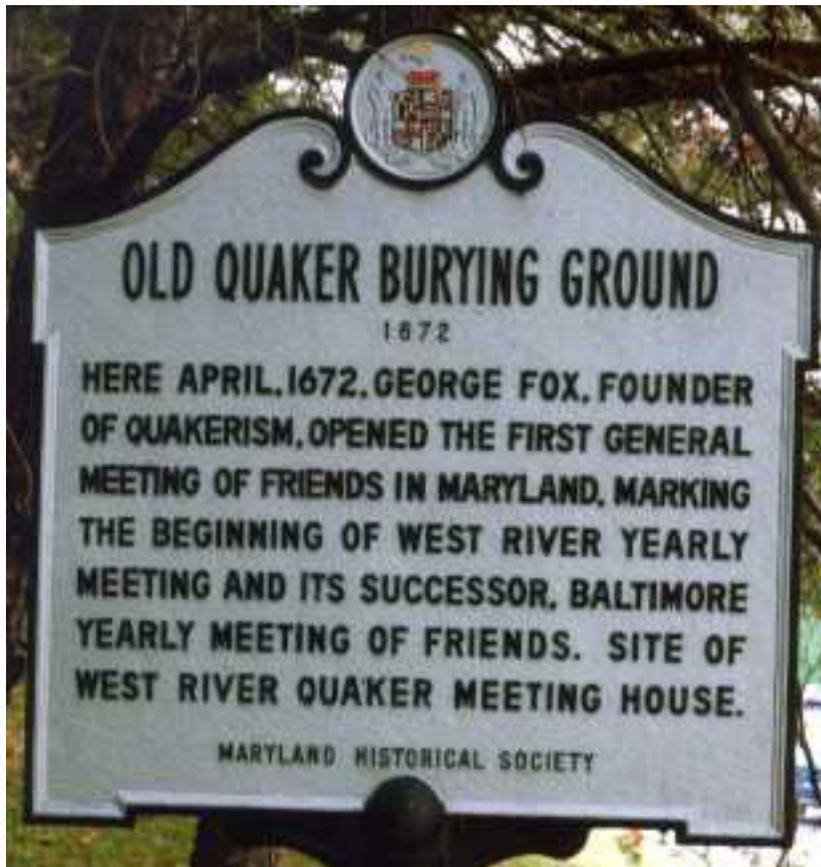
Friend Daniel Gould of [Newport](#) became a Representative (at this point the government of the colony of [Rhode Island](#) had come under control of the [Quakers](#)).

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Katherine Palmer, who had several times been accused of [witchcraft](#), filed a charge of libel against an accuser.



Friend [George Fox](#) rode through the colonies of the Eastern seaboard of the North American continent, especially in and around Southern Maryland, sleeping out as he had done in his youth in his leathern suit in northern England (he reports, unsurprisingly, that sleeping on frozen ground makes one “very cold”), primarily to counter the influence on American [Quakers](#) that was being exercised by John Perrot of Boston, which he among others regarded as excessive; however, he displayed a special interest in obtaining conversations with Native Americans, since he presumed that these people whom he believed to be totally unfamiliar with the Gospel might be able to instruct him as to the extent to which what he knew as the “saving light of Christ” is quite universal, that is, enlightens everyone and is not necessarily mediated by the Holy Scripture of a particular culture, may be assisted by but does not require close familiarity with Gospel manifestations of the saving light, is not contingent upon any very particularly cultural heritage.

George Fox



Friend George attended several established meetings, including one called “Patuxent.” He was present at the General Meeting of Friends on West River, which would become the Baltimore [Yearly Meeting](#). He would write of staying at the home of James Preston, son of the Richard Preston who had died in 1669. On one occasion, returning from a trip on horseback with James Preston, the home was found to have been burned and his chest destroyed, “due to a careless wench.”

Catholic *conquistadores* of the 16th Century, wherever anything in the faith of the Aztecs or the Incas



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reminded them of some portion of their own rites and rituals, detected only the mocking spirit of the Devil; this Quaker missionary of the 17th Century, on the other hand, was prepared to experience in any similarity a universality of the human spiritual experience of the Divine. After all, if the light came only from Holy Scripture, then how did Father Abraham in the BIBLE get the light? The scripture that tells us about his life could not have existed during his lifetime! Abraham's seed was blessed not because Abraham adhered to scripture but, according to Genesis 22:16, because he "obeyed my voice." Fox had never been able to have such conversations with people in England, could not even have them with European intrusives in America, because any noticed similarities might perfectly well be explained as due to commonalities of cultural background rather than commonalities of human nature. In his journal Fox records about a dozen such encounters, some of them one-on-one conversations, others at large gatherings. While he did use these encounters as an opportunity to witness to his gospel message,¹²⁰ Fox also made careful essays at comparing native reports of spiritual experiences with his own.¹²¹ It was Fox's belief, or his trust, according to the assertion in Joel 2:28 that the Holy Spirit is poured out upon **all flesh**, that even when the scriptures were not known or the gospel preached, the hold of the Holy Spirit could be detected upon the human soul. The question he kept asking his Native American informants was a simple one:

Did they know something within them which reprov'd them when they did wrong?

All Fox's encounters were friendly and affirmative, but on several occasions they went beyond this and created an ongoing relationship between local Quaker groups and Native Americans. One such occasion was when Fox twice addressed a group of leaders in Maryland:

... and they heard the word of the lord and did confess to it. And what I said to the kings and emperor ... I desired them to speak to their people, that God is setting up his tabernacle of witness in their wilderness countries and setting up his glorious ensign and standard of righteousness. And they asked when we had meetings and they said they would come to them and were very loving.



120. [George Fox](#). JOURNAL, ed. John Nickalls. Cambridge, England: University Press, 1952, page 643.
121. [George Fox](#). JOURNAL, ed. John Nickalls. Cambridge, England: University Press, 1952, page 642.

The other such occasion was when Fox addressed about a hundred natives and blacks for about two hours, on Shelter Island off Long Island:



...they said all was truth and did make a confession of it after the meeting. So I have set up a meeting among them once a fortnight, and Friend Joseph Silvester is to read the Scriptures to them, negroes and Indians.... A great desire there is and a great love and satisfaction were among the people, blessed be the Lord. His name spreads and will be great among the nations and dreadful among the heathen [Malachi 1:14].

During this year Friend [George Fox](#) also attended the [Yearly Meeting](#) of Friends in New-England at the home of Governor [William Coddington](#), who had become a Quaker. While on this visit, George Fox held a meeting in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) “in a great barn, which was thronged with people.” This was just after the yearly meeting, and in all probability was the immediate cause of the challenge that would be sent by the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) to him and [Friends](#) with him, to debate fourteen propositions which he had drawn up in relation to Friends’ doctrines.

[Friend John Ellis, Sr.](#) was cited by his monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) for being absent from meeting for worship and an elder of the meeting visited his home to labor with him (make an inquiry). He was informed by Friend John that “the ground & reason was knowne unto himselfe: & he was not willing that it should goe any further at present.”

After the morning service in a Hartford, Connecticut church, Friend John Burnyeat attempted to speak, but the congregation walked out on him. He returned to the church for its afternoon service, listened to their “priest” again, and then again stood and asked to be heard. Again the congregation walked out on him, but this time the sexton shut the exit door in his face, preventing the Quaker from following them out. There were two other doors to the edifice, but as the Quaker walked down the aisle toward another of the doors, the sexton scrambled over the pews so as to get there ahead of him. When the Quaker headed for the third door he was intercepted at that door as well, “and so [they] made their Meetinghouse a Prison.”

Salem monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was established.

Friend Henry Fell wrote from Barbados to Friend [George Fox](#)’s wife, Friend [Margaret Askew Fell](#) Fox:

Oh, I cannot forget the blessed day wherein dear George Fox and the rest of the Friends arrived here amongst us in this island. It was a heavenly visitation unto me and many more.



January 6: Just before embarking from Barbadoes for Jamaica, Friend [George Fox](#) took the opportunity to write to his wife, Friend [Margaret Askew Fell Fox](#) back in England (the dates he uses below are the [Quaker](#) version of Old Style dates).

Having been three months or more in Barbadoes, and having visited Friends, thoroughly settled meetings, and despatched the service for which the Lord brought me thither, I felt my spirit clear of that island, and found drawings to Jamaica. When I had communicated this to Friends, I acquainted the Governor also, and diverse of his council, that I intended shortly to leave the island, and go to Jamaica. This I did that, as my coming thither was open and public, so my departure also might be. Before I left the island I wrote the following letter to my wife, that she might understand both how it was with me, and how I proceeded in my travels: -

*MY DEAR HEART,
To whom is my love, and to all the children, in the
Seed of life that changeth not, but is over all;
blessed be the Lord forever. I have undergone great
sufferings in my body and spirit, beyond words; but
the God of heaven be praised, His Truth is over all.
I am now well; and, if the Lord permit, within a few
days I pass from Barbadoes towards Jamaica; and I
think to stay but little there. I desire that ye may
be all kept free in the Seed of Life, out of all
cumbrances. Friends are generally well. Remember me
to Friends that inquire after me. So no more, but my
love in the Seed and Life that changeth not.*

G.F.

Barbadoes, 6th of 11th Month, 1671.

FOX'S JOURNAL



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

January 8: Hundreds of people came to the docks to say good-bye, as Friend [George Fox](#) and his company of [Quaker](#) missionaries embarked from Barbadoes for Jamaica (the dates he uses below are the Quaker version of Old Style dates):

George Fox

I set sail from Barbadoes to Jamaica on the 8th of the Eleventh month, 1671; Robert Widders, William Edmundson, Solomon Eccles and Elizabeth Hooton going with me. Thomas Briggs and John Stubbs remained in Barbadoes, with whom were John Rous and William Bailey.

We had a quick and easy passage to Jamaica, where we met again with our Friends James Lancaster, John Cartwright, and George Pattison, who had been labouring there in the service of Truth; into which we forthwith entered with them, travelling up and down through the island, which is large; and a brave country it is, though the people are, many of them, debauched and wicked.

We had much service. There was a great convincement, and many received the Truth, some of whom were people of account in the world. We had many meetings there, which were large, and very quiet. The people were civil to us, so that not a mouth was opened against us. I was twice with the Governor, and some other magistrates, who all carried themselves kindly towards me.

** About a week after we landed in Jamaica, Elizabeth Hooton, a woman of great age, who had travelled much in Truth's service, and suffered much for it, departed this life. She was well the day before she died, and departed in peace, like a lamb, bearing testimony to Truth at her departure.*

FOX'S JOURNAL



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

February 23: Friend [George Fox](#) and his company of [Quaker](#) missionaries were preparing to embark from Jamaica for Maryland, and so he took the opportunity to write again to his wife, Friend [Margaret Askew Fell](#) Fox in England (the dates he uses below are the Quaker version of Old Style dates):

George Fox

When we had been about seven weeks in Jamaica, had brought Friends into pretty good order, and settled several meetings amongst them, we left Solomon Eccles there; the rest of us embarked for Maryland, leaving Friends and Truth prosperous in Jamaica, the Lord's power being over all, and His blessed Seed reigning.

Before I left Jamaica I wrote another letter to my wife, as follows:

*MY DEAR HEART,
To whom is my love, and to the children, in that which changeth not, but is over all; and to all Friends in those parts. I have been in Jamaica about five weeks. Friends here are generally well, and there is a convincement: but things would be too large to write of. Sufferings in every place attend me; but the blessed Seed is over all; the great Lord be praised, who is Lord of sea and land, and of all things therein. We intend to pass from hence about the beginning of next month, towards Maryland, if the Lord please. Dwell all of you in the Seed of God; in His Truth I rest in love to you all.*

G.F.

Jamaica, 23d of 12th Month, 1671.

FOX'S JOURNAL



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

March 8: Friend [George Fox](#) and his company of [Quaker](#) missionaries embarked from Jamaica for Maryland (the dates he uses below are the Quaker version of Old Style dates):

George Fox

We went on board on the 8th of First month, 1671-2, and, having contrary winds, were a full week sailing forwards and backwards before we could get out of sight of Jamaica.

A difficult voyage this proved, and dangerous, especially in passing through the Gulf of Florida, where we met with many trials by winds and storms.

But the great God, who is Lord of the sea and land, and who rideth upon the wings of the wind, did by His power preserve us through many and great dangers, when by extreme stress of weather our vessel was many times likely to be upset, and much of her tackling broken. And indeed we were sensible that the Lord was a God at hand, and that His ear was open to the supplications of His people.

For when the winds were so strong and boisterous, and the storms and tempests so great that the sailors knew not what to do, but let the ship go which way she would, then did we pray unto the Lord, who graciously heard us, calmed the winds and the seas, gave us seasonable weather, and made us to rejoice in His salvation. Blessed and praised be the holy name of the Lord, whose power hath dominion over all, whom the winds and the seas obey.

We were between six and seven weeks in this passage from Jamaica to Maryland. Some days before we came to land, after we had entered the bay of Patuxent River, a great storm arose, which cast a boat upon us for shelter, in which were several people of account in the world. We took them in; but the boat was lost, with five hundred pounds' worth of goods in it, as they said. They continued on board several days, not having any means to get off; and we had a very good meeting with them in the ship.

But provisions grew short, for they brought none in with them; and ours, by reason of the length of our voyage, were well-nigh spent when they came to us; so that with their living with us too, we had now little or none left. Whereupon George Pattison took a boat, and ventured his life to get to shore; the hazard was so great that all but Friends concluded he would be cast away. Yet it pleased the Lord to bring him safe to land, and in a short time after the Friends of the place came to fetch us to land also, in a seasonable time, for our provisions were quite spent.

We partook also of another great deliverance in this voyage, through the good providence of the Lord, which we came to understand afterwards. For when we were determined to come from Jamaica, we had our choice of two vessels, that were both bound for the same coast. One of these was a frigate, the other a yacht. The master of the frigate, we thought, asked unreasonably for our passage, which made us agree with the master of the yacht, who offered to carry us ten shillings a-piece cheaper than the other.





We went on board the yacht, and the frigate came out together with us, intending to be consorts during the voyage. For several days we sailed together; but, with calms and contrary winds, we were soon separated. After that the frigate, losing her way, fell among the Spaniards, by whom she was taken and plundered, and the master and mate made prisoners. Afterwards, being retaken by the English, she was sent home to her owners in Virginia. When we came to understand this we saw and admired the providence of God, who preserved us out of our enemies' hands; and he that was covetous fell among the covetous.

** Here we found John Burnyeat, intending shortly to sail for England; but on our arrival he altered his purpose, and joined us in the Lord's service. He had appointed a general meeting for all the Friends in the province of Maryland, that he might see them together, and take his leave of them before he departed out of the country. It was so ordered by the good providence of God that we landed just in time to reach that meeting, by which means we had a very seasonable opportunity of taking the Friends of the province together.*

A very large meeting this was, and it held four days, to which, besides Friends, came many other people, several of whom were of considerable quality in the world's account. There were five or six justices of the peace, the speaker of their assembly, one of their council, and others of note, who seemed well satisfied with the meeting. After the public meetings were over, the men's and women's meetings began, wherein I opened to Friends the service thereof, to their great satisfaction. After this we went to the Cliffs, where another general meeting was appointed. We went some of the way by land, the rest by water, and, a storm arising, our boat was run aground, in danger of being beaten to pieces, and the water came in upon us. I was in a great sweat, having come very hot out of a meeting before, and now was wet with the water besides; yet, having faith in the divine power, I was preserved from taking hurt, blessed be the Lord!

To this meeting came many who received the Truth with reverence. We had also a men's meeting and a women's meeting. Most of the backsliders came in again; and several meetings were established for taking care of the affairs of the Church.

After these two general meetings, we parted company, dividing ourselves unto several coasts, for the service of Truth. James Lancaster and John Cartwright went by sea for New England; William Edmundson and three Friends more sailed for Virginia, where things were much out of order; John Burnyeat, Robert Widders, George Pattison, and I, with several Friends of the province, went over by boat to the Eastern Shore [of Chesapeake Bay], and had a meeting there on the First-day.



There many people received the Truth with gladness, and Friends were greatly refreshed. A very large and heavenly meeting it was. Several persons of quality in that country were at it, two of whom were justices of the peace. It was upon me from the Lord to send to the Indian emperor and his kings to come to that meeting. The emperor came and was at the meeting. His kings, lying further off, could not reach the place in time. Yet they came soon after, with their cockarouses [headmen]. I had in the evening two good opportunities with them; they heard the Word of the Lord willingly and confessed to it. What I spoke to them I desired them to speak to their people, and to let them know that God was raising up His tabernacle of witness in their wilderness-country, and was setting up His standard and glorious ensign of righteousness. They carried themselves very courteously and lovingly, and inquired where the next meeting would be, saving that they would come to it. Yet they said they had had a great debate with their council about their coming, before they came.

The next day we began our journey by land to New England; a tedious journey through the woods and wilderness, over bogs and great rivers. We took horse at the head of Tredhaven creek, and travelled through the woods till we came a little above the head of Miles river, by which we passed, and rode to the head of Wye river, and so to the head of Chester river, where, making a fire, we took up our lodging in the woods. Next morning we travelled the woods till we came to Sassafras river, which we went over in canoes, causing our horses to swim beside us. Then we rode to Bohemia river, where, in like manner swimming our horses, we ourselves went over in canoes. We rested a little at a plantation by the way, but not long, for we had thirty miles to ride that afternoon if we would reach a town, which we were willing to do, and therefore rode hard for it. I, with some others, whose horses were strong, got to the town that night, exceedingly tired, and wet to the skin; but George Pattison and Robert Widders, being weaker-horsed, were obliged to lie in the woods that night also.

The town we went to was a Dutch town, called New Castle [in Delaware], whither Robert Widders and George Pattison came to us next morning.

* We departed thence, and got over the river Delaware, not without great danger of some of our lives. When we were over we were troubled to procure guides, which were hard to get, and very chargeable. Then had we that wilderness country, since called West Jersey, to pass through, not then inhabited by English; so that we sometimes travelled a whole day together without seeing man or woman, house or dwelling-place. Sometimes we lay in the woods by a fire, and sometimes in the Indians' wigwams or houses.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

We came one night to an Indian town, and lay at the house of the king, who was a very pretty [a very kindly-spirited] man. Both he and his wife received us very lovingly, and his attendants (such as they were) were very respectful to us. They gave us mats to lie on; but provision was very short with them, they having caught but little that day. At another Indian town where we stayed the king came to us, and he could speak some English. I spoke to him much, and also to his people; and they were very loving to us.

At length we came to Middletown, an English plantation in East Jersey, and there we found some Friends; but we could not stay to have a meeting at that time, being earnestly pressed in our spirits to get to the half-year's meeting of Friends at Oyster Bay, in Long Island, which was very near at hand.

FOX'S JOURNAL

3rd Month 31: A [Quaker](#) epistle put out by a General Meeting held in London warned all Friends worldwide of the need to “stop all busy, discontented spirits ... from reflecting upon and meddling with the powers ... and all fruitless discourses of that tendency.”

April: [Rhode Island](#), faced with the likelihood of a war with the Dutch, enacted a sedition law aimed directly at its Quaker population, which was of course as usual resisting the nonsense of service in the militia and resisting the nonsense of payment of taxes for preparations for war. That wasn't the sort of thinking that the [Quakers](#), aware that the best way to avoid war is to prepare oneself carefully for peace, had any respect for! In the preamble to this new Sedition Act we find an explanation of sorts in the form of a paragraph-long sentence fragment: “The assembly, being sensible of the great detriment the colony in generall, and well-minded persons in partickular doth sustain by reason of a covetous or ffactionous and mallicious sperritt appeereinge in sundry towns and places in this collony ; who oppose all or any rates, and thereby prevailinge, by their deluded adherants, in overpowering the more prudent and loyall partys in such town and place, to the frustration of the most necessary and needful ends for which such rates are levied ; whereby the collony is exposed to much discredit, and other detriments great and dangerous, even tendinge to ruin and subversion thereof in the issue, and in meantime to the intollerable burden and oppression of the more tractable and rationally people, who readily comply with the collony's injunctions in paying the several rates imposed on them, which are yet rendered ineffectuall as to the full discharge of the collony's engagements, by reason of non-conformance to and non-performance of the collony's orders in such cases by such refractory persons.” The penalty for the high contempt and sedition of appearing “by word or act in opposition to rates and impositions,” or to “any acts or orders,” or otherwise by word or deed slighting them, was under this new Rhode Island pronouncement to consist of thirty stripes, or imprisonment for one year, or a fine of £20.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

June 13: Friend [George Fox](#) had returned from Long Island to Maryland shore, and then had embarked on a longer journey, arriving on this day at Rhode Island (that's merely a moderately sized island in [Narragansett Bay](#), rather than the extensive "Providence Plantations" affiliated with it on the mainland shore which are now referred to collectively as the "State of [Rhode Island](#) and Providence Plantations"). George Bishop's NEW ENGLAND JUDGED says the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) which he was visiting on this island had been in existence since 1661.

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



After Friends were gone to their several habitations, we stayed some days upon the island; had meetings in several parts thereof, and good service for the Lord. When we were clear of the island, we returned to Oyster Bay, waiting for a wind to carry us to Rhode Island, which was computed to be about two hundred miles. As soon as the wind served, we set sail. We arrived there on the thirtieth day of the Third month, and were gladly received by Friends. We went to the house of Nicholas Easton, who at that time was governor of the island; where we rested, being very weary with travelling.

On First-day following we had a large meeting, to which came the deputy-governor and several justices, who were mightily affected with the Truth. The week following, the Yearly Meeting for all the Friends of New England and the other colonies adjacent, was held in this island; to which, besides very many Friends who lived in those parts, came John Stubbs from Barbadoes, and James Lancaster and John Cartwright from another way.

This meeting lasted six days, the first four days being general public meetings for worship, to which abundance of other people came. For they having no priest in the island, and so no restriction to any particular way of worship; and both the governor and deputy-governor, with several justices of the peace, daily frequenting the meetings; this so encouraged the people that they flocked in from all parts of the island. Very good service we had amongst them, and Truth had good reception.

I have rarely observed a people, in the state wherein they stood, to hear with more attention, diligence, and affection, than generally they did, during the four days; which was also taken notice of by other Friends. These public meetings over, the men's meeting began, which was large, precious, and weighty. The day following was the women's meeting, which also was large and very solemn.

These two meetings being for ordering the affairs of the Church, many weighty things were opened, and communicated to them, by way of advice, information, and instruction in the services relating thereunto; that all might be kept clean, sweet and savoury amongst them. In these, several men's and women's meetings for other parts were agreed and settled, to take care of the poor, and other affairs of the Church, and to see that all who profess Truth walk according to the glorious gospel of God.

** When this great general meeting was ended, it was somewhat hard for Friends to part; for the glorious power of the Lord, which was over all, and His Blessed Truth and life flowing amongst them, had so knit and united them together, that they spent two days in taking leave one of another, and of the Friends of the island; and then, being mightily filled with the presence and power of the Lord, they went away with joyful hearts to their several habitations, in the several colonies where they lived.*



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

When Friends had taken their leave one of another, we, who travelled amongst them, dispersed ourselves into our several services, as the Lord ordered us. John Burnyeat, John Cartwright, and George Pattison went into the eastern parts of New England, in company with the Friends that came from thence, to visit the particular meetings there; whom John Stubbs and James Lancaster intended to follow awhile after, in the same service; but they were not yet clear of this island. Robert Kidders and I stayed longer upon this island; finding service still here for the Lord, through the great openness and the daily coming in of fresh people from other colonies, for some time after the general meeting; so that we had many large and serviceable meetings amongst them.

During this time, a marriage was celebrated amongst Friends in this island, and we were present. It was at the house of a Friend who had formerly been governor of the island: and there were present three justices of the peace, with many others not in profession with us. Friends said they had never seen such a solemn assembly on such an occasion, or so weighty a marriage and so comely an order. Thus Truth was set over all. This might serve for an example to others; for there were some present from many other places.

** After this I had a great travail in spirit concerning the Ranters in those parts, who had been rude at a meeting at which I was not present. Wherefore I appointed a meeting amongst them, believing the Lord would give me power over them; which He did, to His praise and glory; blessed be His name for ever! There were at this meeting many Friends, and diverse other people; some of whom were justices of the peace, and officers, who were generally well affected with the Truth. One, who had been a justice twenty years, was convinced, spoke highly of the Truth, and more highly of me than is fit for me to mention or take notice of.*

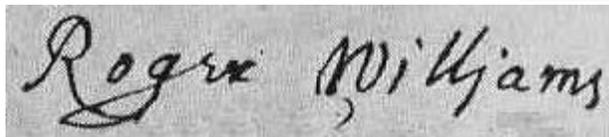
Then we had a meeting at Providence, which was very large, consisting of many sorts of people. I had a great travail upon my spirit, that it might be preserved quiet, and that Truth might be brought over the people, might gain entrance, and have a place in them; for they were generally above the priest in high notions; and some of them came on purpose to dispute. But the Lord, whom we waited upon, was with us, and His power went over them all; and His blessed Seed was exalted and set above all. The disputers were silent, and the meeting was quiet and ended well; praised be the Lord! The people went away mightily satisfied, much desiring another meeting.

FOX'S JOURNAL

Friend [George Fox](#) did not meet the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) in [Providence](#), though that local VIP had debated with Friend John Burnyeat during his visit to [Newport](#) in 1671. After Fox and his companion, Friend Nicholas Easton, had left Providence and had gone back down the Bay, and had left there as well and was sailing back toward Long Island, the Reverend Williams would row over to Newport, some 30 miles despite his advanced age — but he would miss being able to issue his challenge to a debate with the main man.

The Reverend Williams would attempted to debate instead with Friends [William Edmundson](#), John Stubbs, and John Burnyeat. The debate would not go well, as Friend Henry Nichols would sing persistently and loudly, and Friend Ann Eaton would pray loudly and persistently, attempting to drown out the Reverend Williams’s voice.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



1672. Roger Williams held a public disputation with three Friends or Quakers, which continued three days at Newport and one in Providence. Deputies or members of the General Assembly were for the first time required to take an oath or affirmation on commencing their official duties. This was protested against by those of Providence.

After two days of such proceedings, there had been an [eclipse](#) of the sun as the debate came to an end.

ASTRONOMY



"Nothing was more common, in those days, than to interpret all meteoric appearances, and other natural phenomena that occurred with less regularity than the rise and set of sun and moon, as so many revelations from a supernatural source. Thus, a blazing spear, a sword of flame, a bow, or a sheaf of arrows seen in the midnight sky, prefigured Indian warfare. Pestilence was known to have been foreboded by a shower of crimson light. We doubt whether any marked event, for good or evil, ever befell New England, from its settlement down to revolutionary times, of which the inhabitants had not been previously warned by some spectacle of its nature. Not seldom, it had been seen by multitudes. Oftener, however, its credibility rested on the faith of some lonely eye-witness, who beheld the wonder through the coloured, magnifying, and distorted medium of his imagination, and shaped it more distinctly in his after-thought. It was, indeed, a majestic idea that the destiny of nations should be revealed, in these awful hieroglyphics, on the cope of heaven. A scroll so wide might not be deemed too expensive for Providence to write a people's doom upon. The belief was a favourite one with our forefathers, as betokening that their infant commonwealth was under a celestial guardianship of peculiar intimacy and strictness."



— [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), THE SCARLET LETTER



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

The Reverend would then write, and publish in Boston in 1676, what Fox elsewhere would term “Roger Williams’s ‘Book of Lyes,’” a book bearing the amusing title *GEORGE FOX DIGGED OUT OF HIS BURROWS* (reprinted in *PUBLICATIONS OF THE NARRAGANSETT CLUB*, Volume V, pages xx-xlv, Providence, 1872). When Fox and Burnyeat would reply to said “slandrous book” in a 65-page pamphlet, *A NEW ENGLAND FIRE BRAND QUENCHED*, Fox would seem not even to be sure exactly where the Reverend Williams, that famous “apostle of soul liberty,” was flourishing, as in this pamphlet he would refer to the Reverend as “a priest of



New England (or some colony thereabouts).”

This place (called Providence) was about thirty miles from Rhode Island; and we went to it by water. The Governor of Rhode Island, and many others, went with me thither; and we had the meeting in a great barn, which was thronged with people, so that I was exceedingly hot, and in a great sweat; but all was well; the glorious power of the Lord shone over all; glory to the great God for ever!

After this we went to Narragansett, about twenty miles from Rhode Island; and the Governor went with us. We had a meeting at a justice's house, where Friends had never had any before. It was very large, for the country generally came in; and people came also from Connecticut, and other parts round about, amongst whom were four justices of the peace. Most of these people had never heard Friends before; but they were mightily affected with the meeting, and a great desire there is after the Truth amongst them; so that our meeting was of very good service, blessed be the Lord for ever!

The justice at whose house the meeting was, and another justice of that country, invited me to come again; but I was then clear of those parts, and going towards Shelter Island. But John Burnyeat and John Cartwright, being come out of New England into Rhode Island, before I was gone, I laid this place before them; and they felt drawings thither, and went to visit them.

*At another place, I heard some of the magistrates say among themselves that if they had money enough, they would hire me to be their minister. This was where they did not well understand us, and our principles; but when I heard of it, I said, "It is time for me to be gone; for if their eye were so much on me, or on any of us, they would not come to their own Teacher." For this thing (hiring ministers) had spoiled many, by hindering them from improving their own talents; whereas our labour is to bring every one to his own Teacher **in** himself.*

I went thence towards Shelter Island [so named because Nathaniel Sylvester, sole proprietor of this island at the eastern end of Long Island between Gardiner's Bay and Little Peconic Bay, had offered shelter to persecuted Friends from New England], having with me Robert Widders, James Lancaster, George Pattison, and John Jay, a planter of Barbadoes.

We went in a sloop; and passing by Point Juda [Judith] and Block Island, we came to Fisher's Island, where at night we went on shore; but were not able to stay for the mosquitoes which abound there, and are very troublesome. Therefore we went into our sloop again, put off for the shore, and cast anchor; and so lay in our sloop that night.

Next day we went into the Sound, but finding our sloop was not able to live in that water, we returned again, and came to anchor before Fisher's Island, where we lay in our sloop that night also. There fell abundance of rain, and our sloop being open, we were exceedingly wet.



Next day we passed over the waters called the Two Horse Races, and then by Gardner's Island; after which we passed by the Gull's Island, and so got at length to Shelter Island. Though it was but about twenty-seven leagues from Rhode Island, yet through the difficulty of passage we were three days in reaching it.

The day after, being First-day, we had a meeting there. In the same week I had another among the Indians; at which were their king, his council, and about a hundred Indians more. They sat down like Friends, and heard very attentively while I spoke to them by an interpreter, an Indian that could speak English well. After the meeting they appeared very loving, and confessed that what was said to them was Truth.

Next First-day we had a great meeting on the island, to which came many people who had never heard Friends before. They were very well satisfied with it, and when it was over would not go away till they had spoken with me. Wherefore I went amongst them, and found they were much taken with the Truth; good desires were raised in them, and great love. Blessed be the Lord; His name spreads, and will be great among the nations, and dreadful among the heathen.

While we were in Shelter Island, William Edmundson, who had been labouring in the work of the Lord in Virginia, came to us. From thence he had travelled through the desert-country, through difficulties and many trials, till he came to Roanoke [not little Roanoke Island off the coast, but the extensive mainland adjacent to the Roanoke River], where he met with a tender people. After seven weeks' service in those parts, sailing over to Maryland, and so to New York, he came to Long Island, and so to Shelter Island; where we met with him, and were very glad to hear from him the good service he had had for the Lord, in the several places where he had travelled since he parted from us.

We stayed not long in Shelter Island, but entering our sloop again put to sea for Long Island. We had a very rough passage, for the tide ran so strong for several hours that I have not seen the like; and being against us, we could hardly get forwards, though we had a gale.

We were upon the water all that day and the night following; but found ourselves next day driven back near to Fisher's Island. For there was a great fog, and towards day it was very dark, so that we could not see what way we made. Besides, it rained much in the night, which in our open sloop made us very wet.

Next day a great storm arose, so that we were fain to go over the Sound, and got over with much difficulty. When we left Fisher's Island, we passed by Falkner Island, and came to the main, where we cast anchor till the storm was over.

Then we crossed the Sound, being all very wet; and much difficulty we had to get to land, the wind being strong against us. But blessed be the Lord God of heaven and earth, and of the seas and waters, all was well.





SEEKING THE LIGHT:

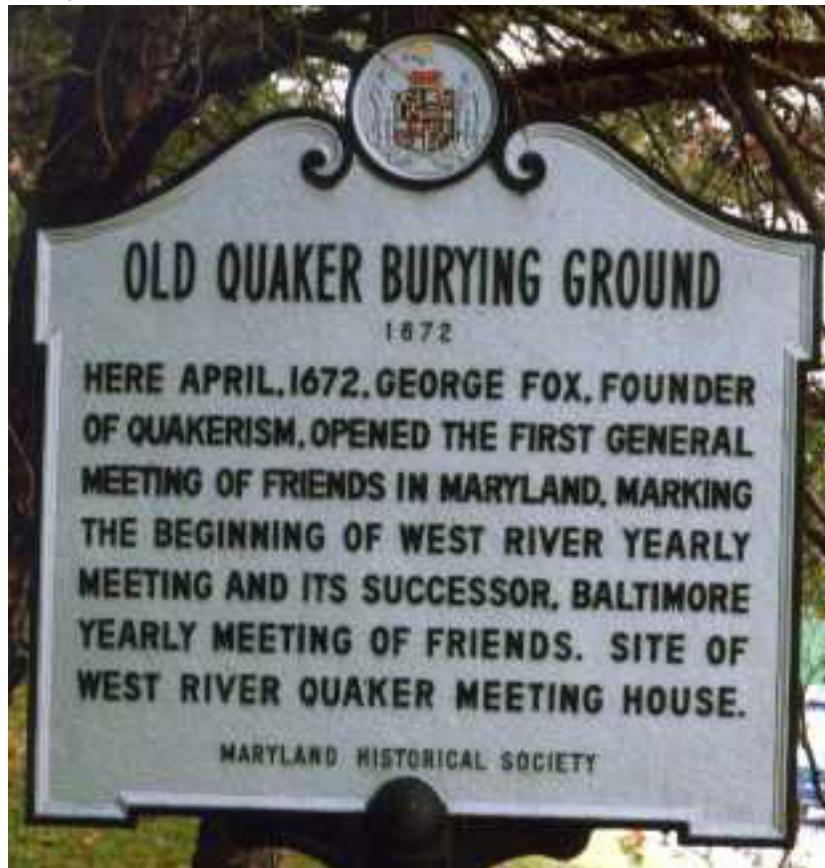
EARLY QUAKERISM

Oh! how darest thou Roger Williams, publish such false lyes to the World, when thou knowest in thy Conscience, that G.F. had never any Writing, or Letter, or Proposals from thee; neither did he ever exchange a word with thee. The Lord God of Heaven knowes it, and the Deputy Governour knowes, that I received none of thy Writings or Papers or Proposals by him. Behold all sober people the foundation of this mans Attempt, the beginning of his work; and since the foundation of thy Book is a notorious lye, the building upon such a foundation of lyes is not like to be otherwise: which lyes thou hast made thy refuge; as throughout thy Book may be evidently seen. For except a man had sold himself to work falsehood, and make lyes; he could not have done more wickedly, and have uttered falser charges that though hast done. But the Lord God which knows them, and sees thy evil design in them, will sweep them away with the besom of Destruction, and clear his people from thy manifest false tongue....

But by this all may see the wickedness, that is in the Bottle of this R.W. by what does flow out of it in his Book, to wit, a malicious spirit against G.F. who was never concerned him by word or writing, much less did G.F. ever do him wrong. And yet he says, G.F. well knew, what Artillery he was furnisht with out of his own bald writings, (as he scoffingly calls them) &c. when never a word of this is true: though he presumes to present it to the King for Truth concerning G.F....

This also is an abominable falsehood, the Lord know it, a groundless untrue imagination of his own; for there was no such Agreement or Consultation. Is this man fit to write of Religion, that lyes? a vain man! What is he, and his designs, that they should require Consultations and Junctos? so let the honest Reader Judge, from whence R.W. had all these lyes, if not from his Father the Devil, who is out of Truth: but with the Truth is both his Father and he Judged.

[Quaker](#) Midyear Meeting: His work in Maryland complete, Friend [George Fox](#) got himself boated over to Long Island. He visited the Bowne house in Flushing and preached under a stand of oak trees across the street. The oaks have since gone, but the house still stands and the site of his sermon is marked with a stone memorializing the event (not shown).



From the journal that would be published by Friend [William Edmundson](#) in 1715, page 72: Now, when I had been some Time with Friends in Virginia, and had many sweet serviceable Meetings among them, and Things somewhat settled, I found my Spirit clear of that Service, so took Boat and went back to Maryland, where I staid several Meetings, the Lord's Power and Presence accompanying, that made hard Things easy. When I was clear there, I took Passage by Sea, and about ten Days after landed safe at New-York, where no Friends lived.



We went with a Friend, Richard Hartshorn, brother of Hugh Hartshorn, the upholsterer, in London, who received us gladly at his house, where we refreshed ourselves; and then he carried us and our horses in his own boat over a great water, which occupied most part of the day getting over, and set us upon Long Island. We got that evening to Friends at Gravesend, with whom we tarried that night, and next day got to Flushing, and the day following reached Oyster Bay; several Friends of Gravesend and Flushing accompanied us.

The half-year's meeting began next day, which was the first day of the week, and lasted four days. The first and second days we had public meetings for worship, to which people of all sorts came; on the third day were the men's and women's meetings, wherein the affairs of the Church were taken care of. Here we met with some bad spirits, who had run out from Truth into prejudice, contention, and opposition to the order of Truth, and to Friends therein.

These had been very troublesome to Friends in their meetings there and thereabouts formerly, and likely would have been so now; but I would not suffer the service of our men's and women's meetings to be interrupted and hindered by their cavils. I let them know that if they had anything to object against the order of Truth which we were in, we would give them a meeting another day on purpose. And indeed I laboured the more, and travelled the harder to get to this meeting, where it was expected many of these contentious people would be; because I understood they had reflected much upon me, when I was far from them.

The men's and women's meetings being over, on the fourth day we had a meeting with these discontented people, to which as many of them as chose came, and as many Friends as desired were present also; and the Lord's power broke forth gloriously to the confounding of the gainsayers. Then some of those that had been chief in the mischievous work of contention and opposition against the Truth began to fawn upon me, and to cast the blame upon others; but the deceitful spirit was judged down and condemned, and the glorious Truth of God was exalted and set over all; and they were all brought down and bowed under. Which was of great service to Truth, and to the satisfaction and comfort of Friends; glory to the Lord for ever!

After Friends were gone to their several habitations, we stayed some days upon the island; had meetings in several parts thereof, and good service for the Lord....

FOX'S JOURNAL

George Fox



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

June 13: Friend [George Fox](#) had returned from Long Island to Maryland shore, and then had embarked on a longer journey, arriving on this day at Rhode Island (that's merely a moderately sized island in [Narragansett Bay](#), rather than the extensive "Providence Plantations" affiliated with it on the mainland shore which are now referred to collectively as the "State of [Rhode Island](#) and Providence Plantations"). George Bishop's NEW ENGLAND JUDGED says the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) which he was visiting on this island had been in existence since 1661.

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



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

After Friends were gone to their several habitations, we stayed some days upon the island; had meetings in several parts thereof, and good service for the Lord. When we were clear of the island, we returned to Oyster Bay, waiting for a wind to carry us to Rhode Island, which was computed to be about two hundred miles. As soon as the wind served, we set sail. We arrived there on the thirtieth day of the Third month, and were gladly received by Friends. We went to the house of Nicholas Easton, who at that time was governor of the island; where we rested, being very weary with travelling.

On First-day following we had a large meeting, to which came the deputy-governor and several justices, who were mightily affected with the Truth. The week following, the Yearly Meeting for all the Friends of New England and the other colonies adjacent, was held in this island; to which, besides very many Friends who lived in those parts, came John Stubbs from Barbadoes, and James Lancaster and John Cartwright from another way.

This meeting lasted six days, the first four days being general public meetings for worship, to which abundance of other people came. For they having no priest in the island, and so no restriction to any particular way of worship; and both the governor and deputy-governor, with several justices of the peace, daily frequenting the meetings; this so encouraged the people that they flocked in from all parts of the island. Very good service we had amongst them, and Truth had good reception.

I have rarely observed a people, in the state wherein they stood, to hear with more attention, diligence, and affection, than generally they did, during the four days; which was also taken notice of by other Friends. These public meetings over, the men's meeting began, which was large, precious, and weighty. The day following was the women's meeting, which also was large and very solemn.

These two meetings being for ordering the affairs of the Church, many weighty things were opened, and communicated to them, by way of advice, information, and instruction in the services relating thereunto; that all might be kept clean, sweet and savoury amongst them. In these, several men's and women's meetings for other parts were agreed and settled, to take care of the poor, and other affairs of the Church, and to see that all who profess Truth walk according to the glorious gospel of God.

** When this great general meeting was ended, it was somewhat hard for Friends to part; for the glorious power of the Lord, which was over all, and His Blessed Truth and life flowing amongst them, had so knit and united them together, that they spent two days in taking leave one of another, and of the Friends of the island; and then, being mightily filled with the presence and power of the Lord, they went away with joyful hearts to their several habitations, in the several colonies where they lived.*



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

When Friends had taken their leave one of another, we, who travelled amongst them, dispersed ourselves into our several services, as the Lord ordered us. John Burnyeat, John Cartwright, and George Pattison went into the eastern parts of New England, in company with the Friends that came from thence, to visit the particular meetings there; whom John Stubbs and James Lancaster intended to follow awhile after, in the same service; but they were not yet clear of this island. Robert Kidders and I stayed longer upon this island; finding service still here for the Lord, through the great openness and the daily coming in of fresh people from other colonies, for some time after the general meeting; so that we had many large and serviceable meetings amongst them.

During this time, a marriage was celebrated amongst Friends in this island, and we were present. It was at the house of a Friend who had formerly been governor of the island: and there were present three justices of the peace, with many others not in profession with us. Friends said they had never seen such a solemn assembly on such an occasion, or so weighty a marriage and so comely an order. Thus Truth was set over all. This might serve for an example to others; for there were some present from many other places.

** After this I had a great travail in spirit concerning the Ranters in those parts, who had been rude at a meeting at which I was not present. Wherefore I appointed a meeting amongst them, believing the Lord would give me power over them; which He did, to His praise and glory; blessed be His name for ever! There were at this meeting many Friends, and diverse other people; some of whom were justices of the peace, and officers, who were generally well affected with the Truth. One, who had been a justice twenty years, was convinced, spoke highly of the Truth, and more highly of me than is fit for me to mention or take notice of.*

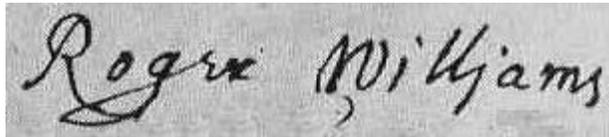
Then we had a meeting at Providence, which was very large, consisting of many sorts of people. I had a great travail upon my spirit, that it might be preserved quiet, and that Truth might be brought over the people, might gain entrance, and have a place in them; for they were generally above the priest in high notions; and some of them came on purpose to dispute. But the Lord, whom we waited upon, was with us, and His power went over them all; and His blessed Seed was exalted and set above all. The disputers were silent, and the meeting was quiet and ended well; praised be the Lord! The people went away mightily satisfied, much desiring another meeting.

FOX'S JOURNAL

Friend [George Fox](#) did not meet the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) in [Providence](#), though that local VIP had debated with Friend John Burnyeat during his visit to [Newport](#) in 1671. After Fox and his companion, Friend Nicholas Easton, had left Providence and had gone back down the Bay, and had left there as well and was sailing back toward Long Island, the Reverend Williams would row over to Newport, some 30 miles despite his advanced age — but he would miss being able to issue his challenge to a debate with the main man.

The Reverend Williams would attempted to debate instead with Friends [William Edmundson](#), John Stubbs, and John Burnyeat. The debate would not go well, as Friend Henry Nichols would sing persistently and loudly, and Friend Ann Eaton would pray loudly and persistently, attempting to drown out the Reverend Williams's voice.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



1672. Roger Williams held a public disputation with three Friends or Quakers, which continued three days at Newport and one in Providence. Deputies or members of the General Assembly were for the first time required to take an oath or affirmation on commencing their official duties. This was protested against by those of Providence.

After two days of such proceedings, there had been an [eclipse](#) of the sun as the debate came to an end.

ASTRONOMY



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM



"Nothing was more common, in those days, than to interpret all meteoric appearances, and other natural phenomena that occurred with less regularity than the rise and set of sun and moon, as so many revelations from a supernatural source. Thus, a blazing spear, a sword of flame, a bow, or a sheaf of arrows seen in the midnight sky, prefigured Indian warfare. Pestilence was known to have been foreboded by a shower of crimson light. We doubt whether any marked event, for good or evil, ever befell New England, from its settlement down to revolutionary times, of which the inhabitants had not been previously warned by some spectacle of its nature. Not seldom, it had been seen by multitudes. Oftener, however, its credibility rested on the faith of some lonely eye-witness, who beheld the wonder through the coloured, magnifying, and distorted medium of his imagination, and shaped it more distinctly in his after-thought. It was, indeed, a majestic idea that the destiny of nations should be revealed, in these awful hieroglyphics, on the cope of heaven. A scroll so wide might not be deemed too expensive for Providence to write a people's doom upon. The belief was a favourite one with our forefathers, as betokening that their infant commonwealth was under a celestial guardianship of peculiar intimacy and strictness."



— [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), THE SCARLET LETTER



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

The Reverend would then write, and publish in Boston in 1676, what Fox elsewhere would term “Roger Williams’s ‘Book of Lyes,’” a book bearing the amusing title *GEORGE FOX DIGGED OUT OF HIS BURROWS* (reprinted in *PUBLICATIONS OF THE NARRAGANSETT CLUB*, Volume V, pages xx-xlv, Providence, 1872). When Fox and Burnyeat would reply to said “slandrous book” in a 65-page pamphlet, *A NEW ENGLAND FIRE BRAND QUENCHED*, Fox would seem not even to be sure exactly where the Reverend Williams, that famous “apostle of soul liberty,” was flourishing, as in this pamphlet he would refer to the Reverend as “a priest of



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

New England (or some colony thereabouts).”

This place (called Providence) was about thirty miles from Rhode Island; and we went to it by water. The Governor of Rhode Island, and many others, went with me thither; and we had the meeting in a great barn, which was thronged with people, so that I was exceedingly hot, and in a great sweat; but all was well; the glorious power of the Lord shone over all; glory to the great God for ever!

After this we went to Narragansett, about twenty miles from Rhode Island; and the Governor went with us. We had a meeting at a justice's house, where Friends had never had any before. It was very large, for the country generally came in; and people came also from Connecticut, and other parts round about, amongst whom were four justices of the peace. Most of these people had never heard Friends before; but they were mightily affected with the meeting, and a great desire there is after the Truth amongst them; so that our meeting was of very good service, blessed be the Lord for ever!

The justice at whose house the meeting was, and another justice of that country, invited me to come again; but I was then clear of those parts, and going towards Shelter Island. But John Burnyeat and John Cartwright, being come out of New England into Rhode Island, before I was gone, I laid this place before them; and they felt drawings thither, and went to visit them.

*At another place, I heard some of the magistrates say among themselves that if they had money enough, they would hire me to be their minister. This was where they did not well understand us, and our principles; but when I heard of it, I said, "It is time for me to be gone; for if their eye were so much on me, or on any of us, they would not come to their own Teacher." For this thing (hiring ministers) had spoiled many, by hindering them from improving their own talents; whereas our labour is to bring every one to his own Teacher **in** himself.*

I went thence towards Shelter Island [so named because Nathaniel Sylvester, sole proprietor of this island at the eastern end of Long Island between Gardiner's Bay and Little Peconic Bay, had offered shelter to persecuted Friends from New England], having with me Robert Widders, James Lancaster, George Pattison, and John Jay, a planter of Barbadoes.

We went in a sloop; and passing by Point Juda [Judith] and Block Island, we came to Fisher's Island, where at night we went on shore; but were not able to stay for the mosquitoes which abound there, and are very troublesome. Therefore we went into our sloop again, put off for the shore, and cast anchor; and so lay in our sloop that night.

Next day we went into the Sound, but finding our sloop was not able to live in that water, we returned again, and came to anchor before Fisher's Island, where we lay in our sloop that night also. There fell abundance of rain, and our sloop being open, we were exceedingly wet.

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Next day we passed over the waters called the Two Horse Races, and then by Gardner's Island; after which we passed by the Gull's Island, and so got at length to Shelter Island. Though it was but about twenty-seven leagues from Rhode Island, yet through the difficulty of passage we were three days in reaching it.

The day after, being First-day, we had a meeting there. In the same week I had another among the Indians; at which were their king, his council, and about a hundred Indians more. They sat down like Friends, and heard very attentively while I spoke to them by an interpreter, an Indian that could speak English well. After the meeting they appeared very loving, and confessed that what was said to them was Truth.

Next First-day we had a great meeting on the island, to which came many people who had never heard Friends before. They were very well satisfied with it, and when it was over would not go away till they had spoken with me. Wherefore I went amongst them, and found they were much taken with the Truth; good desires were raised in them, and great love. Blessed be the Lord; His name spreads, and will be great among the nations, and dreadful among the heathen.

While we were in Shelter Island, William Edmundson, who had been labouring in the work of the Lord in Virginia, came to us. From thence he had travelled through the desert-country, through difficulties and many trials, till he came to Roanoke [not little Roanoke Island off the coast, but the extensive mainland adjacent to the Roanoke River], where he met with a tender people. After seven weeks' service in those parts, sailing over to Maryland, and so to New York, he came to Long Island, and so to Shelter Island; where we met with him, and were very glad to hear from him the good service he had had for the Lord, in the several places where he had travelled since he parted from us.

We stayed not long in Shelter Island, but entering our sloop again put to sea for Long Island. We had a very rough passage, for the tide ran so strong for several hours that I have not seen the like; and being against us, we could hardly get forwards, though we had a gale.

We were upon the water all that day and the night following; but found ourselves next day driven back near to Fisher's Island. For there was a great fog, and towards day it was very dark, so that we could not see what way we made. Besides, it rained much in the night, which in our open sloop made us very wet.

Next day a great storm arose, so that we were fain to go over the Sound, and got over with much difficulty. When we left Fisher's Island, we passed by Falkner Island, and came to the main, where we cast anchor till the storm was over.

Then we crossed the Sound, being all very wet; and much difficulty we had to get to land, the wind being strong against us. But blessed be the Lord God of heaven and earth, and of the seas and waters, all was well.





SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Oh! how darest thou Roger Williams, publish such false lyes to the World, when thou knowest in thy Conscience, that G.F. had never any Writing, or Letter, or Proposals from thee; neither did he ever exchange a word with thee. The Lord God of Heaven knowes it, and the Deputy Governour knowes, that I received none of thy Writings or Papers or Proposals by him. Behold all sober people the foundation of this mans Attempt, the beginning of his work; and since the foundation of thy Book is a notorious lye, the building upon such a foundation of lyes is not like to be otherwise: which lyes thou hast made thy refuge; as throughout thy Book may be evidently seen. For except a man had sold himself to work falsehood, and make lyes; he could not have done more wickedly, and have uttered falser charges that though hast done. But the Lord God which knows them, and sees thy evil design in them, will sweep them away with the besom of Destruction, and clear his people from thy manifest false tongue....

But by this all may see the wickedness, that is in the Bottle of this R.W. by what does flow out of it in his Book, to wit, a malicious spirit against G.F. who was never concerned him by word or writing, much less did G.F. ever do him wrong. And yet he says, G.F. well knew, what Artillery he was furnisht with out of his own bald writings, (as he scoffingly calls them) &c. when never a word of this is true: though he presumes to present it to the King for Truth concerning G.F....

This also is an abominable falsehood, the Lord know it, a groundless untrue imagination of his own; for there was no such Agreement or Consultation. Is this man fit to write of Religion, that lyes? a vain man! What is he, and his designs, that they should require Consultations and Junctos? so let the honest Reader Judge, from whence R.W. had all these lyes, if not from his Father the Devil, who is out of Truth: but with the Truth is both his Father and he Judged.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

July: Friend [George Fox](#) visited [Rhode Island](#), staying with Governor Nicholas Easton. [Quakers](#) were just becoming the dominant group in that colony's government. Governor Easton, 11 of the 16 assistants, and perhaps seven of the 20 deputies were members of the Religious Society of Friends. Friend Nicholas Easton was the primary political leader there at this point, and the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) the primary spiritual leader. Friend George recorded that:

In New England there was an Indian king that said he saw that there were many of their people of the Indians turned to the New England professors. He said they were worse since than they were before they left their own religion; and of all religions he said the Quakers were the best.

Commenting on this, Jill Lepore surmises that this may be more than merely the “Quaker party line,” that although there is no extant record of such a visit, Friend John Easton of [Rhode Island](#) may have taken Friend George along on a visit to the sachem [Metacom](#) at [Mount Hope](#). Alternatively, she offers, Friend George may simply have become aware somehow of the sachem Metacom's rejection of the Reverend John Eliot's proselytizing.

The conclusion Friend [George Fox](#) arrived at in his New World travels was that all humans did experience Christ's light, however this experience might be conceptualized in a given culture:



Now Jews, and the Turks, and heathen, and Indians, that do not nor will not profess and own Christ in the flesh, to be the Savior; if one come to speak to them of their evil deeds and words, and ask them if there is something in them that tells them, they should not speak and do so, or so wickedly? (for the light of Christ troubles and condemns them if they do evil), here they will confess to the light of Christ though they know not what it is....

But Fox did not come to America during this period just prior to the outbreak of “[King Phillip's War](#)” only to

interrogate the indigenes. As mentioned above, he also came to deal with the intrusives, in particular with one intrusive, a Boston one named John Perrot. Fox wanted to counter the influence that was being exercised by Friend Perrot in Boston.



At the time Friend Perrot evidently was attempting to develop the [Quaker](#) insistence, that in matters of worship we ought to dispense with any form which might divide worshipers into opposing groups contemptuous of and intolerant of each other, to the point at which even the regularity of showing up on time for a silent meeting of worship, on First Day, was to be regarded as a “form” and discarded. [George Fox](#) sought to drive away such individuals, whom he characterized as “disorderly walkers.” And indeed, those Quakers who distrusted the growing levels of group control over individual conduct began to walk in other paths.

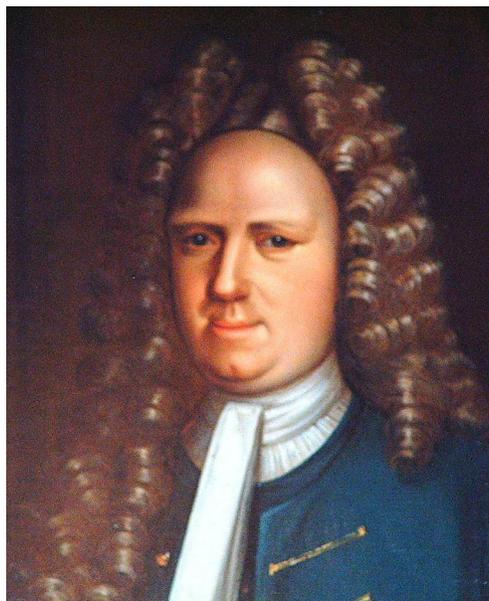


July 13: The Reverend [Roger Williams](#) wrote a letter, from [Providence, Rhode Island](#), challenging Friend [George Fox](#) to a debate. The debate was to concern fourteen propositions, seven of them to be debated at [Newport](#) and seven at Providence.

July 26: The Reverend [Roger Williams](#)'s July 13th letter challenging Friend [George Fox](#) to a debate reached its destination after Friend George had sailed. The English visitors who still remained in [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friends John Stubbs, John Burnyeat, and [William Edmundson](#), eagerly accepted the challenge. The debate in Newport would take place at the Friends meetinghouse over a 3-day period, that in Providence over a single day. (The occasion would not be well-mannered: Friend Henry Nichols would insist upon singing loudly, while Friend Ann Eaton would insist upon praying loudly, struggling to drown out the Reverend Williams's voice.) The Reverend would publish an account of this as THE FOX DIGGER OUT OF HIS BURROWES, and then the Quakers would blast back with A NEW-ENGLAND FIRE-BRAND QUENCHED.

Two of Friend [George Fox](#)'s American traveling companions, Friends John Burnyeat and John Stubbs, held a meeting in [Warwick](#) "where none had been before, and several were convinced.... And there we had to do with one Gorton and his Company, who were by other people there called Gortonians, but they called themselves Generalists. They were of the Opinion, All should be saved. But they were in reality Ranters, for in our Discourse, they would maintain, and say, No creaturely actions could be sin; and would have no whoredom, nor drunkenness, nor the like to be sin, but what was spiritual; the outward action was but creaturely. And thus in their filthy, unclean spirits, they, like the old Ranters, made merry over the reproof of God's Spirit. So from thence we came down again to Road Island, and there we spent some time." (I do not know whether the not-well-mannered meeting described above as having taken place in Providence, and the meeting that included Gortonians described above as having taken place in Warwick just south of Providence, constitute the same event described in different manners — or whether these were two separate occasions. We need to bear in mind that neither George Fox nor Roger Williams were present at this meeting, and that if [Samuell Gorton](#) was present, he was present as an aged man who had recently retired after sitting in the colonial legislature. We need to bear in mind also that Warwick was not a town in which there had ever been a [Quaker](#) meeting — in fact the Friends would not settle a meeting in Warwick until more than two decades subsequent to Gorton's death, in 1699, and the local meeting would not erect its 1st meetinghouse until about 1720.)

August 12: [William Coddington](#) had become a Quaker. He was distressed by the persecution of the [Quakers](#) at Boston, and wrote a letter of admonition to his old friend Governor Bellingham and some of the council, which Bellingham burned without communication to the others.





SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

September 7: Friend [George Fox](#) returned from Rhode Island and Providence Plantations to Oyster Bay on Long Island:

[PROVIDENCE](#)

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

We got safe to Oyster Bay, in Long Island, which, they say, is about two hundred miles from Rhode Island, the seventh of the Sixth month, very early in the morning.

At Oyster Bay we had a very large meeting. The same day James Lancaster and Christopher Holder went over the bay to Rye, on the continent, in Governor Winthrop's government [Although Rye is now in New York, the boundary between New York and Connecticut was in dispute and at this time Rye seems to have been within Governor Winthrop's jurisdiction.], and had a meeting there.

From Oyster Bay, we passed about thirty miles to Flushing, where we had a very large meeting, many hundreds of people being there; some of whom came about thirty miles to it. A glorious and heavenly meeting it was (praised be the Lord God!), and the people were much satisfied.

Meanwhile Christopher Holder and some other Friends went to a town in Long Island, called Jamaica, and had a meeting there.

We passed from Flushing to Gravesend, about twenty miles, and there had three precious meetings; to which many would have come from New York, but that the weather hindered them.

Being clear of this place, we hired a sloop, and, the wind serving, set out for the new country now called Jersey. Passing down the bay by Coney [Rabbit] Island, Natton [Governor's] Island, and Staten Island, we came to Richard Hartshorn's at Middletown harbour [in New Jersey], about break of day, the twenty-seventh of the Sixth month.

Next day we rode about thirty miles into that country, through the woods, and over very bad bogs, one worse than all the rest; the descent into which was so steep that we were fain to slide down with our horses, and then let them lie and breathe themselves before they could go on. This place the people of the country called Purgatory.

We got at length to Shrewsbury, in East Jersey, and on First-day had a precious meeting there, to which Friends and other people came from afar, and the blessed presence of the Lord was with us. The same week we had a men's and women's meeting out of most parts of New Jersey.

They are building a meeting place in the midst of them and there is a monthly and general meeting set up which will be of great service in those parts in keeping up the gospel order and government of Christ Jesus, of the increase of which there is no end, that they who are faithful may see that all who profess the holy Truth live in the pure religion, and walk as becometh the gospel.

[FOX'S JOURNAL](#)



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

The following was not in any sense a faith healing, but merely what for an isolated setting would reflect sound and sensible emergency medical practice:

While we were at Shrewsbury, an accident befell, which for the time was a great exercise to us. John Jay, a Friend of Barbadoes, who had come with us from Rhode Island, and intended to accompany us through the woods to Maryland, being to try a horse, got upon his back, and the horse fell a-running, cast him down upon his head, and broke his neck, as the people said. Those that were near him took him up as dead, carried him a good way, and laid him on a tree.

I got to him as soon as I could; and, feeling him, concluded he was dead. As I stood pitying him and his family, I took hold of his hair, and his head turned any way, his neck was so limber. Whereupon I took his head in both my hands, and, setting my knees against the tree, I raised his head, and perceived there was nothing out or broken that way.

Then I put one hand under his chin, and the other behind his head, and raised his head two or three times with all my strength, and brought it in. I soon perceived his neck began to grow stiff again, and then he began to rattle in his throat, and quickly after to breathe.

The people were amazed; but I bade them have a good heart, be of good faith, and carry him into the house. They did so, and set him by the fire. I bade them get him something warm to drink, and put him to bed. After he had been in the house a while he began to speak; but did not know where he had been.

The next day we passed away (and he with us, pretty well) about sixteen miles to a meeting at Middletown, through woods and bogs, and over a river; where we swam our horses, and got over ourselves upon a hollow tree. Many hundred miles did he travel with us after this.

To this meeting came most of the people of the town. A glorious meeting we had, and the Truth was over all; blessed be the great Lord God for ever! After the meeting we went to Middletown Harbor, about five miles, in order to take our long journey next morning, through the woods towards Maryland; having hired Indians for our guides.

FOX'S JOURNAL

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

October 9: Friend [George Fox](#) rode off the edge of the map into the uncharted mainland of the continent:

George Fox

I determined to pass through the woods on the other side of Delaware bay, that we might head the creeks and rivers as much as possible. On the 9th of the Seventh month we set forwards, and passed through many Indian towns, and over some rivers and bogs; and when we had ridden about forty miles, we made a fire at night, and lay down by it. As we came among the Indians, we declared the day of the Lord to them. Next day we travelled fifty miles, as we computed; and at night, finding an old house, which the Indians had forced the people to leave, we made a fire and stayed there, at the head of Delaware Bay. Next day we swam our horses over a river about a mile wide, first to an island called Upper Tinicum, and then to the mainland; having hired Indians to help us over in their canoes. [This crossing was presumably made just in front of what is now the city of Burlington.] This day we rode but about thirty miles, and came at night to a Swede's house, where we got a little straw, and stayed that night. Next day, having hired another guide, we travelled about forty miles through the woods, and made a fire at night, by which we lay, and dried ourselves; for we were often wet in our travels. The next day we passed over a desperate river [the Brandywine], which had in it many rocks and broad stones, very hazardous to us and our horses. Thence we came to Christiana River [Christiana Creek, formed from a junction of Red Clay and White Clay Creeks, joins the Delaware about two miles below Wilmington.], where we swam over our horses, and went over ourselves in canoes; but the sides of this river were so bad and wiry, that some of the horses were almost laid up. Thence we came to New Castle [in Delaware], heretofore called New Amsterdam; and being very weary, and inquiring in the town where we might buy some corn for our horses, the governor came and invited me to his house, and afterwards desired me to lodge there; telling me he had a bed for me, and I should be welcome. So I stayed, the other Friends being taken care of also. This was on a Seventh-day; and he offering his house for a meeting, we had the next day a pretty large one; for most of the town were at it. Here had never been a meeting before, nor any within a great way; but this was a very precious one. Many were tender, and confessed to the Truth, and some received it; blessed be the Lord for ever!

FOX'S JOURNAL



October 16: Friend [George Fox](#) continued across a sector of the universe in which the only markers seemed to be the passings of the barriers of rivers, and the passings of the barriers of nights:

George Fox

The 16th of the Seventh month we set forward, and travelled, as near as we could compute, about fifty miles, through the woods and over the bogs, heading Bohemia River and Sassafras River [two of the many arms of Chesapeake Bay]. At night we made a fire in the woods, and lay there all night. It being rainy weather, we got under some thick trees for shelter, and afterwards dried ourselves again by the fire.

Next day we waded through Chester River, a very broad water, and afterwards passing through many bad bogs, lay that night also in the woods by a fire, not having gone above thirty miles that day. The day following we travelled hard, though we had some troublesome bogs in our way; we rode about fifty miles, and got safe that night to Robert Harwood's, at Miles River [now St. Michael's], in Maryland.

This was the 18th of the Seventh month; and though we were very weary, and much dirtied with the bogs, yet hearing of a meeting next day, we went to it, and from it to John Edmundson's. Thence we went three or four miles by water to a meeting on the First-day following.

At this meeting a judge's wife, who had never been at any of our meetings before, was reached. She said after the meeting that she would rather hear us once than the priests a thousand times. Many others also were well satisfied; for the power of the Lord was eminently with us. Blessed for ever be His holy name!

We passed thence about twenty-two miles, and had a good meeting upon the Kentish shore [the shore of Kent County, Maryland], to which one of the judges came. After another good meeting hard by, at William Wilcock's, where we had good service for the Lord, we went by water about twenty miles to a very large meeting, where were some hundreds of people, four justices of peace, the high sheriff of Delaware, and others. There were also an Indian emperor or governor, and two others of the chief men among the Indians.

With these Indians I had a good opportunity. I spoke to them by an interpreter: they heard the Truth attentively, and were very loving. A blessed meeting this was, of great service both for convincing and for establishing in the Truth those that were convinced of it. Blessed be the Lord, who causeth His blessed Truth to spread!

After the meeting there came to me a woman whose husband was one of the judges of that country, and a member of the assembly there. She told me that her husband was sick, not likely to live; and desired me to go home with her to see him. It was three miles to her house, and I being just come hot out of the meeting, it was hard for me then to go; yet considering the service, I got a horse, went with her, visited her husband, and spoke to him what the Lord gave me. The man was much refreshed, and finely raised up by the power of the Lord; and afterwards came to our meetings.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

I went back to the Friends that night, and next day we departed thence about nineteen or twenty miles to Tredhaven creek [Tredhaven or Thirdhaven was farther down the Bay, where the boats were so thick it seemed like the Thames], to John Edmundson's again; whence, the 3d of Eighth month, we went to the General Meeting for all Maryland Friends.

[This Yearly Meeting had been established in 1672.]

This held five days. The first three meetings were for public worship, to which people of all sorts came; the other two were men's and women's meetings. To the public meetings came many Protestants of diverse sorts, and some Papists. Amongst these were several magistrates and their wives, and other persons of chief account in the country. There were so many besides Friends that it was thought there were sometimes a thousand people at one of these meetings; so that, though they had not long before enlarged their meeting-place, and made it as large again as it was before, it could not contain the people.

I went by boat every day four or five miles to it, and there were so many boats at that time passing upon the river that it was almost like the Thames. The people said there were never so many boats seen there together before, and one of the justices said he had never seen so many people together in that country before. It was a very heavenly meeting, wherein the presence of the Lord was gloriously manifested. Friends were sweetly refreshed, the people generally satisfied, and many convinced; for the blessed power of the Lord was over all; everlasting praises to His holy name for ever!

After the public meetings were over, the men's and women's meetings began, and were held the other two days; for I had something to impart to them which concerned the glory of God, the order of the gospel, and the government of Christ Jesus.

When these meetings were over, we took our leave of Friends in those parts, whom we left well established in the Truth.

FOX'S JOURNAL

October 20: Friend [William Coddington](#) of [Rhode Island](#), distressed by the persecution of the [Quakers](#) at Boston, had written a letter of admonition to his old friend the Governor and some of the council, and had learned that Bellingham had burned this letter without informing the others. He therefore on this day wrote a 2d such letter of admonition, sending this new one as a hand-carry by Leverett.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

November 10: Friend [George Fox](#) continued along the continental shoreline in a small boat, day after day and isolated settlement after isolated settlement:

George Fox

On the 10th of the Eighth month we went thence about thirty miles by water, passing by Crane's Island, Swan Island, and Kent Island, in very foul weather and much rain. Our boat being open, we were not only very much wet, but in great danger of being overset; insomuch that some thought we could not escape being cast away. But, blessed be God, we fared very well, and came safely to shore next morning.

Having got to a little house, dried our clothes by the fire, and refreshed ourselves a little, we took to our boat again; and put off from land, sometimes sailing and sometimes rowing; but having very foul weather that day too, we could not get above twelve miles forward. At night we got to land, and made a fire; some lay by that, and some by a fire at a house a little way off.

Next morning we passed over the Great Bay, and sailed about forty miles that day. Making to shore at night, we lay there, some in the boat, and some at an ale-house.

Next morning being First-day, we went six or seven miles to the house of a Friend who was a justice of the peace, where we had a meeting. This was a little above the head of the Great Bay. We had been almost four days on the water, and were weary with rowing, yet all was very well; blessed and praised be the Lord!

We went next day to another Friend's house, near the head of Hatton's Island, where we had good service amongst Friends and others; as we had also the day following at the house of George Wilson, a Friend that lived about three miles further, where we had a very precious meeting, there being great tenderness amongst the people.

After this meeting we sailed about ten miles to the house of James Frizby, a justice of the peace, where, the 16th of the Eighth month, we had a very large meeting, at which, besides Friends, were some hundreds of people, it was supposed. Amongst them were several justices, captains, and the sheriff, with other persons of note.

A blessed heavenly meeting this was; a powerful, thundering testimony for Truth was borne therein; a great sense there was upon the people, and much brokenness and tenderness amongst them.

We stayed till about the eleventh hour in the night, when the tide turned for us; then, taking boat, we passed that night and the next day about fifty miles to another Friend's house. The next two days we made short journeys visiting Friends.

FOX'S JOURNAL



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

November 20: Friend [George Fox](#) continued along the continental shoreline in a small boat, day after day and isolated settlement after isolated settlement:

George Fox

The 20th of the month we had a great meeting at a place called Severn, where there was a meeting place, but not large enough to hold the people. Diverse chief magistrates were at it, with many other considerable people, and it gave them generally great satisfaction.

Two days after we had a meeting with some that walked disorderly, and had good service in it. Then, spending a day or two in visiting Friends, we passed to the Western Shore, and on the 25th had a large and precious meeting at William Coale's, where the speaker of their assembly, with his wife, a justice of peace, and several people of quality, were present.

Next day we had a meeting, six or seven miles further, at Abraham Birkhead's, where were many of the magistrates and upper sort; and the speaker of the assembly for that country was convinced. A blessed meeting it was; praised be the Lord!

FOX'S JOURNAL



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

November 28: Friend [George Fox](#) continued along the shoreline of Maryland in a small boat, day after day and isolated settlement after isolated settlement:

George Fox

We travelled the next day; and the day following, the 28th of the Eighth month, had a large and very precious meeting at Peter Sharp's, on the Cliffs, between thirty and forty miles distant from the former. Many of the magistrates and upper rank of people were present, and a heavenly meeting it was. The wife of one of the Governor's council was convinced; and her husband was very loving to Friends. A justice of the peace from Virginia was convinced and hath had a meeting since at his house. Some Papists were at this meeting, one of whom, before he came, threatened to dispute with me; but he was reached and could not oppose. Blessed be the Lord, the Truth reached into the hearts of people beyond words, and it is of a good savour amongst them! After the meeting we went about eighteen miles to the house of James Preston, a Friend that lived on Patuxent River. Thither came to us an Indian king, with his brother, to whom I spoke, and found they understood what I spoke of. Having finished our service in Maryland, and intending to go to Virginia, we had a meeting at Patuxent on the 4th of the Ninth month, to take our leave of Friends. Many people of all Sorts were at it, and a powerful meeting it was.

FOX'S JOURNAL



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

December 5: Friend [George Fox](#) set sail across the bay, from Maryland to Virginia, on his way down through the swamps of the Virginia coast in the direction of Carolina:

George Fox

On the 5th we set sail for Virginia, and in three days came to a place called Nancemond, about two hundred miles from Maryland. In this voyage we met with foul weather, storms, and rain, and lay in the woods by a fire in the night.

At Nancemond lived a Friend called the widow Wright. Next day we had a great meeting there, of Friends and others. There came to it Colonel Dewes, with several other officers and magistrates, who were much taken with the Truth declared.

After this, we hastened towards Carolina; yet had several meetings by the way, wherein we had good service for the Lord; one about four miles from Nancemond Water, which was very precious; and there was a men's and women's meeting settled, for taking care of the affairs of the Church. Another very good one also we had at William Yarrow's, at Pagan Creek, which was so large, that we were fain to be abroad, the house not being large enough to contain the people. A great openness there was; the sound of Truth spread abroad, and had a good savour in the hearts of people; the Lord have the glory for ever!

After this our way to Carolina grew worse, being much of it plashy, and pretty full of great bogs and swamps; so that we were commonly wet to the knees, and lay abroad at nights in the woods by a fire.

One night we got to a poor house at Sommertown [Somerton], and lay by the fire. The woman of the house had a sense of God upon her. The report of our travel had reached thither, and drawn some that lived beyond Sommertown to that house, in expectation to see and hear us (so acceptable was the sound of Truth in that wilderness country); but they missed us.

FOX'S JOURNAL



December 21[?]: Friend [George Fox](#) arrived at Roanoke in what has become [North Carolina](#):

George Fox

The next day, the 21[?]st of the Ninth month, having travelled hard through the woods and over many bogs and swamps, we reached Bonner's Creek; and there we lay that night by the fireside, the woman lending us a mat to lie on.

This was the first house we came to in Carolina. Here we left our horses, over-wearied with travel. Thence we went down the creek in a canoe, to Macocomocock [Chowan] River, and came to Hugh Smith's house, where the people of other professions came to see us (for there were no Friends in that part of the country), and many of them received us gladly.

Amongst others came Nathaniel Batts, who had been governor of Roanoke; he went by the name of Captain Batts, and had been a rude, desperate man. He asked me about a woman in Cumberland, who, he said he had been told, had been healed by our prayers, and by laying on of hands after she had been long sick, and given over by the physicians; and he desired to know the certainty of it. I told him we did not glory in such things, but many such things had been done by the power of Christ.

Not far from here we had a meeting among the people, and they were taken with the Truth; blessed be the Lord! Then passing down the river Maratick [Roanoke] in a canoe, we went down the bay Coney-Hoe, and came to the house of a captain, who was very loving, and lent us his boat, for we were much wet in the canoe, the water splashing in upon us. With this boat we went to the Governor's house; but the water in some places was so shallow that the boat, being laden, could not swim; so we were fain to put off our shoes and stockings, and wade through the water some distance.

The Governor, with his wife, received us lovingly; but a doctor there would needs dispute with us. And truly his opposing us was of good service, giving occasion for the opening of many things to the people concerning the Light and Spirit of God, which he denied to be in everyone; and affirmed that it was not in the Indians.

** Whereupon I called an Indian to us, and asked him whether when he lied, or did wrong to any one, there was not something in him that reprov'd him for it. He said there was such a thing in him, that did so reprove him; and he was ashamed when he had done wrong, or spoken wrong. So we shamed the doctor before the Governor and the people; insomuch that the poor man ran out so far that at length he would not own the Scriptures. We tarried at the Governor's that night; and next morning he very courteously walked with us himself about two miles through the woods, to a place whither he had sent our boat about to meet us. Taking leave of him, we entered our boat, and went that day about thirty miles to the house of Joseph Scott, one of the representatives of the country.*

There we had a sound, precious meeting; the people were tender, and much desired after meetings. At a house about four miles further, we had another meeting, to which came the Governor's secretary, who was chief secretary of the province, and had been formerly convinced.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL

We note above Friend George's report of one Nathaniel Batts, who had formerly been Governor of Roanoke, "who goeth by the name of Captain Batts, who hath been a rude desperate man who hath a great command over the country, especially over the Indians." He also denominates this Roanoke resident as "The Old Governor," and reports that he moved "up and down among the people in the country," exercising a "great command over the country" despite the fact that he had formally retired from public life seven years before. The point of this is that it is very clear that in this area of the coast there had been an organized pre-colonial government, among a group of early settlers, of which we now know very little. (Presumably, the reason why we know so very little of this is, these early people had been racially integrated — when the later white overlords of Virginia and North Carolina came along, with their race-based system of labor, this early, racially integrated society would be gradually more and more marginalized and impoverished, and driven back into the swamps, and its records would be lost.)

Toward the end of December: Friend [George Fox](#) turned back from Carolina toward Virginia:

Having visited the north part of Carolina, and made a little entrance for Truth upon the people there, we began to return towards Virginia, having several meetings in our way, wherein we had very good service for the Lord, the people being generally tender and open; blessed be the Lord!

We lay one night at the house of the secretary, to get to which gave us much trouble; for the water being shallow, we could not bring our boat to shore; but the secretary's wife, seeing our strait, came herself in a canoe (her husband being from home) and brought us to land.

Next morning our boat was sunk; but we got her up, mended her, and went away in her that day about twenty-four miles, the water being rough, and the winds high; but the great power of God was seen, in carrying us safe in that rotten boat.

Upon our return we had a very precious meeting at Hugh Smith's; praised be the Lord for ever! The people were very tender, and very good service we had amongst them. There was at this meeting an Indian captain, who was very loving; and acknowledged it to be Truth that was spoken. There was also one of the Indian priests, whom they called a Pawaw, who sat soberly among the people.

FOX'S JOURNAL



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

1673

Facing a threat from the Dutch, the [Quaker](#)-dominated government of [Rhode Island](#) issued orders to the towns to put the colony in a posture of defence, and authorized the appointment of military commanders.¹²² Meredith Baldwin Weddle, in *WALKING IN THE WAY OF PEACE: QUAKER PACIFISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY* (NY: Oxford UP, 2001), and in “Early Quaker Peace Testimony” in Mullett’s *NEW LIGHT ON GEORGE FOX*, has inferred that in accordance with “their own understanding of the peace testimony,” the Friends of that colony were prepared to aid in fighting defensively, for security. According to such an understanding of the Quaker Peace Testimony of 1660, although as children of the light they must practice nonviolence and abstain from “carnal weapons,” they could support the magistrate in his wielding of the sword for purposes of domestic order and security, for instance, for the protection of innocent white women and children.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

122. RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND...Volume 2, page 489

There was a secession from the Baptist congregation in Horse-lie-down that resulted in the formation of the Old Kent Road congregation.

[John Josselyn's ACCOUNT OF TWO VOYAGES TO NEW-ENGLAND.](#)¹²³

AN ACCOUNT OF TWO VOYAGES TO NEW-ENGLAND

From the year of the World *to the year of Christ 1673.*

**... Narragansets-Bay, within which Bay is Rhode-
 Island a Harbour for the Shunamitish Brethren,
 as the Saints-Errant, the Quakers who are rather
 to be esteemed Vagabonds than religious persons,
 &c.**
**... Quakers they whip, banish, and hang if they
 return again. Anabaptists they imprison, fine and
 weary out.**
**... There are none that beg in the Countrey, but
 there be Witches too many, bottle-bellied Witches
 amongst the Quakers, and others that produce
 many strange apparations if you will believe
 report, of a *Shallop* at Sea man'd with women....**

BY John Josselyn Gent.

**JOHN JOSSELYN'S
 CHRONOLOGY** **JOHN JOSSELYN'S
 TWO VOYAGES**

NARRAGANSETT BAY
 RHODE ISLAND
 RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
 BAPTISTS
 WITCHES

123. A text Henry Thoreau would be frequently citing, involving 17th-Century inventories of American resources.

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

[William Hall](#) was for one last time Deputy from [Portsmouth](#) to the General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#). He was appointed on a committee for the purpose of “treating with the Indians about [drunkenness](#), and to seriously council them, and agree of Some way to prevent extreme excess of Indian drunkenness.” Five headmen were named with whom the committee should treat, among whom was [Metacom](#) of [Mount Hope](#), called King [Phillip](#).

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”





SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

January 9: Friend [George Fox](#) arrived back in Virginia — and notice that here again, as in the narrative of Mistress Mary Rowlandson, we learn that the domestic mastiff of the era, although trained to tear apart native Americans on a racial basis, could nicely distinguish between them and any occasional weary soiled white traveler who happened to be approaching the home:

The 9th of the Tenth month we got back to Bonner's Creek, where we had left our horses, having spent about eighteen days in the north of Carolina.

Our horses having rested, we set forward for Virginia again, travelling through the woods and bogs as far as we could well reach that day, and at night lying by a fire in the woods. Next day we had a tedious journey through bogs and swamps, and were exceedingly wet and dirty all the day, but dried ourselves at night by a fire.

** We got that night to Sommertown. As we came near, the woman of the house, seeing us, spoke to her son to keep up their dogs; for both in Virginia and Carolina (living lonely in the woods) they generally keep great dogs to guard their houses. But the son said, "There is no need; our dogs will not meddle with these people." When we were come into the house, she told us we were like the children of Israel, against whom the dogs did not move their tongues. Here we lay in our clothes by the fire, as we had done many a night before.*

Next day we had a meeting; for the people, having been informed of us, had a great desire to hear us; and a very good meeting we had among them, where we never had had one before; praised be the Lord for ever! After the meeting we hastened away.

When we had ridden about twenty miles, calling at a house to inquire the way, the people desired us to tarry all night with them; which we did. Next day we came among Friends, after we had travelled about an hundred miles from Carolina into Virginia: in which time we observed great variety of climates, having passed in a few days from a very cold to a warm and spring-like country. But the power of the Lord is the same in all, is over all, and doth reach the good in all; praised be the Lord for ever!

We spent about three weeks in travelling through Virginia, mostly amongst Friends, having large and precious meetings in several parts of the country; as at the widow Wright's, where many of the magistrates, officers, and other high people came. A most heavenly meeting we had; wherein the power of the Lord was so great that it struck a dread upon the assembly, chained all down, and brought reverence upon the people's minds.

Among the officers was a major, kinsman to the priest, who told me that the priest had threatened to come and oppose us. But the Lord's power was too strong for him, and stopped him; and we were quiet and peaceable. The people were wonderfully affected with the testimony of Truth; blessed be the Lord for ever!

FOX'S JOURNAL



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

January 30: Friend [George Fox](#) attempted to sail back across the bay from Virginia to Maryland, but due to the weather they couldn't make it across and were forced to put ashore, still in the howling wilderness:

George Fox

Having finished what service lay upon us in Virginia, on the 30th we set sail in an open sloop for Maryland. But having a great storm, and being much wet, we were glad to get to shore before night; and, walking to a house at Willoughby Point, we got lodging there that night. The woman of the house was a widow, and a very tender person; she had never received Friends before; but she received us very kindly, and with tears in her eyes.

We returned to our boat in the morning, and hoisted our sail, getting forward as fast as we could. But towards evening, a storm rising, we had much ado to get to shore; and our boat being open, the water splashed often in, and sometimes over us, so that we were completely wet. Being got to land, we made a fire in the woods to warm and dry us, and there we lay all night, the wolves howling about us.

FOX'S JOURNAL

February 1: Friend [George Fox](#) attempted again to sail back across the bay from Virginia to Maryland, but due to adverse winds the party would have to put ashore again and again:

George Fox

On the 1st of the Eleventh month we sailed again. The wind being against us, we made but little headway, and were fain to get to shore at Point Comfort, where yet we found but small comfort. For the weather was so cold that though we made a good fire in the woods to lie by, the water that we had brought for our use was frozen near the fireside. We made to sea again next day; but the wind being strong and against us, we advanced but little. We were glad to get to land again, and travelled about to find some house where we might buy provisions, for our store was spent.

That night, also, we lay in the woods; and so extremely cold was the weather, the wind blowing high, and the frost and snow being great, that it was hard for some of us to abide it.

FOX'S JOURNAL



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

February 3: Friend [George Fox](#) finally made it back to Virginia, and found that the winter there was quite unseasonably cold and snowy (but at least there was some news of the rest of the world):

George Fox

On the 3d, the wind setting pretty fair, we fetched it up by sailing and rowing, and got that night to Milford Haven, where we lay at Richard Long's, near Quince's Island.

Next day we passed by Rappahannock River, where dwell many people; and Friends had a meeting there at the house of a justice, who had formerly been at a meeting where I was.

We passed over Potomac River also, the winds being high, the water very rough, our sloop open, and the weather extremely cold; and had a meeting there also, where some people were convinced. When we parted thence, some of our company went amongst them. We next steered our course for Patuxent River. I sat at the helm the greater part of the day, and some of the night. About the first hour in the morning we reached James Preston's house, on Patuxent River, which is about two hundred miles from Nancemond in Virginia.

We were very weary; yet the next day being the first of the week, we went to the meeting not far from there. The same week we went to an Indian king's cabin, where were several of the Indians, with whom we had a good opportunity to discourse; and they carried themselves very lovingly. We went also that week to a general meeting; then about eighteen miles further to John Geary's, where we had a very precious meeting; praised be the Lord God for ever!

After this the cold grew so exceedingly sharp, the frost and snow so extreme, beyond what was usual in that country, that we could hardly endure it. Neither was it easy or safe to stir out; yet we got, with some difficulty, six miles through the snow to John Mayor's, where we met with some Friends come from New England, whom we had left there when we came away; and glad we were to see each other, after so long and tedious travels.

By these Friends we understood that William Edmundson, having been at Rhode Island and New England, was gone thence for Ireland; that Solomon Eccles, coming from Jamaica and landing at Boston in New England, was taken at a meeting there, and banished to Barbadoes; that John Stubbs and another Friend were gone into New Jersey, and several other Friends to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands. It was matter of joy to us to understand that the work of the Lord went on and prospered, and that Friends were unwearied and diligent in the service.

FOX'S JOURNAL



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

February 27: Friend [George Fox](#) continued his missionary efforts in Virginia:

George Fox

The 27th of the Eleventh month we had a very precious meeting in a tobacco-house. The next day we returned to James Preston's, about eighteen miles distant. When we came there, we found his house had been burnt to the ground the night before, through the carelessness of a maid-servant; so we lay three nights on the ground by the fire, the weather being very cold.

We made an observation which was somewhat strange, but certainly true; that one day, in the midst of this cold weather, the wind turning into the south, it grew so hot that we could hardly bear the heat; and the next day and night, the wind chopping back into the north, we could hardly endure the cold.

Having travelled through most parts of that country, and visited most of the plantations, and having sounded the alarm to all people where we came, and proclaimed the day of God's salvation amongst them, we found our spirits began to be clear of these parts of the world, and draw towards Old England again. Yet we were desirous, and felt freedom from the Lord, to stay over the general meeting for the province of Maryland, which drew nigh; that we might see Friends generally together before we departed.

Spending our time in the interim in visiting Friends and Friendly people, in attending meetings about the Clips and Patuxent, and in writing answers to cavilling objections which some of Truth's adversaries had raised and spread abroad to hinder people from receiving the Truth, we were not idle, but laboured in the work of the Lord until that general provincial meeting came on, which began on the 17th of the Third month, and lasted four days....

FOX'S JOURNAL

May 12: Mrs. Rebeca Cornell widow of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) having met with death in a manner considered suspicious, here is the record of the trial for murder on this day of her son Thomas Cornell, who had been the last person to visit her in her room before she was found dead, as preserved in RECORDS OF THE GENERAL COURT OF TRIALS 1671-1704 (Newport Court Book A; October 1673).

READ ABOUT THIS CASE

As we see, despite the court's discovery that the deceased had been speaking of suicide and despite an entire absence of evidence that the death had not been a suicide, Thomas Cornell was adjudged guilty of murder, apparently upon the weight of spectral evidence which would not today be considered, and condemned to be [hanged](#).¹²⁴

At the Generall Court of Tryalls Held for the Collony at Newport
the: 12th of May 1673



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Mr Nicholas Easton Governor
Mr William Coddington Dept Governr
Mr Walter Clarke – Asistant
Mr Daniell Gould – Asistant
Mr John Easton – Asistant
Mr William Harris Asistant
Mr Thomas Harris Asistant
Mr Thomas ffeild Asistant
Mr Joshua Coggeshall Asistant
Mr John Tripp Asistant
Mr Walter Todd – Asistant
Mr Job Almy – Asistant
John Sanford Recorder
James Rogers Genl Serant
Mr Peter Easton Genrl Treasurer
Mr John Easton Genrl Aturney

Gran Jurriors Engaged

Lt Joseph Torrey foreman
Mr Robert Stanton
Mr William Case
Mr Thomas Clifton
Mr Thomas Burge
Mr Gidion Freeborne
Mr John Clarke
Lt ffrancis Brayton
Mr Phillip Eades
Mr William Hiscox
Mr John Odlin
Mr Henry Lilly

Upon Indictment by the Generall Aturny Mr John Easton in the behalfe of our Soverreigne Lord the King against Thomas Cornell now prissoner ffor that on the Eveninge of the Eight day of ffebruary last in the 25th yeare of his Majties Reigne Anno 1672 the said Thomas did murther his mother Rebecca Cornell or was aydeinge or abettinge thereto. The said Thomas Cornell beinge cald for and brought forth into Court, and his charge Read, and

124. You will note that some of the officials engaged in this trial, such as Mr. Nicholas Easton the governor of the colony, were members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). Refer to Jane Fletcher Fiske, GLEANINGS FROM NEWPORT COURT FILES 1659 TO 1783 (Boxford, Massachusetts : Jane Fletcher Fiske, 1998), consisting of 1,182 abstracts of court files concerning Newport people and situations, as well as many people from other locations who appear in the records, and to RHODE ISLAND COURT OF TRIALS 1671-1704 (Boxford, Massachusetts: Jane Fletcher Fiske, 1998).



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demanded of whether Guilty or Not Guilty – pleads Not Guilty, and Referrs himselfe for Tryall to God and the Cuntry. After all Lawful Liberty granted by the Court as to Exceptions The Jurriours were sollemnly Engaged on the case and sent forth.

Jurriours on the case [listed in margin]

Mr Henry Palmer foreman

Daniell Greenell

James Man

William Allin

John Read

John Spencer

Richard Dunn

John Rogers

Serjt Clement Weaver

John Bliss

John Strainge

John Crandell junr

The Jury Returne their Verdict publickly to him declared. Guilty. Thereupon the Court doe pass this followinge centance to the Prissoner.

Whereas you Thomas Cornell have been in this Court Indicted and charged for murthering your mother Mrs Rebecca Cornell Widow. and you beinge by your peers the Jury found Guilty. Know and to that end prepare your selfe, that you are by this Court Centanced to be Carried from hence to the Com[m]on Goale, and from thence on fryday next which will be the twenty thre day of this instant month May about one of the clock to be carried from the said Goale to the place the Gallowes – and there to be Hanged by the neck untill you are dead dead. The Centance beinge pronounced and to him openly declared The said Thomas Cornell is Remitted to the Generall Serjants Custody safely to be kept till the day of Exicution.

A warrant ordered and granted to seize the Estate of Thomas Cornell and make Returne thereof to this Court.

Ordered that a strict Watch be kept in and about the prisson untill the day of the Execution of Thomas Cornell, and that the said Thomas Cornell shall be manacled and surely fastned to the great chaine – And ordered that James Clarke and James Browne cunstables in Newport are Authorized and desired to Asist the Generall Serjant in settinge and orderinge the watch for secureinge the said prissoner, which watch are to be Eight in the Night time and four in the day time.

Those following are Testimonys Concerning Thomas Cornell Murdering of his Mother Rebeca Cornell: which was ordered to be Recorded.



Thomas Cornell the son of Rebeca Cornell, being inquired of us the Coroners Inquest, doe declare yt in the eveninge before twas darke, came into the roome and satt downe & discoursed with his Mother Rebeca for ye space of about one houre and a halfe; and then went forth into the next Roome, where he stayd about Threequarters of an houre, then his Wife sent his son Edward into the roome to his Grandmothr to know whether shee would have some milke boyled for her supper; the Child coming in to the roome saw some fire in the roome upon the floore, and the Child came back unto us, and fetcht the candle to see what fire it was, Henry Straite went Presently into the roome, my selfe and the rest followed in A Huddle, Henry Straite coming in saw some fire, and stooped, and with his Hands raked fire upon the floore, supposing it to be and Indian that was Drunke, and Burnt, soe he layd hold of the Arme, my selfe Immediately following, by the light perceived it was my Mother, and Cryed out, Oh Lord it is my Mother.

Taken upon oath this Present 9th Day of February 1672/3

Before me William Baulston Assist. & Coroner.

Henry Straite being Examined upon Oath before the Coroner, Testifies, that he knows nothing how Rebeca Cornell came to Her untimely Death, onely sayth that Edward Cornell being sent in unto his Grand mother to Know what shee would have for Her supper, and comeing into the roome, saw fire in the floore, and came out unto us, and tooke the Candle to see what fire twas, he the sayd Henry rann, the Boy with the Candle followed, and Thomas Cornell, he the sayd Henry comeing into the roome, saw fire upon the floore, he stooped down; and with his hand raked fire that was upon the floore, and tooke hold of an Arme, and spake Indian, supposeing it was an Indian, Drunke and Burnt; Thomas Cornell following, and by the Light deserned & called out, and sayd, Oh Lord it is my Mother.

Taken upon oath the yeare and Day above written.

Before me William Baulston Assist. & Corroner.

Wee the Coroners Inquest for his Majestie being Impanelled, and Engaged this Present 9th Day of ffebruary 1672/3 by Mr William Baulston Assisstt and Coroner for his Matie in the Towne of [Portsmouth](#) in Rhod-Island in the Colony of Rhod-Island and Providence Plantations in New-England, have and by these presents doe declare; That being brought to the place where the Dead Body of Rebeca Cornell was Presented, and Inquiry by us made before the Coroner & Mr Joshua Coggeshall one of the Assistants of the sd Towne, and alsoe Coroner. The Body of the sayd Rebeca we found dead upon the floore, her Clothes very much Burnt by fire, and Her Body very much scorched and burnt by fire, And after dilligent Inquirie and Examination of Wittnesses, wee the sayd Coroners Inquest caused the sayd Body of Rebeca Cornell Widdow to Mr Thomas Cornell of Portsmouth to be stripped of the Residue of Clothes upon it (unburnt) turned and Handled, and searched to the best of our Judgments and understandings, doe finde and declare, That upon the Evening after the Eight Day of



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Febvruary 1672/3 the sayd Rebeca being in or about the age of 73 yeares, was brought to her untimely death by an Unhappie Accident of fire as Shee satt in her Rome, the time afore specified.

That this is our Verdict as the Coroners Inquest, wee give under our hands this Present 9th Day of February 1672/3.

William Dyer fforeman

Edward Lay

John Sanford

Thomas Brook

Georg Lawton

Hugh Parsons

John Albro

Peter Talman

John Anthony senr

ffrancis Brayton

Thomas Wood

William Wilbore

John Brigs of the Towne of [Portsmouth](#) Aged sixty foure yeares or thereabouts, being According to Law Sworne and In[g]aged befor the Councill, Testifieth That on the Twelfth Day of this Instant month ffebruary in the night as this Depont lay in his Bedd, he being in A Dreame of Mrs Rebeca Cornell Deseased, and being betweene Sleepeing and Wakeing, as he thought he felt something heave up the Bedclothes twice, and thought some body had beene coming to bed to hime, where upon he Awaked, and turned himeselfe about in his Bed, and being Turned, he perceived A Light in the roome, like to the Dawning of ye Day, and plainly saw the shape and Apearance of A Woman standing by his Bed side where at he was much Afrighted, and Cryed out, in the name of God what art thou, the Aperation Answered, I am your sister Cornell, and Twice sayd, see how I was Burnt with ffire, and shee plainly Apeered unto hime to be very much burnt about the shoulders, fface, and Head.

Taken before the Deputy Govr and Councill mett the 20th day of ffebruary 1672/3 As Atest John Sanford Secretary.

Mr John Russill of the Towne of Dartmouth in the Colony of New-Plymouth Aged 65 yeares or thereabouts, being According to Law sworne and Engaged before the Councill, Testifieth, that this Deponant, lately haveing some speech with Georg Soule Cunstable of the sayd Towne of Dartmoth. The sayd Soul sayd to this Depont, you being my Anchant ffrind, I have someting to tell you wch I would desire you to be Secret in, and the sayd Soul sayd, he once comeing to Mrs Rebeca Cornells House in Portsmouth, the sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornell sayd to the sayd Soul, that Shee intended in the spring of the yeare, to goe and Dwell with her son



Samuell, but shee feared Shee should be made away before that time. And this Relation of the sayd Georg Souls to this Deponant was since the sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornells Decease.

Taken before the Deputy Govr and Councell mett the 20th day of ffebruary 1672/3. As Atest John Sanford Secretary.

We whose names are under subscribed being on the second inquiry after the untimely death, or decease of Mrs Rebeca Cornell of the Towne of [Portsmouth](#), desired to make Dilligent search whether any wound might be found on Her. Doe thus Affirme that wee found A Suspitious wound on her in the upper-most part of the Stomake, Wittness our hands ye 20th day of ffebruary 1672/3.

Henry Greenland Chyrn

Simon Cooper Chyrn

I doe Atest to ye above Written and declare it to be my Judgment, Wittness my hand the Day & yeare above written John Cranston Depty Govr

The above Premised Henry Greenland & Simon Cooper did both upon their Oaths affirme to the above Premised, Evidence or written, to be truth before John Cranston Depty Govr & Practitioner in Phisick & Chyrurgery

We whose names are hereunto subscribed being by the Depty Govr & major part of the Councell of this his Majesties Colony of Rhod-Island and Providence Plantations, appointed and Empannelled A Coroners Inquest on the Body of Mrs Rebeca Cornell (Widdow to ye deceased Mr Thomas Cornell of [Portsmouth](#)) who came to an untimely, and uncertaine Death, in the night ffollowing the Eight day of this Instant month ffebruary, who this Instant Day, for A Second Inquire, was taken out of Her Grave, upon severall Suspitious reasons Rendered to the Govr, Depty Govr, and sayd Councell. And the Corps of the sayd Rebeca, being Dilligently searched by Chyriurgions in our view, and in their search, as under their hands appeares, they findeing A Suspitious wound in the Body of the sayd Rebeca Cornell in the uppermost part of her Stomake. And wee alsoe finding that the Body was much Burnt and Scorched by fire wee doe declare, and returne our Verdict to be, That wee Conceive and Judg, to the best of our understandings, that by the aforesayd Suspitious wound, and fire, shee the sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornell came bye her Death. In witness whereof wee have sett or hands ye 20th day of ffebyry 1672/3.

John Sanford foremn

Georg Lawton

John Albro

Thomas Wood

Edward Lay

Thomas Brooke

Hugh Persons



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Francis Brayton senr
William Wilbore
James Barker
Peter Easton
Joseph Torrey
Weston Clarke
Samuell Hubbard
Stephen Mumford
Edward Greenman
Phillip Edes
Caleb Carr
Daniell Gould
Henry Bull
Lawrance Turner
Thomas Nicolls
Thomas Dungen
Thomas Burg

Thomas Cornell senr of [Portsmouth](#) being Examined concerneing the untimely and uncertaine death of his Mother Rebeca Cornell, wch happened on the 8th of ffebruary 1672/3 in the Evening of the same Day: sayth, he coming in to the House from his Occations: a little after sunsett went to visett his Mother, his son Thomas being then with Her, and satt and discoursed with Her in her roome where shee kept, about one houre and halfe, and then Left her and went to Supper, haveing salt-mackrill for Supper, which his Mother cared not for because shee used to say it made her Dry, and haveing supt, his Wife sent his son Edward to his Mother, to know whether shee would have milke boiled for her supper, or what else shee desired, which might be about Three quarters of one houre, from the time he left her, he being the Last that was with Her; the sayd Edward called, Grandmother, Grandmother, and noebody Answering, and perceaving fire in the roome; came out, and sayd lett me have the Candle to see what fire that is in the other roome, whereupon wee all rann in, in hast, and Henry Straite ran in ffirst, and Rakeing the fire with his Hands, tooke hold of his Mothers Arme, thinkeing it had been A Drunken Indian, and spake Indian to her; at last sayd here is A Drunken Indian Burnt to Death; But the sayd Thomas Cornell, coming in last, perceaved by Her shoose which he saw by the light of the Candle, that it was his Mother, and sayd, Oh Lord, it is my Mother, and tooke up her head in his Armes to see if any life were in Her; findeing her burnt, lyeing along upon the floore with her head towards the fire, her Cloths burnt of on her below and some above, and the Valins of the Bed burnt, and the upper part of the Curtaines where he Judged Shee stood when Shee was on fire; before Shee fell, her Apron & one of her Petty-coats



being Cotton and Wooll, and Judged that her Clothes tooke fire from A Cole that might fall from Her Pipe as shee satt Smoaking in Her Chaire, and haveing seene her in that Condition, as above related, sent out and called in some of the Neighbours liveing neare; which is all that he knows of the Death of his Mother abovementioned; not Judging any one were Instrumentall in any Measure to procure her Death.

Taken before us the 21th of february 1672/3

Nich Easton Govr

Jon Cranston Depty Govr

ffrancis Brinley Assistt

John Easton Assistant

Joshua Coggeshall Assistant

April ye 10th 1673

Sarah Cornell the Wife of Thomas Cornell of [Portsmouth](#), being Examined Concerning the Death of her Mother in Law Rebeca Cornell, sayth, yt ye evening her sayd Mothr was found dead in ye House, about one houre or more, or such a quantity of time; before shee was soe found, her Husband Thomas Cornell was with her to see how shee did, hereing that shee was not well, & tooke A Quill of yarne in his hand to winde, after he came out, he winded halfe a Quill of yarne, & then went to Supper, & one of ye Boies was sent to her sayd Mothr, to know what Shee would have for Supper, upon opening of the dore, ye Great Dogg being in her roome, Leaped out over ye Boy, & ye Boy came out in hast, & desired A Candle to see wt fire yt was in ye roome, whereupon most in the House ran in & found her sayd Mother Rebeca Cornell lyeing dead in the floore, being Burnt, but how it came shee knows not, nor can Imagine, but Lookes at it as A wonderful thing, & the more in regard, part of her Clothes being Cotton and wooll, ye wooll was burnt & ye Cotton Remained whole, which John Gould, John Spencer, & Job Hawkins afterwards saw, comeing to ye House for yt Purpose: ffrurther sayth, wn Georg Lawton & John Albro, being sent for, went into the roome, they smelt ye scent of the Burning of the Clothes, & none before, & when Henry Straite went in first he thought it had beene an Indian yt lay there Dead.

Taken before us. Nich~ Easton Govr

ffrancis Brinley Assistant

At a meeting of ye Dept Govr Mr ffrancis Brinley, Mr John Easton & Mr Joshua Coggeshall Assistants, Held at Mr Joshua Coggeshalls House in Portsmo ye 22th of Feby 1672/3.

Henry Straite being brought before ye Dept Govr & the sd Assistts & Examined wt he could say and relate concerning the late Deceased Rebeca Cornells death. Answered yt ye night that ye sd Mrs Rebeca Cornell lost her life, he was some part of ye night, at Mr Georg Lawtons & came not to Mr Thomas Cornells (where he Diated & Lodged) untill supper time, & wn he came in, some part



of ye supper was upon ye Table, & they were goeing to Supper, & sitting downe to Supper. Mrs Rebeca Cornell, who usially used to be at Supper with us, not being there, this Examine saith he inquired where ye sd Mrs Cornell was, & why shee was not at supper wth them, Mr Thos Cornell Answered, we haveing nothing but mackrill to supper, my Mothr will not eate any, for shee saith it makes her dry in the night. The Examine further saith, yt as soone as they had supped, Tho[m] Cornells wife sd to one of ye boys, by name Edward, goe to yor Grandmother, & ask her whether shee will have any milke for supper; the Ladd going, Emediately returned, and askt for A Candle to see what fire yt was, yt was in his Grandmothrs roome, whereupon they all ran, & this Examine came first to the dore, & into ye roome, & espieing fire on ye floore, he clapt his Hands upon it, and raked away ye fire wth his hands, and then thought it had beene an Indian, & tooke hold on ye Arme, and shakt her, speakeing Indian; whereupon Mr Tho[m] Cornell clapt his hands & cryed out, Oh Lord, it is my Mother. And this Examine also saith, yt there was noe fire in the Curtaines, nor about ye Bedsted when he came in, yett ye Curtins & Valliants at ye foote of the Bedsted was burnt. And alsoe saith yt ye Body lay wth the head towards ye Southmost Dore, & ye feete towards ye other Dore, in wch roome we were & ye Back lay towards ye Bedsteadd ye face towards ye Westmost Window, & lay on ye left side; Also the said Examine saith yt at other times when they have had Mackrill for Supper, ye sd Mrs Rebeca Cornell used to be called, & did use to come & supp with ye rest in Mr Thomas Cornells roome.

Taken upon Oath.

James Moills, being Examined wt he can relate concerneing ye Death of Mrs Rebeca Cornell. Answered that ye night yt ye said Mrs Cornell lost her Life: The Examine & Hen~ Straite were at Mr Georg Lawtons, in ye evening & came not to Mr Tho[m] Cornells till about seven A Clocke, when they came in, part of ye Supper was upon ye Table, & after Supper, Tho[m] Cornells Wife bidd one of ye Boys, by name Edward, goe to his Grandmothr, and ask her wt shee would have for supper; ye ladd goeing in, came Imediately out & askt for A Candle, saying there was fire in his Granmothers roome, upon which every one there Hastened to see what it was. This Examine, wn he came into ye Entry, was goeing out of dores to see if there were not fire on ye outside of ye House, but before he gott out, hereing Hen~ Straite say here is A Drunken Indian burnt to Death, he returned & went into ye roome, & there he saw, the sd Mrs Rebeca Cornell lyeing on ye floore, wth fire about Her, from Her Lower parts neare to ye Arme pits and saith, he knew it to be her by her Shoes, & saith, yt ye Curtins & Valants at ye foote of ye Bedd were burnt, yett ye fire about ye Bedstead was out. And alsoe this Examine saith, yt he haveing being A Servant, as now he is, to ye sd Mr Tho[m] Cornell, hath observed, yt ye sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornell (except not well) did usually be at Meales wth Her son Thomas &c. and wt the Reason was, yt shee was not yt night at Supper wth them, he knows not. This Examine also saith, yt at other times in



ye Evening it was Usiall, & sildome otherwise, yt one or more of ye Children, were in ye roome wth their gran-mother, but knows not ye Reason they, nor any of them were not wth her then. This Examine also saith, yt he was in ye roome wth Mrs Cornell yt Morneing before her death, and then shee said shee was not well, & at noone goeing in to see her, shee said shee was something better. This Examine also saith, yt wn he went into ye roome the night ye sd Mrs Cornell deceased, he saw A peece of her Garment, being Cotton and woollen lyeing upon A Brand on the fire. He alsoe saith shee lay on Her Left side.

Taken upon Oath.

Thomas Cornell (the son of Mr Tho[m] Cornell) Aged 18 yeares or thereabouts, being Examined what he can relate Concerneing ye Death of his Gran-Mothr Mrs Rebeca Cornell. Answered and sayth, yt ye Evening his Gran-mother dyed, he was in ye roome wth her, & stayd but A Litle while, but went out againe, and did Leave his ffather in the roome wth her, who stayd wth her about an houre, or an houre & an halfs time, & then in A litle time after his comeing out, went to Supper, & after Mother was not at Supper wth them, though at other times shee usiably used, neither was Shee sent for as at other times, ye Reason was, there being Mackrill to Supper, was A dyet Shee did not like because it used, as Shee sayd, to make her very dry. The Examine also saith, yt it was formerly usiall for some of them to be in the roome wth their Gran-Mother in the night times, but was not yt night. He alsoe saith, yt wn they went into ye roome, Shee lay on her Left side, wth her Head towards ye fire. And further saith, yt part of ye Curtin & Valants about ye Bedstead was Burnt, but wn they went in, ye fire about the Bedsted was quite out.

Taken upon Oath.

Stephen, Edward, & John Cornell, ye Sons of Mr Tho~ Cornell, being Examined wt they know Concerneing ye Death of their Gran-Mother Mrs Rebeca Cornell. They all being severally Examined, sayd they know not how shee came to Her death, & alsoe said, their ffather was ye Last Person they know of, yt was wth their Gran-Mothr. They further said, that none of them were yt night wth their Gran-Mother, as at other times they use to be.]

Taken before

John Cranston Dept Govr

ffrancis Brinley Assistt

John Easton Assistt

Joshua Coggeshall Assistt

Mary Cornell wife to John Cornell of Plymouth Colony in New-England, Aged 28 yeares or thereabouts, Apeared before mee ye 3d Day March 1672-73 & upon Her sollemn Engagmt, declareth as followeth. That about 3 or 4 yeares past, shee this Depont, being at her Mothr in Laws House Mrs Rebeca Cornell of Portsmth on Rhod-Island, Widdow, & now dead, or Deceast. This Depont saith that her Mother in Law Mrs Rebeca Cornell, haveing beene in Her



Orchard, returneing into ye House, tould this Depont, yt shee had beene run[n]ing after Piggs, & said shee being weake, & had noe help, & shee being disregarded, shee thought to have stabd A Pen-knife in her Heart, yt shee had in her hand, & then shee should be ridd of Her Trouble. But it came in her minde, Resist ye Devill who will [illegible] shee sd shee was well satisfied, & further saith not. Taken upon Oath ye [illegible] March 1672/73 before [illegible].

George Soule Aged 34 yeares or thereabouts being Engaged, saith yt he being at Mr Tho~ Cornells House on Rhod-Island ye same day Mathew Allins House was Burned in the Winter, last, and this Deponant speaking wth Mrs Rebeca Cornell, shee said shee would goe live wth her son Samuell ye next spring. This Depont urging her yt shee was better where shee was; shee said yt A differance was arisen between her & her son Thomas, about rent. This depont sayd shee spoke unadvisedly to say shee would remove. Shee Replied: wt doth this tend too. Shee said he would have the Hundred Pound bond out of her hand. And this Deponant saith, shee said shee would goe live wth her son in the spring, if shee was not otherwise disposed of, or made away. and further this depont saith not. Taken this first day of March 1672/3.

This Depont further saith he Judged Mrs Rebeca Cornell to Be in a Passion.

Nich Easton Govr

Richd Smith Assistant

Mary ye wife of Mr John Almy of ye Towne of [Portsmouth](#) Aged Thirty three yeares or thereabouts, being According to Law Engaged & Sworne, Deposeth & Testifieth yt shee hath severall times observed an Undutyfull-ness in Tho~ Cornell towards his Mother Mrs Rebeca Cornell, & saith yt shee hath severall times spoke of it to others. And further saith, yt ye sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornell told this Depont yt shee was much neglected, & yt shee was forced in ye Winter season, in ye cold wether to goe to her Bed unmade, & unwarmed, & was therefore forced to procure some woollin Cloth to wrapp her selfe in, before shee went to her could bedd. And alsoe ye sd Mrs Rebeca Cornell, told this depont, yt if shee could not Eate as all ye foalkes of ye House could, & at their times of Eateing, shee must fast, for there was nothing brought in for Her to Eate; ffurther this Depont testifieth, yt Anthony Shaws wife of [Portsmouth](#) (since ye aforesayd Tho Cornell was Imprisened) told this Depont, yt Tho Cornells Wife coming to ye prison to her Husband, they Desired some time of Privacy, & soe went together into A Private roome, & whilst they were together, ye sd Tho~ Cornell and his Wife had those Expretions each to other, yt if you will keepe my Councell I will keepe yors, & soe they spake each together, & then ye Dore of ye roome in which they were was opened.

Taken before ye Dept Govr & part of ye Genll Councell. ye 11th of Aprill. 1673.

John Sanford, Secretary.



Elizabeth ye wife of Hugh Persons of ye Towne of [Portsmouth](#), Aged sixty yeares or thereabouts being According to ye Law Engaged, & sworne, Deposeth, & Testifieth yt shee being wth Goodwife Earle, desired to lay forth ye Body of the Deceased Mrs Rebeca Cornell, they on ye Sabath Day towards night, Accordingly layd forth the Body of the sd Deceased, & saith yt then there was noe Apeareance of Blood about ye Corps, but comeing thether on ye Munday there had beene in the roome where ye Corps lay, Thomas Cornell wth Wm. Hall to measure ye Corps for ye makeing A Coffin to interr Her in, & some saying ye corps did purge, this depont went to see whether ye corps did purge or not, & found yt ye corps did not purge, onely saw yt shee had bled fresh Blood at ye Nose; and ffurther saith not.

Taken before ye Dept Govr & part of ye Genrll Councell, the 11th day of Aprill 1673.

John Sanford Secretary

Hugh Persons of ye Towne of [Portsmouth](#) Aged 60 yeares, or thereabouts, being According to Law Engaged & sworne: Deposeth & Testifieth that yt night Mrs Rebeca Cornell lost Her Life, this Depont comeing to ye House: went in to ye Roome where shee lay, & Mr Coggeshall goeing in before this Depont, Emediately Mr Coggeshall went to ye outward Doore opening to ye Southward, to see whether it were fast bolted. And this depont heard Mr Coggeshall say yt Doore was fast Bolted. And further this Depont saith, yt upon ye hearth there was burnt sinders lay in A traine, & almost covered ye floare in such A manner as if shee had beene drawne thether.

Taken before ye Dept Govr and part of ye Genll Councell the 11th Day of April 1673.

John Sanford Secretary

Joane Coggeshall ye wife of Joshua Coggeshall aged about 38 yeares being Engaged According to Law, affirmeth yt being at the Widdow Cornells House about A yeare & halfe since; as neere as shee can Remember; shee ye sd Cornell Complained to Her, yt Her son Tho Cornell, carryed himselfe very unkindely to Her, detaineing Her Rent from Her, and would pay Her none, & was soe High & soe Crose, yt shee durst hardly speake to hime; & yt shee intended to gett men to speake to hime aboute it, & did nominate Wm Baulston, John Easton & Walter Clarke; & further sayd, yt her son Tho~ Cornell told her, Her name did stinke about ye Island, or Country, And shee ye sd Widdow Cornell, desired Her yt shee would not speake of wt shee told Her, for shee should live A sadd life, wth Her sd son, if he should heare of it.

Taken this 14th of Aprill 1673, before us.

John Cranston Dept Govr

Richd Smith, Assist

Francis Brinley Assist.~

John Easton Assist.~



Patience Coggeshall ye Wife of John Coggeshall, aged about 33 years, being Engaged According to Law, afirmeth, yt shee and Her Sister Wait Gould, & her Sister Joan Coggeshall, being with ye Widdow Rebeca Cornell about 2 1/2 yeares since, in Her orchard under a Damzen Tree; shee related to ym ye sad Condition of Life shee lived wth her son Tho~ Cornell, wch shee declared wth much weeping, & sayd, yt he would not keepe her A mayd, though he was Engaged to it, as to find her Diett, & yt her son Thomas & his wife, yt now is, were very cross to her; & this depont asked Her how ye children carryed ymselves towards her, shee replied; how could they carry it kindly to Her wn their ffather was soe cross; & yt shee was afrayd there would be mischief don, Her Daughter in Law was of such a Desperate Spirit, for not long since, sayd shee, shee ran after one of ye Children of his ffirst Wife, wth an Axe, into Her House; but shee prevented Her strikeing ye child; & yt shee did not live wth any of her other children, because shee had made over her Estate to Her Son Thomas; & yt if shee had thought her son Thomas first Wife would have dyed before Her, shee would not have made it over to hime.

Waite Gould being Engaged According to Law, affirmeth to ye truth of ye Premises.

Taken this 14th of Aprill 1673, before us.

John Cranston Dept Govr

Richd Smith, Assist

ffrancis Brinley Assistt.

John Easton Assistt.

Nicholas Wild of Newpt aged 73 yeares or there abouts, being According to Law Engaged, & Deposed, Testifieth yt about a yeare agoe Mrs Rebeca Cornell came to this Deponts House, & there Complained of Her son Thomas Cornell; yt he was [torn] Agreemt to pay her yearely (as neere as this Depont Remembers Shee sayd) Six pound a yeare, & Diet for A maide Servant, wch shee sayd he refused to pay, & did wth hold it; & further shee sayd, yt he tould Her, if shee would release hime of yt Hundred Pound he was Engaged to pay her, yn he would pay ye six pound A yeare, & A Maide should have her Diet, as was Promised. ffurther ye sd Mrs Cornell told this Depont, yt her son Told her he must Build, & required ye Hundred pound toward it, but shee sayd shee could not, unless she should wrong her other Children, for shee thought he had Enough; shee alsoe told this depont, yt her son told her shee must pay ye Rates; Shee alsoe sayd, yt shee hath been forced to goe out in ye snow for Wood, & hath falne wth ye Wood under Her, when they have beene in ye House & saw it all, wch shee sayd was such A griefe & Trouble to her, yt shee hath beene afraide of being Provoaked, & hath prayed to ye Lord agat it; & ffurther shee sayd yt Her son Thomas told Her, yt if shee would forgive ye Hundred pound he would yn pay ye Rent, alow Diet for A Maide for Her, & pay ye rates, & this shee Declared, wth great griefe & Trouble of Spirit, wth weeping Teares.

Taken before ye Dept Govr & part of ye Genll Councill ye 14th



of Aprill 1673.

John Sanford Secretary.

Sarah ye wife of Nicholas Wilde Aged 61 yeares or thereabouts, being According to Law Engaged & deposed, testifieth to ye Truth of all yt is above Testified by Her Husband. And further testifieth, yt Mrs Rebeca Cornell told this depont yt Her Son Thomas, one time being Angry wth her, lookt very firce upon Her, & nasht, or sett his Teeth at her, & sayd shee had beene A Cruell Mother to hime. She told hime shee had not beene cruell, but A [torn] & sayd his Carrige & Expressions therein was A great Trouble, or Terror to Her. This depont askt Mrs Cornell how shee was able to beare such Afflictions. Shee answered yt shee should not be Able to beare it, but yt God did support her, & in Her griefe shee had Scriptures come into Her mind yt did much quiet her.

Taken before ye Dept Govr & part of the Genll Councill ye 14th of Aprill 1673.

John Sanford Secretary

The Deposition of Rebeca Woollsey is yt wn shee was last at Rhod-Island with Her Mother Mrs Rebeca Cornell falling in discourse one with Another, the Deponts Mother tould her Daughtour Woollsey that shee looked very poorly and the Depont told her Mother shee had cause soe to doe; her mother did Aske her why; the Depont told her Mother, yt shee had, had the smal pox, and yt shee was very much Afflicted and Troubled in mind, and yt shee was sometimes Perswaded to Drowne her selfe, and sometimes to stabb her selfe. Soe the Deponts Mother told her Daughter that shee must pray to God, and he would helpe Her. The Depont told Her Mother, shee did often call upon God, and he did here her, soe wn the Depont had done with this Discorce, the Deponants Mother told her Daughter that shee had beene divers yeares possest with an evill spirit, and that shee was divers times Perswaded to make away with Her selfe, and yett the Lord was pleased from time to time to preserve her. The Depont told her Mother, that shee would tell her Brother Thomas of it, and her Mother charged her not to tell hime, soe shee did not tell hime: And further sayes not.

ffloshin 10 Aprill 1673 – This Testimony taken before me

Robert Coe Justice of Peace

John Pearce of the Towne of [Portsmouth](#) Aged 41 yeares or thereabouts being According to Law Engaged, Testifieth, that since the Decease of Mrs Rebeca Cornell, this Deponent being at the house of [torn - Wm ?] Wood, there was Thomas Cornell, and his Wife, and Thomas Cornell sayd, that his Mother in her life time had A desire to have A good fire, and further sayd, that he thought God had answered her ends, for now shee had it.

Taken the 7th of May 1673 (in the morneing) before me.

Joshua Coggeshall Assistant.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Liftt Joseph Torrey of Newport being According to Law Engaged, Testifieth, That on ye Day the Corroners Inquest satt upon the Corps of Mrs Rebeca Cornell deceased (on the second inquiry) comeing to the House of Thomas Cornell, and Inquireing whether the outmost dore were shutt, of the sayd Mrs Cornells Roome that night shee Dyed, Mr Thomas Cornell made Answer, that the dore was not Lockt, neither was there ever any Lock upon the Dore, but sayd he, the Dore was fastned with A Barr upon the Latch, and showed this depont in what man[n]er it was.

Taken the 16th of May 1673 in Court As Attests John Sanford Recordr

Mr. Phillip Eds of Newport being According to Law Engaged, Testifieth to the truth of what is above Testified by Liftt Joseph Torrey.

Taken in Court, ye 16th of May 1673. As Attests John Sanford Recordr

I Present and Indict Thomas Cornell of [Portsmouth](#) now Prisoner in his Majties Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Senr. That against the feare of God, the Honour of our Sovereigne Lord the Kinge, and the Law and peace of this Colony, on the Evening of the 8th Day of Februy in the 25th yeare of the Reigne of his Majtie Charles the Second Annoque Domin. 1672. The sayd Thomas Cornell did violently Kill his Mother, Rebeca Cornell, Widdow, or was ayding or Abetting thereto, in the Dwelling House of his sayd Mother in the foresayd towne of Portsmouth, which act of his is Murder, and is against the Honole Crowne and Dignety of his Majesty the Laws and peace of this Colony.

Dated at A Genll Court of Tryalls held ye 12th May 1673

John Easton Genll Atorney.

Passed by leave of ye Court to ye Grand Jury As Attests John Sanford Recor.

Grand Jury returne [blotted] Bill. Petty Jurys returne. Guilty.

Whereas you Thomas Cornell have beene in this Court, Indicted, and Charged for Murdering your Mother Mrs Rebeca Cornell Widdow, and you being by your Peers the Jury found Guilty, Know, and to that end, prepare your selfe, that you are by this Court sentenced to be carryed from hence to the Common Goale, and from thence on ffryday next which will be the 23th Day of this instant month May, about one of the Clocke, to be carryed from the sayd Goale to the place of Execution, the Gallows, and there to be Hanged by ye neck untill you are Dead Dead.—

June: Hey for the good old days! The Reverend Thomas Olney, Jr., the pastor of the 1st [Baptist](#) Church in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) and a local politician, decried the new [Quaker](#) willingness to hold office in government, pointing out that “There was none of this in old time” — before Friend [George Fox](#) had arrived on the colonial scene and had recommended it.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

June 17: Friend [George Fox](#) wrapped up his missionary efforts in the New World:

George Fox

Spending our time in the interim in visiting Friends and Friendly people, in attending meetings about the Clips and Patuxent, and in writing answers to cavilling objections which some of Truth's adversaries had raised and spread abroad to hinder people from receiving the Truth, we were not idle, but laboured in the work of the Lord until that general provincial meeting came on, which began on the 17th of the Third month, and lasted four days. On the first of these the men and women had their meetings for business, wherein the affairs of the Church were taken care of, and many things relating thereto were opened unto them, to their edification and comfort.

The other three days were spent in public meetings for the worship of God, at which diverse of considerable account in the government, and many others, were present. These were generally satisfied, and many of them reached; for it was a wonderful, glorious meeting, and the mighty presence of the Lord was seen and felt over all; blessed and praised for ever be His holy name, who over all giveth dominion!

After this meeting we took our leave of Friends, parting in great tenderness, in the sense of the heavenly life and virtuous power of the Lord that was livingly felt amongst us; and went by water to the place where we were to take shipping, many Friends accompanying us thither and tarrying with us that night.

FOX'S JOURNAL



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

June 21: The group of [Quaker](#) missionaries, including Friend [George Fox](#), embarked for England and home after nearly two years of travel that had taken them from Barbados to Rhode Island, and along the uncharted continental coastlands. They took their passage at St. Leonard's Creek aboard the *Society of Bristol*, but then would be held up for days at Patuxent Point, Maryland by unfavorable winds.

George Fox

Next day, the 21st of the Third month, 1673, we set sail for England; the same day Richard Covell came on board our ship, having had his own taken from him by the Dutch.

We had foul weather and contrary winds, which caused us to cast anchor often, so that we were till the 31st ere we could get past the capes of Virginia and out into the main sea. But after this we made good speed, and on the 28th of the Fourth month cast anchor at King's Road, which is the harbour for Bristol.

We had on our passage very high winds and tempestuous weather, which made the sea exceedingly rough, the waves rising like mountains; so that the masters and sailors wondered at it, and said they had never seen the like before. But though the wind was strong it set for the most part with us, so that we sailed before it; and the great God who commands the winds, who is Lord of heaven, of earth, and the seas, and whose wonders are seen in the deep, steered our course and preserved us from many imminent dangers. The same good hand of Providence that went with us, and carried us safely over, watched over us in our return, and brought us safely back again; thanksgiving and praises be to his holy name for ever!

Many sweet and precious meetings we had on board the ship during this voyage (commonly two a week), wherein the blessed presence of the Lord did greatly refresh us, and often break in upon and tender the company.

FOX'S JOURNAL

July 28: The group of [Quaker](#) missionaries, including Friend [George Fox](#), arrived back in merry Old England, the land where people treat one another real real nice.

George Fox

*When we came into Bristol harbour, there lay a man-of-war, and the press-master came on board to impress our men. We had a meeting at that time in the ship with the seamen, before we went to shore; and the press-master sat down with us, stayed the meeting, and was well satisfied with it. After the meeting I spoke to him to leave in our ship two of the men he had impressed, for he had impressed four, one of whom was a lame man. He said, "At your request I will."
We went on shore that afternoon, and got to Shirehampton. We procured horses and rode to Bristol that night, where Friends received us with great joy. In the evening I wrote a letter to my wife, to give her notice of my landing.*

FOX'S JOURNAL



Long-gone hubby George began his letter to his wife, Friend [Margaret Askew Fell](#) Fox, with:



Dear heart, This day we came into Bristol, near night, from the sea; glory to the Lord God over all for ever, who was our convoy, and steered our course! who is the God of the whole earth, of the seas and winds, and made the clouds His chariots, beyond all words, blessed be His name for ever! He is over all in His great power and wisdom. Amen.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Latter half of the year: [Friend George Fox](#) was back in merry Old England from his missionary labors in the New World, and was thus able to go to the faire, and was able to meet again his wife, Friend [Margaret Askew Fell](#) Fox, and a couple of her daughters (she had had eight children by her deceased previous husband: George, Margaret, Bridget, Isabel, Sarah, Mary, Susanna, and Rachel), plus Friend [William Penn](#), etc., etc.

FOX'S JOURNAL

Between this and the fair, my wife came out of the North to Bristol to me, and her son-in-law, Thomas Lower, with two of her daughters, came with her. Her other son-in-law, John Rous, William Penn and his wife, and Gerrard Roberts, came from London, and many Friends from several parts of the nation to the fair; and glorious, powerful meetings we had at that time, for the Lord's infinite power and life was over all.

He participated with "E.H." (possibly Friend Ellis Hookes) in the preparation of a speller which contained doctrinal materials, entitled INSTRUCTIONS FOR RIGHT SPELLING AND PLAIN DIRECTIONS FOR READING AND WRITING TRUE ENGLISH. Here are the materials that appear on pages 40 to 62:

Scholar. How many Offices has Christ in his Church? The Baptists and Teachers of the World tell us Christ has but three.

Master. Yes Child, he has many more than three.

1. His Priestly Office, when he offered up himself for the People in the whole World; and sprinkles the hearts and consciences of his People with his Blood, to cleanse them from dead Works, to serve the living God, and to offer up and present his Church without spot or wrinkle to God.

2. The Kingly Office is to subdue all the Enemies of man, the Devil & all his Works, and to subdue all his Enemies under his Feet, and to give forth the law of love, law of Life, law of Spirit, law of Faith; who is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.

3. His Prophetical Office; Christ is a Prophet raised up like unto Moses, who is to be heard in all things, who speaks to you by his Light, Power, and Spirit; and opens unto you by his Power, Spirit, and Light, things to come.

4. Christ hath the Office of a Bishop, to over-see thy Soul, Spirit, and Mind, that thou dost not go astray from him, who is Light and Salvation.

5. He hath the Office of a Shephard, who put his Sheep forth out of the prison and Captivity of old Adam and the Serpent, out of the Jaws of Death and the Pit, wherein there is no Water, and the Grave of old Adam, and out of his Bryars and Thorns; and Christ goes before them as a Shepherd, and they know his Voice, and a stranger they will not follow, and he brings them to the Pasture of Life, and to the Waters and Springs of Life, where he feeds them and fills them abundantly; Christ doth, who is the



Life.

6. And he hath the Office of Minister, to minister Grace and Truth unto thee, and Glory, and Faith, and the Heavenly Riches, and Light, and Power, and Strength.

7. He hath the Office of a Teacher, whom God hath anointed to preach (the Spirit of the Lord is upon him) to bind up the Broken-hearted, to open the eyes of the Blind, to set the Captive at liberty, and the Prisoner free, and to teach thee the way of Life, Salvation, Holiness, and Godliness, the way of the Redeemed, and the way of the Lord which is perfect, and the way of the Just, which is a shining Light, distinct from way of Unjust, which is Darkness.

8. He hath the Office of a Physician, to heal thee of thy Sicknesses and Infirmities, thy deafness and blindness, who is a Physician of value, Christ Jesus, &c.

9. He hath the Office of a Mediator and Interceder, who meditates and makes intercession for thee to God, that thou mayst pass to God through him, who is able to save to the utmost.

10. He hath the Office of a Captain of thy Salvation, who conquers the Devil and his Works, Hell, Death, & the Grave, who trains up and disciplines his Souldiers with the heavenly Armour, the Breastplate of Righteousness and the Helmet of Salvation and the Armour of Light, and shoes the feet with the preparation of the Gospel; and this Armour is proof of being tryed; and the Arms are, the Shield of Faith, the Sword of the Spirit, the Word of God: and Christ trains up his Souldiers to keep their Ranks in Righteousness, in Godliness, in Holiness, in Truth, in Life, that they may stand against Death, and stand against Darkness, Unrighteousness, Unholiness, and the Power and Prince of it, but doth not wrestle nor war with flesh and blood, but with spiritual wickedness, the Rulers of Darkness in High places, &c.

And many more Offices, as thou readest the Scriptures, thou will see Child, as thou growest in Truth, that Christ hath; for Christ is the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and the Leader of people to God, who old Adam and the Serpent that led from God.

Schol. What is it that gives the knowledge of God? and where is it?

Mast. The Light which shines in the heart, it gives the knowledge of the Glory of God in the Face of Christ Jesus, 2 Cor. 4.

Schol. What brings Salvation?

Mast. The Grace of God which hath appeared to all men, brings Salvation, Titus 2.11, which Grace teacheth us to deny ungodliness and worldly Lusts, that we should live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this present World.

Schol. What is the true Hope, from the Hypocrites?

Mast. The true hope is Christ in you, the hope of Glory, Col. 1, 27.



Sch. Who are them which seek that which comes down from above?

Mast. Them that be risen with Christ and dead with him, their affections are set on things above, and not on things on the earth.

Sch. What makes a man a Believer? and how cometh a man or woman to be a Believer?

Mast. Christ Jesus teaches thee how to believe, and what to believe in, John 12. 36. While you have the Light believe in the Light; so there are no true Believers, but who believe in the Light; so Christ teaches people to believe in the Light, which Light manifests all things; It manifesteth Christ to be its Saviour, its way, its Light, and to be its Mediator; for the light cometh from Christ, who is the Light that enlightens every man that comes into the World that all through him might believe, John 1.

Sch. What makes a Child of Light, and to come to have that honourable Name after God, who is Light?

Mast. By believing in the Light he becomes a Child of Light, and so Children of the day; and so there are no Children of the light, no Children of the Day; but first they believe in the light.

Sch. What is that which shall lead into all Truth?

Mast. It is the Spirit of Truth which must lead into all Truth.

Sch. Where is the Spirit?

Mast. Within.

Sch. What shall reprove the World of Sin, of their Righteousness, & of their Judgement.

Mast. It is the Spirit of Truth that leads the Saints into all Truth.

Sch. In what is God Worshipped?

Mast. He is worshipped in Spirit and in the Truth.

Sch. Where is this Spirit, and where is this Truth?

Mast. The Spirit is within, and the Truth is within, in the inward parts, by which Spirit God is known; and by the Truth the God of Truth is known.

Sch. What is God?

Mast. God is a Spirit.

Sch. Where is the Church?

Mast. The Church is in God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, 2 Thes. 1.1.

Sch. What is the Church?

Mast. The People of God, which he hath purchased with his own Blood.



Sch. Was Christ's blood shed for all? and did he taste death for every man? and was he an offering for the sins of the whole World?

Mast. Yes, his blood was shed for all men, and he tasted Death for every man, &c. tho some trample the blood of the New-covenant under their feet, and deny the Lord Jesus that bought them.

Sch. Who is he that must instruct people?

Mast. Neh. 9. Thou mayst see how God gave his people his good Spirit to instruct them in the ways of Righteousness and Holiness, and in the way of the Lord, which is perfect.

Sch. What is the just man's Path? and what the unjust-man's path?

Mast. The path of the Just is a shining light, which shines more and more till the perfect day; but the path of the wicked is Darkness.

Sch. Wherewith shall a young man cleanse his ways?

Mast. By taking heed to the Word.

Sch. Where is this Word?

Mast. In the heart and in the mouth, to obey it, and do it, Rom. 10.

Sch. What is the good old way? and which is the new and living Way, and which of these ways must we walk in?

Mast. The good old way was the way among the outward Jews which they were to walk in; but the new and living way is Christ Jesus, which thou and all true Christians must walk in.

Sch. What was that Image of God that Adam was made in? was it from below or from above?

Mast. It was from above, from God, of his Image and Righteousness, likeness and holiness; the Image of God was not of the Earth from below.

Sch. What is meant of that Rib Eve was made of?

Mast. A Rib is a beam or a side-piece, which was part of the building of the whole creation, so she was called Woman because she was taken from man; for Eve signifies Living; and she was the Mother of all living, Gen. 2.

Sch. How many Faiths are there? and which is the true one?

Mast. There is one Faith, and the true Faith is that which works by love, and purifies the heart, and justifies thee, and saves thee, and gives thee Victory over that which separates thee from God, through which Faith thou hast access to God, in which Faith thou pleasest God, and hast unity with him, and them that please God.

Sch. How many Baptisms are there?

Mast. One.

Sch. Who is the Baptizer?



Mast. Christ; for John is decreased, and Christ is increased, that is the one Baptism that saves; he baptizeth with the Holy Ghost and with Fire, and burns up the Chaff with unquenchable fire, who comes with his Fan, and thoroughly purges his Floor, and gathers his Wheat into the Garner.

Sch. What is the Wheat?

Mast. The Wheat is the Seed of God.

Sch. What is the Chaff?

Mast. The body of Death, and the body of the sins of the flesh, and the corruptions that must all be plunged down to the Fire.

Sch. What is the Jordan that John baptized in?

Mast. Jor. is a River, and Fan is Judgment; he dipt them in the River of Judgment.

Sch. What is the Ministers of Christ's Work?

Mast. Christ gave Gifts unto men for the Work of the Ministry, and their work was for the perfecting the Saints, and for the edifying the body of Christ, till we be all come to the unity of the Faith, the knowledge of the Son of God [Mark] and unto a perfect man, and unto the measures of the stature of the Fulness of Christ.

Sch. And are these Christ's Ministers?

Mast. Yes.

Sch. And what are the rest that do not bring People to this stature, such as toss People to and fro, and carry them with their cunning slights and craftiness of men, and lies in wait to deceive them?

Mast. Yes, they are them that bring People to no Stability, Ephes. 4.

Sch. What is the Scripture? Are they the Word of God?

Mast. The Scriptures signifie writings; the Scriptures of Truth are the Words of God; Christ's Name is called the Word in the Revelations; In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word, John 1.

Sch. What is the Original of Sin?

Mast. Original is the Beginning; the beginning of Sin was the Devil.

Sch. And who destroys him?

Mast. Christ Jesus destroys the Devil and his works, and through Death destroys Death, and the Devil who has the power of Death; and the Seed of the Woman shall bruise the Serpent's Head.

Sch. What Seed was that?

Mast. Christ Jesus.

Sch. To bruise, how is that?



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Mast. It is to break to pieces, to crush, to break into pieces and into powder his strength and power.

Sch. Master, the Star-gazers tell me, all Light comes from the Sun.

Mast. Read Genesis 1. there thou wilt see, there was Light and Day, and there was three days before the Sun was made.

Sch. What is the Church Fellowship?

Mast. It is the Gospel Fellowship.

Sch. What is the Gospel?

Mast. The Gospel it is the power of God unto Salvation to everyone that believeth; so the Power of God (the Gospel) is everlasting.

Sch. What is the Cross of Christ.

Mast. The Cross of Christ is the Power of God, and this is foolishness to them that perish, and set up a wooden or a stone or iron Cross, or any other outward Cross.

Sch. What is the ministration of condemnation, which was glorious? And what is that administration that exceeds it in glory?

Mast. The Ministration of Condemnation was the Law that took hold upon the outward Actions of Men and Women; but the Ministration of Restoration that exceeds it in Glory is Christ, that takes away the Root of Sin, which the Fruits of Sin proceeded from, and the Law took hold upon the outward Action, which Christ takes away the Root of, and so makes the Root and the Branches holy, who destroys the Devil and his works, and bruiseth the Serpents head, Christ doth, by whom all things were made and created, who was glorified with the Father before the World began, and set up from everlasting to everlasting, the beginning and ending, the first and last.

Sch. Who is the Christian Sabbath or Rest?

Mast. Christ Jesus; he that believeth hath entered into his Rest and ceased from his own Works, as God did from his; and so Christ is the Rest by whom all things are made and Created, and there is Rest and Peace in him, but not in old Adam.

Sch. Is the Light sufficient for Salvation.

Mast. Yes, by believing in the Light, thou shalt be a Child of Light.

Sch. Who are true Christians?

M. Such as believe in the Light of Christ and are led and guided by Christ Jesus.

Sch. Why are the true Christians called Quakers in this Age?

Mast. It is in scorn and derision that they are so called, to render them and the Truth odious to the People, that so they might not receive the Truth and be saved. Yet quaking and



trembling is no new thing; for thou mayst read of Quakers in the Scriptures, as in Heb. 12.21. Moses said, I exceedingly fear and quake. And it is said, Son of man, eat thy bread with Quaking, and drink thy Water with Trembling. And when Daniel saw a Vision, a great quaking fell upon the men that were with him: And Habakkuk his Belly trembled, and his Lips quivered, Hab. 3.16.

Sch. Sure those that scoffingly call the true Christians Quakers, never read these Scriptures: for they prove very plain, that there were Quakers in the Primitive times: But why do the people called Quakers say Thee and Thou to a single person? Is that according to the Scriptures?

Mast. Yes, it is the proper Language to a single person, and according to the Scripture; God said Thee and Thou to Adam, and Adam said Thou to God; and people say Thee and Thou in their prayers; and it is the Pride in peoples Hearts that cannot take that Language themselves which they give to God: And God said Thee and Thou to Moses, and Moses said Thee and Thou to him again; and Jacob said Thee and Thou to Laban, and Laban said Thee and Thou to him again; and Jacob and his sons said Thee and Thou to each other, Gen. 43 to Chap. 49. And Jephtha, who was a Judge in Israel, did Thee and Thou his Daughter, and she did Thee and Thou her Father the Judge again, Judge. 11. And when Daniel and the three Children were before the King, upon Examination they said Thou to the King; and the Caldean did Thou the King, Dan. 3. And Paul did Thou King Agrippa: And many other Examples there be in Scripture; but these are sufficient; And Thee and Thou is the singular Number, and to be spoken to one, & You or Ye the plural Number, and to be spoken unto more than one.

Sch. I am very well satisfied that Thee and Thou is the proper Language to a single Person, and You to more than one; but the People called Quakers will not put off their Hats, nor bow, nor give flattering Titles to People; what Scripture have they for that?

Mast. With God there is no respect of persons; and James said, if you have respect of persons you commit sign, and are convinced of the Law as Transgressors; and in Job, Elihu said, Let me not, I pray you, accept any mans person, neither let me give flattering Titles unto Man; for I know not to give flattering Titles, in so doing my Maker would soon take me away. Job 32.21, 22.

Sch. They say the People called Quakers deny the Scriptures.

Mast. No, they own the Scriptures more than any People, for they walk in the Light of Christ Jesus, and by following him do witness the Scriptures fulfilled in them; and they who hate to be reformed, have nothing to do to speak of the Saints and holy men of Gods conditions mentioned in Scripture.

Sch. The People called Quakers do not call their Days and Months as other Professors do.

Mast. No, Professors and People are so far degenerated from



Truth that they have lost the very form of sound Words used by the Primitive Christians.

Sch. How did the Primitive Saints call their days and months?

Mast. God made the World in six Days, and rested the seventh Day, and he called the Evening and the Morning the first Day, and the Evening and the Morning the Second Day, and the third Day, &c. And Christ rose on the first Day of the Week? and they came to the Sepulchre when the Jews Sabbath was ended, on the first Day of the Week, and upon the first Day of the Week the Disciples met together: And in Ex. 12.2. This month shall be unto you the beginning of months, it shall be the first Month of the year to you: And in Ex. 16. Moses writeth, the fifteenth day of the second Month, and the Scriptures say, the third Month, and fourth Month, &c.

Sch. Who invented those Names of Sunday, Monday, &c. and calling the Months March, April, May, &c.

Mast. The old Pagan Saxons in their Idolatry were the first that brought in the names of the Days after than manner, and these called Christians, have retained them to this day. The first Day of the week they worshipped the idol of the Sun, from whence came Sunday; The second Day of the week they worshipped the Moon, from whence came Moonday or Monday; the third day they worshipped the Idol of the Planets, which they called Tuisce, from whence came Tuesday; and from the Idol Woden came Wednesday; and from the Idol Thor came Thursday; and from the Idol Friga came Friday, and from the Idol Seatur came Saturday. And the Heathen called Mars the God of Battle, and from thence they called the first Month March: And Venus they called the Goddess of Love and beauty, and from thence they called the second Month April; and Maja a heathen Goddess called Flora; Flora and Cloris were called the Goddesses of Flowers; Unto Maja the heathen Idolaters used to sacrifice, from thence was the third Month called May; and upon the first day of the same Month they used to keep Floralia Feasts to the two Goddesses of Flowers (viz.) Flora and Cloris, and Flora was a Strumpet in Rome, that used on the first Day of that Month, to set up a May-pole before her Door, to entice her Lovers, from whence came May-poles to be first observed: And from the Heathens Goddess Juno is the fourth Month called June: And in honour to Julius Caesar a Roman Emperor, is the fifth Month called July: and the sixth Month took it Name August, in honour of Augustus Caesar; and September, October, November, and December are called from the Latines: And one Janus a King of Italy, was for his Wisdom pictured with two Faces, whom they honoured as God: and from this name Janus was the eleventh Month called January: And Saturnus, Pluto Februs, were called the Gods of Hell, whom the Heathens said, had the rule of the evil Spirits there, and from Pluto Februs, was the twelfth Month called February.

Sch. Who have been the Ministers and Intrusters of those People, that they are erred so from Scripture Example? Let me have some marks and signs by which I may know the Deceivers and false



Prophets?

Mast. The marks the Scriptures give of Deceivers and false Prophets are these: I shall set them down in short, that thou maist remember them the better.

1. They are such as bear rule by their Means, Jer. 30. 31. Mat. 10. 19,20.
2. They are such as seek for their Gain from their Quarters, Isa. 56.
3. They seek for the Fleece and make a prey upon the People, Ezek. 34.1, 2, 3.
4. They are such as preach for Hire, and Divine for Money, Mic. 3.11.
5. They cry Peace so long as People put into their Mouthes; but when any come to see them to be Deceivers, and cannot put into their Mouths, nor give them Gifts, then they prepare War against them, Mic. 3. 5. Hos. 6. 9.
6. They run when the Lord never sent them, and prophesie Lies in his Name, Jer. 14. 14.
7. They stand praying in the Synagogues: They love the uppermost Rooms at Feasts, and the chief Seats in the Synagogues, and love Greeting in the Markets, and to be called of men Master, and they make them broad Philacteries on their Garments, that they may be taken notice of; for they do that they do to be seen of men, and are proud and covetous, and they come of Cain's Stock, for they are full of Envy, and are in Balaam's way, who was erred from the Spirit of God, and received the Wages of Unrighteousness, and so do they, 2 Peter 2, Jude 1.
8. They are such as sprinkle Infants, for which they have no rule in Scripture; and tell people it is an Ordinance of Christ, when it is but one of their own Inventions, and so are Lyars and Deceivers.
9. They tell people they shall never be free from Sin while they live here.
10. They are made Ministers by the Will of man, and men uphold them: if thou meetest with them and seeth those Fruits brought forth by them, then beware of them; for they have got on sheeps Clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves.

Sch. How may I know the true Ministers?

Mast. I may give thee some Marks how to know them.

1. The true Ministers of Christ, as they have received the Gift of God freely, so they minister freely from the same, as good Stewards of the manifold Grace of God, and they do unto all Men as they would have all men do unto them.
2. They do not strive for Mastership, like the false Prophets; but are gentle unto all men, and apt to teach, patient in meekness, instructing those that oppose themselves 2. Tim. 2.22



that so the Church may be edified.

3. The true Ministers have no mans person in admiration because of advantage, but are men of sorrows, dispised and rejected of men, as Christ was; and they are not made Ministers by the Will of man, but by Christ Jesus and are blameless as he, Stewards of God, not self-willed, nor soon angry, nor given to Wine, no Strikers, nor greedy of filthy Lucre, Tit. 1.7.

4. And the true Ministers work was, for the perfecting of the saints, for the edifying of the Body of Christ: and the true Ministers were not bred up from years at the Colleges, as the Deceivers are now; but the Lord called Tradesmen to be Ministers: Moses was a Keeper of Sheep, and Jacob and David were Keepers of Sheep, and Elisha was a Ploughman, and Amos a Herdsman, and Peter and John Fisher-men, and Paul a Tent-Maker.

Sch. The People called Quakers are mocked, beated, persecuted, and imprisoned; was it so with the People of God in former Ages?

Mast. Yes, the People of God were in all Ages mock'd, persecuted, imprisoned, and sufferers. Elisha the Prophet was mocked, and called Bald-head. And the Lord sent his Messengers, rising up betimes and sending, because he had compassion on his People; but they mocked the Messengers of God, and despised his Words and misused his Prophets, wherefore the Wrath of the Lord was against them, 2 Chron. 36.15. And David was as dispised of the people, they laughed him to scorn, they shot out their Lips, and shaked their Heads at him: And in Psal. 69. 12. David said, Sack-cloth is my Garment and I am become a Proverb to them, and I am the Song of the Drunkards. And Jer. 20. 8. Jeremiah said, I am in derision daily, every one mocketh me. And thou mayst read before, how he was persecuted, and put in the Dungeon. And David said, The wicked have waited for me, to destroy me, and they have laid a Snare for me. And Job said, I am as one mocked of his Neighbour: and said, The just and upright man is laughed to scorn. Job 12. 4. and said, Now I am their Song, yea, I am their By-word; they abhor me, and spare not to spit in my Face. And in Acts thou mayst read, how Herod the King stretcht forth his hand to vex some of the Church of Christ; and how he killed James and imprisoned Peter; and how Paul and Silas had their Cloaths torn off, and after they had received many stripes, they cast them into Prison, and a strict charge was given to the Gaoler to keep them safely, who thrust them into the inner Prison, and made their Feet safe in the Stocks: and above forty of the Jews bound themselves under a Curse, that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul. And in Acts 22, when Paul spake to the people, some of them cried, away with such a Fellow from the Earth; for it is not fit that he should live. And in Acts 24. For we have found this man a pestilent Fellow, and a mover of Sedition, and a Ring-leader of the Sect of the Nazarens: And Christ himself was derided by the Pharisees, Luke 16. And Paul said, Whoever will live Godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer Persecution, for it is through many Tribulations we must enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Latter half of the year: Having met his family again, Friend [George Fox](#) went to work to neutralize an opposition to his leadership that had begun in England during his long absence, an opposition which was under the leadership of Friends John Wilkinson and John Story.

George Fox

** I passed into Wiltshire, where also we had many blessed meetings. At Slattenford, in Wiltshire, we had a very good meeting, though we met there with much opposition from some who had set themselves against women's meetings; which I was moved of the Lord to recommend to Friends, for the benefit and advantage of the Church of Christ, "that faithful women, who were called to the belief of the Truth, being made partakers of the same precious faith, and heirs of the same everlasting gospel of life and salvation with the men, might in like manner come into the possession and practice of the gospel order, and therein be helpmeets unto the men in the restoration [of those who had gone astray], in the service of Truth, in the affairs of the Church, as they are outwardly in civil, or temporal things; that so all the family of God, women as well as men, might know, possess, perform, and discharge their offices and services in the house of God, whereby the poor might be better taken care of, the younger instructed, informed, and taught in the way of God; the loose and disorderly reprov'd and admonish'd in the fear of the Lord; the clearness of persons proposing marriage more closely and strictly inquired into in the wisdom of God; and all the members of the spiritual body, the Church, might watch over and be helpful to each other in love."
After a visit at Kingston, I went to London, where I found the Baptists and Socinians, with some old apostates, grown very rude, having printed many books against us; so that I had a great travail in the Lord's power, before I could get clear of that city. But blessed be the Lord, his power came over them, and all their lying, wicked, scandalous books were answered.*

FOX'S JOURNAL

August 13: The General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#) allowed exemption from military service on the basis of conscience (during WWI and WWII, however, the state of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation's citizens would be imprisoned by the US federal government, on the basis of conscience):

Noe person nor persons (within this Collony), that is or hereafter shall be persuaded in his or their Conscience, or Consciences (and by him or them declared) that he nor they cannot nor ought not to trayne, to learne to fight, nor to war, nor kill any person nor persons ... shall at any time be Compelled against his or their Judgment and Conscience to trayne, arme, or fight, to kill any person ... at the command of any officer of this Collony, civil or military ... nor shall suffer any



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

punishment, fine, distraint, pennalty, nor imprisonment....

MILITARY CONSCRIPTION

The exemption from military activity on the basis of conscience extended even to such quasi-military activities as standing unarmed watch in order to give alarm. Those whose consciences would not allow this could not be compelled to stand watch. Instead, they could be compelled only to come to the aid of other noncombatants:

Such said persons who cannot fight nor destroy men it beinge against their Conscience, and is not against their Conscience to doe and perform civill service to the Collony though not martill service, and can preserve (so farr as in them lies) lives, goods and cattell ... then it shall be lawful for the civill officers ... to require such said persons ... to conduct or convey [noncombatants in need of assistance] out of the danger.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



[90] An act for y^e Better Regulating y^e Militia
& for Punishing offend^{ers} as Shall not Conform to y^e Laws there
unto Relating

Bee it Encted by y^e hon^{ble} y^e Gouer^{er} Councill & houfe of Representatives in this P^{re}sent Sefsions afsembled & by y^e Authority thereof it is hereby Enacted y^t aft^r y^e Publication of this Act y^t if any p^{er}son or persons Lifted Und^r y^e Co^mmand of any Cap^t or Commad^{er} in Cheif of y^e Militia Shall or do not appear Compleat in armes (Vizth) wth A Good & Sufficent muskett or Fuze a Sword or Bayenet, Catooch box or Bandelers wth twelve Bulets fitt for his Peice half a Pound of Powder & Six good Flints Upon y^e Precife Training Days already p^{re}fixt as well as when there Rfpective Cap^{ts} or Co^mmand^{ers} in Cheif Shall call them Togeather Either by Allarum or any oth^{er} time or times as Shall by their s^d Command^{ers} be thought fitt & Expedient for his maj^{ties} Interest During y^e Times of Warr & if any p^{er}son or p^{er}sons Lifted &c Shall neglect their Rfpective Dutys & due Obedience & not appear in Manner Afores^d Shall forfeit for Each neglect on y^e Days Appointed for Training or Oth^{er} Meetings in Armes y^e Sum of Thre Shillings in money wth y^e Due Fees Arifing thereon & for non Appearance or neglect on any Larum y^e Sum of five Shilling wth y^e Due Fees Arifeing thereon to be taken by Diftraint or otherwise as y^e fines for non apperance on y^e Training Days are to be Taken

....

[92] *And Bee it Further Enacted*
That y^e Rfpective Cap^t & Co^miffion officers of Each Rfpective Company or Train band in this Colony have full Pow^{er} & authority during y^e time of their being in Armes on y^e training Days or on Allarums or Upon any oth^{er} occasion w^hsoev^{er} to Punish any Private Sentinall y^t Shall Mifbehaue him self wth Laying him Neck & Heels or Riding y^e wooden horse or A fine not Exceeding fore Shillings at y^e Difcrefsion of s^d Commiffion Officers notwthstanding y^e Afore recited Acts Relateing y^e militia it Shall be in y^e pow^{er} & Authority of y^e Cap^t & Co^miffion officers of Each Rfpective train Bands in this Colony if any P^{er}sons as they Shall Iudg realy Confcientious being wthin their lift & y^t they Cannot bare arm's in y^e Times of Allarums &c y^t if y^e s^d p^{er}sons being So Confcientious be any ways Serviceable in making Discoverys or Riding upon any Expedition or any thing Elce y^t may be Iudged Conuenient for y^e Preferuation of his maj^{estys} Interest y^t it Shall be then in y^e Pow^{er} of s^d Cap^{ts} or Co^miffion officers as afores^d to remit y^e fine or fines Impofed for their not appearing in Arms accord^{ing} to y^e Afore p^{re}mifed Act

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

December 17: After a visit to [Friend William Penn](#) in his home at Rickmansworth, Friend [George Fox](#) went toward



Swarthmore, accompanied by Friend [Margaret Askew Fell](#) Fox and a couple of her daughters and the husband





SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

of one of those daughters, and found himself again taken under arrest.

At night, as I was sitting at supper, I felt I was taken; yet I said nothing then to any one of it. But getting out next morning, we travelled into Worcestershire, and went to John Halford's, at Armscott, where we had a very large and precious meeting in his barn, the Lord's powerful presence being eminently with and amongst us.

After the meeting, Friends being most of them gone, as I was sitting in the parlour, discoursing with some Friends, Henry Parker, a justice, came to the house, and with him one Rowland Hains, a priest of Hunniton, in Warwickshire. This justice heard of the meeting by means of a woman Friend, who, being nurse to a child of his, asked leave of her mistress to go to the meeting to see me; and she speaking of it to her husband, he and the priest plotted together to come and break it up and apprehend me.

But from their sitting long at dinner, it being the day on which his child was sprinkled, they did not come till the meeting was over, and Friends mostly gone. But though there was no meeting when they came, yet I, who was the person they aimed at, being in the house, Henry Parker took me, and Thomas Lower for company with me; and though he had nothing to lay to our charge, sent us both to Worcester jail, by a strange sort of mittimus.

Being thus made prisoners, without any probable appearance of being released before the quarter-sessions at soonest, we got some Friends to accompany my wife and her daughter into the north, and we were conveyed to Worcester. Thence, by the time I thought my wife would reach home, I wrote her the following letter:

DEAR HEART:

Thou seemedst to be a little grieved when I was speaking of prisons, and when I was taken.

Be content with the will of the Lord God. For when I was at John Rous's, at Kingston, I had a sight of my being taken prisoner; and when I was at Bray Doily's, in Oxfordshire, as I sat at supper, I saw I was taken, and I saw I had a suffering to undergo.

But the Lord's power is over all; blessed be His holy name forever!

G.F.

FOX'S JOURNAL

Friend George had just been alerted that Mary Fox of Fenny Drayton, his mother, was in her last illness, and he had been during this trip north intending to visit her. His family members would travel on under the escort of a Friend who was a merchant in Bristol, England. His case would not come before the court until January 21, 1674 and then the mother would die with the son still imprisoned. This period in Worcester prison would, however, be his last imprisonment.



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.¹²⁵

 Between this year and 1693, on the island of Barbados under the regime of Governor Jonathan Atkins, over 300 [Quakers](#) would be fined more than a total of £10,000, for offenses such as refusing to support either the established Church or the island's militia. This governor characterized the island's Quakers as "most repugnant

125. Hayy Bin Yaqzan is an Arabic narrative written by Abû Bakr Ibn al-Tûfâil 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:

لديهم فرحون قد اتخذوا الهيم، هواهم ومعبون هم شهواتهم وتهالكوا
في جمع حطام الدنيا والهائم التضائر حتي زاروا المقابر لا تنجع فيهم

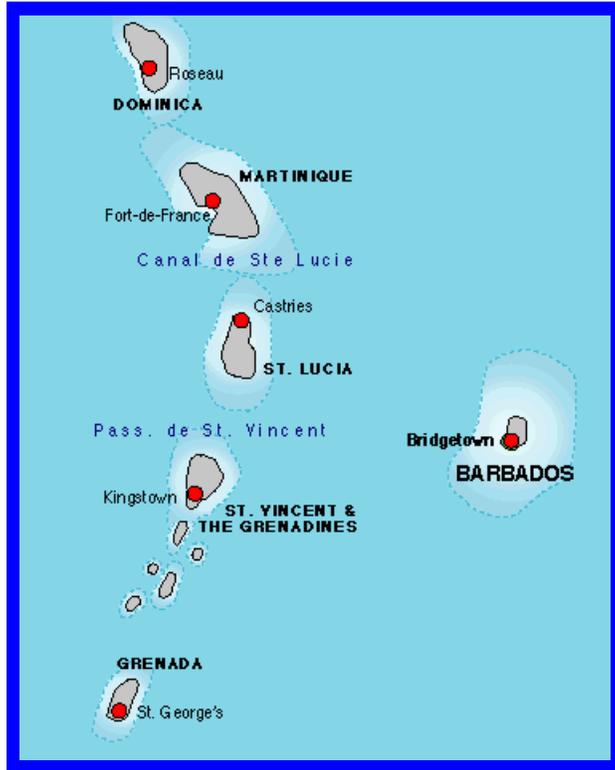
quod apud ipsos prærens erat, dum cupiditates tuas tibi in Deum
asciscerent, & pro cultus objecto haberent, seque perderent quif-
quillas mundi colligendo, acquirendi cupidine eos illufos detinen-
te donec sepulchra viferent, nullum autem confilium apud ipsos
malere, neque verba bonos infos movere, nec quicquam efficere

"... 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 conjunction with God."

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

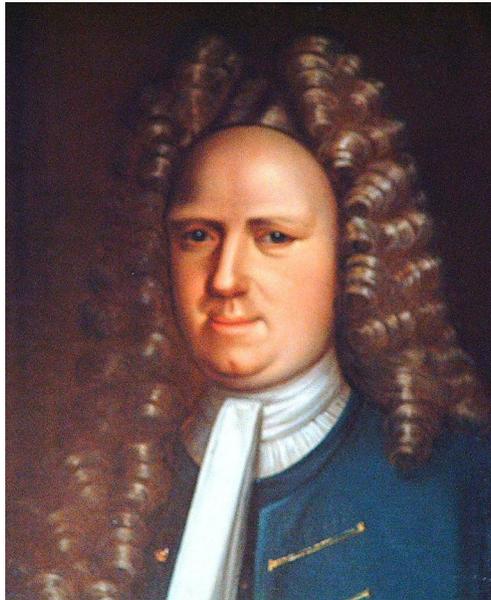
EARLY QUAKERISM

to all laws and orders.”



CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

➡ After having for many years been withdrawn from public affairs, and after having become a [Quaker](#), in his old age, [Friend William Coddington](#) became the governor of [Rhode Island](#). He wrote the tract “Demonstration of True Love.”



January 21: When Friend [George Fox](#) was brought before the court, some had the notion that the judges went all pale and that there was a pause during which the judges were reluctant to address him. Finally he was asked to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and refused, and was præmunired. At the next sessions of the court, in April, he would be granted a temporary liberty to travel to London and attend the [Quaker](#) yearly meeting, after which he would return to Worcester for a new trial which would end in the same old way.

About this time I had a fit of sickness, which brought me very low and weak in my body; and I continued so a pretty while, insomuch that some Friends began to doubt of my recovery. I seemed to myself to be amongst the graves and dead corpses; yet the invisible power did secretly support me, and conveyed refreshing strength into me, even when I was so weak that I was almost speechless. One night, as I was lying awake upon my bed in the glory of the Lord which was over all, it was said unto me that the Lord had a great deal more work for me to do for Him before He took me to Himself.

FOX'S JOURNAL

During this long imprisonment he would be offered a royal pardon but would refuse anything that might imply that he needed to be pardoned or that he had committed any wrong.

During this year he would be sending out his epistle entitled “Friends, — Seek the Peace of All Men”:



Friends, — Seek the peace of all men; which peace is in Christ, which is a peace the world cannot take away. And blessed are the peacemakers, that make peace among the brethren and people; these shall have a blessing from the Lord, the king of peace;



*but wo be unto them that cause strife and offence. And all walk in the righteousness of Christ the Lord, over your own righteousness, and do, and act, and speak in his righteousness; then you act, and do, and speak, and walking that, in which you have peace, and then God will delight in you, and you will be loved of him, for he loveth the righteousness. And let it be below any of God's people to raise an evil report on his people, or any others, or the give both their ears to any one's report of his people or matter, till they have heard both parties; so that righteousness, and truth, and judgment, may be kept up, and not fall. And in your men and women's meetings, you are in and about the Lord's business, and not your own; and therefore let the lord be in your eyes, that all of you his presence, and power, and wisdom, and judgment do receive, to do, and act, and speak in. And this keeps all in his fear, to be careful of their words and doings, and keeps all solid, and virtuous, and sober; and the whatsoever is of a good report, and is decent and comely, and whatsoever is virtuous, and tends to virtue, and is lovely, that follow and cherish. And here your eyes are kept open, to see that nothing be lacking, and that you stand in that which shall never fall, in the power, and spirit, and seed Christ, who is the sure foundation, the rock of ages.
G.F.*

His epistle entitled "In Everything Give Thanks to the Lord" also dates to this year:



*Friends, - In everything give thanks to the Lord; for from him every good thing do you receive; for the apostle saith, 1 Thess. v. 18. "In every thing give thanks: for this is the will of God in Jesus Christ concerning you;" and they that do not obey this doctrine, do not the will of God in Jesus Christ. And the apostle saith, "Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be met with thanksgiving." etc. 1 Tim. iv. 4. And David saith, "At midnight I will rise to give thee thanks, because of thy righteous judgments," Psalm cxix, 62. And David saith, "O give thanks to the Lord, for it is good, because his mercy endures forever." Psalm cxviii. 1. So the Lord is worthy of all the thanks and praises, through Jesus Christ, who created all be Jesus Christ, to his glory and honour for evermore.
G.F.*



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

February 18: Friend [George Fox](#) wrote to the Quakers in Barbados, challenging them in regard to their convenient racism:

"Send me over a black boy of your instructing, that I may see some of your fruits, and as I shall see, I shall make him a free man, or send him to you again."

But they would not send him one of their [slaves](#), nor in fact would he expect them to — he was merely “jerking their chain,” so to speak:

"And as for sending a Negro to me (it is no matter) I did it to try them."

March: The Plymouth court appointed [John Smith](#), despite his marriage to a [Quaker](#), as a lieutenant of the [Dartmouth](#) militia company.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



It was, however, as the first military commander of Dartmouth that he may be said to be especially distinguished. In 1673-4 he was appointed by Governor Winslow as Lieutenant of the Military Company of Dartmouth. A militant Quaker is something of an anomaly. I fancy that Deborah, his wife, had passed on before John became a soldier. I doubt if she would have stood by him as loyally as he did by her in the matter of the Quaker meetings at Plymouth, nor “defended and approved” his acceptance of a military commission. His second wife, Ruhamah Kirby, was, perhaps, less rigid in her Quakerism, or more amenable.

VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES

July: [John Smith](#)'s wife Deborah Howland Smith having died in [Dartmouth](#) at the age of 47, he remarried with another [Quaker](#), Friend Ruhamah Kirby, a daughter of Friend Richard Kirby. It would seem from the genealogical record that their wedding ceremony must have been attended by a number of previously existing children, some of them by the old wife and some of them by this new one. (One of the sons, whom they had named [Deliverance Smith](#) and whom we suppose to have been born to this new wife way back in 1667, would become eventually a prominent member of the Dartmouth monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends.)

October 1 or thereabouts: Friend [Margaret Askew Fell](#) Fox got an audience with King Charles II, to plead for the release of her loyal husband who was unable to swear allegiance in the usual manner, but as it would turn out, the matter would get hung up on the technicality of whether or not being “pardoned” would involve an imputation of having done something wrong.



After this my wife went to London, and spoke to the King, laying before him my long and unjust imprisonment, with the manner of my being taken, and the justices' proceedings against me, in tendering me the oath as a snare, whereby they had pramunired me; so that I being now his prisoner, it was in his power, and at his pleasure, to release me, which she desired.

The King spoke kindly to her, and referred her to the Lord-Keeper; to whom she went; but she could not obtain what she desired, for he said the King could not release me otherwise than by a pardon, and I was not free to receive a pardon, knowing I had not done evil. If I would have been freed by a pardon, I need not have lain so long, for the King was willing to give me pardon long before, and told Thomas Moore that I need not scruple, being released by a pardon, for many a man that was as innocent as a child had had a pardon granted him; yet I could not consent to have one. For I would rather have lain in prison all my days, than have come out in any way dishonourable to Truth; therefore I chose to have the validity of my indictment tried before the judges.

FOX'S JOURNAL

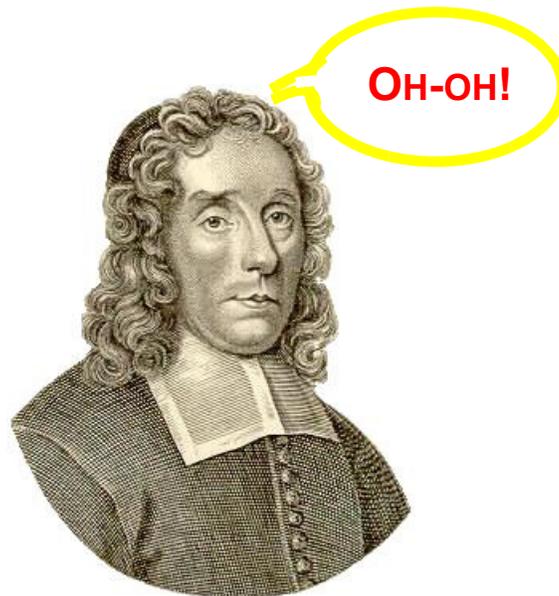
1675

Friend [Walter Clarke](#) was appointed deputy governor of [Rhode Island](#).

In the American colonies, three [Quakers](#), at night, were erecting a memorial over the graves of [Marmaduke Stevenson](#) and [William Robinson](#), the first Quakers to be hanged in Boston (we believe that Friend Edward Wharton of Salem is likely to have been among these three). Here is the inscription on the memorial:

Although our Bodyes here
in silent Earth do lie,
Yet are our Righteous Souls at Rest.
Our Blood for Vengance cry.

Of course such a memorial would cause a great outcry and would promptly be effaced, but the affair was regarded as one of ill omen and in particular, the Reverend Increase Mather was believed to have reacted with fearfulness of its supernatural outcome.



CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

The Reverend Increase Mather pioneered a new form of sermon: the jeremiad. Named after the weeping prophet of old, the jeremiad’s purpose was to single out specific groups amid the community for exhortation. Private concerns began to be recognized in the sermons, in particular the magistrates of the law. The jeremiad would play a key role in Mather’s activities to save the future generations of Puritans. A large part of the problem lay in the overwhelming corruptness of the third generation, a problem which their parents did little or nothing to stop. Gradually the interests of New England were shifting from a religious aspect to a more worldly one. The older generation –Mather and his contemporaries– looked upon the Church of New England as a direct tie with the historical, Apostolic Church of old. As the community started to pull away from the traditions of their forefathers, the Church began to become more and more identified with New England as a whole. The colony had a Divine mission; like Israel of old, they were the chosen people of God, a model, a “citie” set upon a hill. Thus, ministers felt even more the need to reform the land.

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

The [Rhode Island](#) Assembly agreed to the appointment of a major of militia “to be chief captain of all the colony forces.” The commission for this officer, signed by the governor, [Friend William Coddington](#), required this officer “to kill, expulse, expel, take and destroy all and every the enemies of this His Majesty’s colony.”



When the fighting in “King Philip’s War” went badly against the intrusives, there was an argument amongst the Puritans. They began “to enquire of the Lord, what the reason is that he is departed from them, and goes not forth with their armies.” Some divines held that God was displeased with His people for “suffering the Quakers’ meetings among them.” Others worried that, instead, it was their “killing and persecuting of the Quakers, that is the cause of their distress.” The argument was won by those who believed that God was displeased at the tolerance that His people had lately been beginning to show toward the heretics, and was punishing His own for this display of tolerance. Thus it was that the Cart and Whip Act was reinstated:



Friends Thomas and Alice Curwen were traveling through New England as [Quaker](#) missionaries when they learned that the Bay Colony had just enacted a law whereby anyone found at a Quaker meeting for worship was to be jailed. They therefore went directly to the Bay Colony to attend a meeting for worship and be jailed for it, only to discover that said law had not yet been duly proclaimed and was therefore not yet being enforced. They journeyed for awhile in New Hampshire and Maine to kill some time, and then returned again to Massachusetts, attended a Quaker meeting for worship, and were jailed for it. —Two tough dudes!

AN ACCOUNT OF TWO VOYAGES TO NEW-ENGLAND

From the year of the World

to the year of Christ 1673.

... *Narragansets-Bay*, within which Bay is *Rhode-Island* a Harbour for the *Shunamitish* Brethren, as the Saints-Errant, the Quakers who are rather to be esteemed Vagabonds than religious persons, &c.

... Quakers they whip, banish, and hang if they return again. Anabaptists they imprison, fine and weary out.

... There are none that beg in the Countrey, but there be Witches too many, bottle-bellied Witches amongst the Quakers, and others that produce many strange apparations if you will believe report, of a *Shallop* at Sea man'd with women....

BY John Josselyn Gent.

JOHN JOSSELYN'S CHRONOLOGY JOHN JOSSELYN'S TWO VOYAGES

NARRAGANSETT BAY
 RHODE ISLAND
 RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
 BAPTISTS
 WITCHES



[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 DOTH ACCUSE AS HOLDING MANY **POPISH DOCTRINES**, AND AS IF QUAKERISM, (SO HE NICK-NAMES OUR RELIGION,) WERE BUT **POPERY 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 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



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

in the Love of God, in order to go down the great Bay to Anamessey, 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 [William Edmundson](#), who had visited Barbados with Friend [George Fox](#), returned to the islands to preach against whites holding blacks in “ignorance and under oppression.” The white planters of Barbados uncovered what they considered to be evidence of a planned slave uprising. The Anglicans who controlled the Assembly passed a law to “restrain the too frequent wanderings and meetings of Negroes,” and to forbid the island’s “Quakers from bringing Negroes to their meetings,” and to outlaw the instruction of black children alongside white children in Quaker religious schools. Also enacted was an ordinance specifically prohibiting any white person who had not lived for a full year in the islands from holding any religious communications with any black islander.

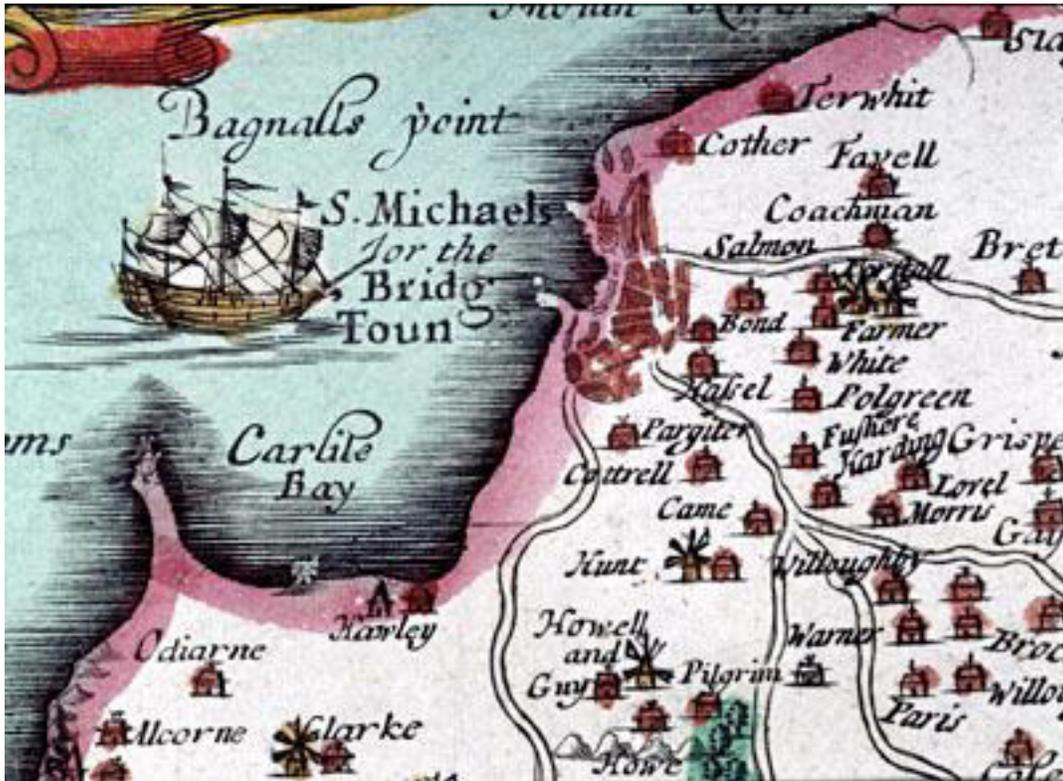
Faced with this reaction, the Quaker slaveholders of Barbados attempted to reassure their fellow white plantation owners, that there was nothing to fear in their softness and compassion for their black slaves. While it was true enough, that the [Quakers](#) tried to treat their slaves well, they pointed out that they were as eager as any other white men, to suppress the possibility of [servile insurrection](#). They pointed out how diligent they had been in “patrolling in our persons and horses” ever since the day of “the last wicked contrivance of the Negroes, which the Lord by his witness in the heart made known for the preservation of the island in inhabitants.” Yes, these Quakers did not believe in war — but yes, these Quakers did believe in a strong and effective police presence! The serving class must be kept servile!¹²⁶

126. Legally, there was a distinction between a slaveowner and a slaveholder. The owner of a slave might rent the custody and use of that slave out for a year, in which case the distinction would arise and be a meaningful one in law, since the other party to such a transaction would be the holder but not the owner. However, in this Kouroo database, I will ordinarily be deploying the term “slaveholder” as the normative term, as we are no longer all that concerned with the making of such fine economic distinctions but are, rather, concerned almost exclusively with the human issues involved in the enslavement of other human beings. I use the term “slaveholder” in preference to “slaveowner” not only because no human being can **really** own another human being but also because it is important that slavery never be defined as the legal ownership of one person by another — in fact not only had human slavery existed before the first such legislation but also it has continued long since we abolished all legal deployment of the term “slave.”

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

In this year Richard Ford prepared a map of the principle settled portion of the island of Barbados:



It appears possible that the record of a [John Ellis, Senior](#) of Dedham MA and Medfield MA from the Savage Genealogy is for an entirely different [John Ellis, Senior](#) from the man who was a [Quaker](#) backslider of Sandwich, since there is a report that both [Friend John Ellis, Senior](#) and his son [John Ellis, Junior](#) died during the period of “King Phillip’s War” — that presumably [Ellis](#) was killed while actively fighting because his widow would be granted land in Sepican and such lands in what was to become Rochester were being granted to war veterans.

March 4: Friend [George Fox](#) was taken from Worcester prison toward the court in London.

George Fox

Thereupon, having first had the opinion of a counsellor upon it (Thomas Corbet, of London, with whom Richard Davis, of Welchpool, was well acquainted, and whom he recommended to me), an habeas corpus was sent down to Worcester to bring me up once more to the King’s Bench bar, for the trial of the errors in my indictment. The undersheriff set forward with me the 4th of the Twelfth month.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

March 11: Friend [George Fox](#) was set at liberty not on the basis of any general precedent-setting judicial decision that it was illegal to imprison on a *præmunire*, but merely on some lamentable technical errors the national judges found in his provincial 1673 indictment.

George Fox

We came to London on the 8th, and on the 11th I was brought before the four judges at the King's Bench, where Counsellor Corbet pleaded my cause. He started a new plea; for he told the judges that they could not imprison any man upon a præmunire.

Chief-Justice Hale said, "Mr. Corbet, you should have come sooner, at the beginning of the term, with this plea."

He answered, "We could not get a copy of the return and the indictment." The Judge replied, "You should have told us, and we would have forced them to make a return sooner."

Then said Judge Wild, "Mr. Corbet, you go upon general terms; and if it be as you say, we have committed many errors at the Old Bailey, and in other courts."

Corbet was positive that by law they could not imprison upon a præmunire. The Judge said, "There is summons in the statute."

"Yes," said Corbet, "but summons is not imprisonment; for summons is in order to a trial."

"Well," said the Judge, "we must have time to look in our books and consult the statutes." So the hearing was put off till the next day.

The next day they chose rather to let this plea fall and begin with the errors of the indictment; and when they came to be opened, they were so many and gross that the judges were all of opinion that the indictment was quashed and void, and that I ought to have my liberty.

There were that day several great men, lords and others, who had the oaths of allegiance and supremacy tendered to them in open court, just before my trial came on; and some of my adversaries moved the judges that the oaths might be tendered again to me, telling them I was a dangerous man to be at liberty.

But Chief-Justice [Sir Matthew] Hale said that he had indeed heard some such reports, but he had also heard many more good reports of me; and so he and the rest of the judges ordered me to be freed by proclamation. Thus after I had suffered imprisonment a year and almost two months for nothing, I was fairly set at liberty upon a trial of the errors in my indictment, without receiving any pardon, or coming under any obligation or engagement at all; and the Lord's everlasting power went over all, to His glory and praise.

Counsellor Corbet, who pleaded for me, obtained great fame by it, for many of the lawyers came to him and told him he had brought that to light which had not been known before, as to the not imprisoning upon a præmunire; and after the trial a judge said to him, "You have attained a great deal of honour by pleading George Fox's cause so in court."



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

After March 11: Having been freed, Friend [George Fox](#) went about his business.

George Fox

Being at liberty, I visited Friends in London; and having been very weak, and not yet well recovered, I went to Kingston; and having visited Friends there, returned to London, wrote a paper to the Parliament, and sent several books to them.

A great book against swearing had been delivered to them a little before; the reasonableness whereof had so much influence, that it was thought they would have done something towards our relief if they had sat longer. I stayed in and near London till the yearly meeting, to which Friends came from most parts of the nation, and some from beyond sea. A glorious meeting we had in the everlasting power of God.

The illness I got in my imprisonment at Worcester had so much weakened me that it was long before I recovered my natural strength again. For which reason, and as many things lay upon me to write, both for public and private service, I did not stir much abroad during the time that I now stayed in the north; but when Friends were not with me, I spent much time in writing for Truth's service. While I was at Swarthmore, I gave several books to be printed.

FOX'S JOURNAL

June 23: A white boy shot and killed a red native who was looting one of the abandoned [Swansea](#) homes. The trap, if it was a trap, was sprung. The next day after that offing, the escalation would be on its merry way, with one white being offed at Swansea, two being offed at Miles' Garrison, two being offed at [Rehoboth](#), and six being offed at Mattapoiset.¹²⁷

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

At some point in this timeframe, Friend John Easton would relate, a letter had been received in [Rhode Island](#) from the governor of the Plymouth colony, John Winslow, requesting "our help with sum boats if thay had such ocaion and for us to looke to our selfs." Captain James Cudworth communicated that the Governor's intention in making this request was to "Cum upon the indians" by land, down the neck of the [Mount Hope](#) peninsula, and that the Rhode Island boats were "to atend," blockading the Mount Hope peninsula so that the Wampanoag would not be able to escape the Plymouth troops simply by taking to their canoes. On this day Governor [William Coddington](#) of Rhode Island, a [Quaker](#), agreed to do this: "I intend (God willing) to get our boats and watch the shore to oppose the common enemy, all of us being Englishmen and subjects of our King and proposing to serve one and the same end." One may infer from this pledge that the Quaker Peace Testimony was not seen as applying to interracial conflicts — that blood was thicker than principle.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

127. The "score" at this point: 8 out of 10 Commandments still operational.



June 30: Benjamin Batten, Boston merchant, added to his report of the [Rhode Island](#) goings-on to the Navy Office in London that “thay of Road Iland had newly sent a hundred quakers men well apointed with Carnall weapons to fight the Infidells, most of them and Road Iland being such.”

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Some 300 white men had come together at [Swansea](#) and, after having been delayed by storms, on this day they marched onto the [Mount Hope](#) peninsula, only to discover that it had been abandoned (the [Wampanoag](#) had several days before gone into hiding in a swamp in the Pocasset country). The white men withdrew to Swansea where they would content themselves with more or less ineffective patrol duty.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

August 24 (24/6M), 1675: A group of [Rhode Island](#) Quakers authored a curious document, a copy of which has recently been recovered from among the papers of Governor John Winthrop, Jr. of Connecticut, in which they were alleging there to be among them some who were falling away from the Peace Testimony by resorting to “**Fighting, Killing Blood-shed Murther with Carnall Weapons.**” Along the way they described what their Peaceable Kingdom of God was supposed to be like — a place “**where Strife, Envy, Pride, Covetousness, are not**”:

Fighting, Killing Blood-shed Murther with Carnall Weapons, rendering Evil for Evil, are not; Revenge, Robbing for Conscience sake; watching with Guns or Swords to kill the Bodys of Men, though Enemies; Offending, or defending with Carnal weapons of whatsortsoever to preserve att Liberty Body or Estate are not.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

The problem these faithful [Quakers](#) who were authoring this document faced, obviously, was that those influential Quakers of Rhode Island who were endangering them by placing trust in “*Carnall Weapons, in the Kingdom of Contention, & Strife (as Guns Swords &c.) to defend their own, or others Bodys, Lives, or Estates, by threatning to Wound; or kill, or by wounding or killing, the Bodes of their Enemys,*” so far falling away from this ideal of the Peaceable Kingdom of God, were Quaker officials of the Rhode Island government which was purporting to represent them. These government types who were cooperating in the prosecution of the ongoing race war obviously were greatly endangering these Quaker nonviolencers on their isolated farm homesteads, by creating the sort of hostile environment in which the [Wampanoag](#) and [Narragansett](#) could be expected to become agitated against, and to attack, English in general on the basis of the color of their skin, rather than carefully distinguishing between warlike English and harmless English adherents of the Peace Testimony.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

October 27: The General Assembly of the colony of [Rhode Island](#) and Providence Plantations met to hear a petition from Captain John Cranston for the “settling” of a “mallicia” that would put the colony “in a Sutable posture of defence.” Most of the representatives who were present were [Quakers](#). They determined to leave all such decisions of war up to the [Newport](#) and [Portsmouth](#) town councils. Anything these councils decided would be deemed “Authentick.”

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

December 12, Sunday: The combined armies of the Massachusetts colony and the Plymouth colony marched into "Ponham's Country," which is now the area around [Warwick RI, Rhode Island](#), but failed to capture headman Ponham.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



At least one [Quaker](#) was a high officer among these armed men:



"The usual interpretation of the actions and inactions of the Rhode Island government has been that its members were inhibited by the pacifist scruples of the Quakers among them. Historians have not cited, nor have I found, evidence upon which to base this belief.... Such reading back of later Quaker understandings of the peace testimony obscures not only other wartime motives but the nature of the peace testimony as it was understood in that particular time and place. Third, in many respects the government activities do not appear to have been constrained. ... There were Quakers who bore arms during the war. Captain Weston Clarke, who was sent to relieve Warwick, Lieutenant Robert Westcott, who was killed in the Great Swamp Fight, and Abraham Mann of Providence, who was wounded are three examples."



- Meredith Baldwin Weddle, WALKING IN THE WAY OF PEACE: QUAKER PACIFISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. England: Oxford UP, 2001, pages 172-173, page 204

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

December 18, Saturday: The army of the United Colonies came together. They bivouacked that night during a bitter snowstorm, in an open field without blankets near [South Kingstown](#).

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

The Reverend [Roger Williams](#) wrote Governor John Winthrop, Jr. that it was necessary to attack the [Narragansett](#) because they were “barbarous men of Blood.” He had taken pains to consult with God and had been listening to the “mind and voice of the most high amongst us,” and had assured himself that those among the [Quakers](#) who were “contrary” to war were simply mistaken as to God’s will.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Near a native stonework known as “Queen’s Fort” on the border of Exeter and [North Kingstown](#) in [Rhode Island](#), said to have been the stronghold of sachem Quaipen and her adherents, on this day the native named Peter who would betray the native fort in the Great Swamp Fight was captured by the English.

December 19, Sunday: Forces of the United Colonies assaulted a sanctuary which the [Narragansett](#) tribespeople had set up in order to avoid turning over their wives and children to the whites as hostages, in the “Great Swamp,” a swamp in what is now [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#). In an attempt to assimilate this battle to the battle which ended the Pequot War, which had occurred in a swamp near Fairfield on July 13, 1637, both of these battles would come to be referred to as “The Great Swamp Fight.” This particular slaughter would excite a rather crude piece of doggerel:

’Tis fear’d a thousand Natives young and old,
Went to a place in their opinion cold.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

The bloody-minded Reverend Cotton Mather would remember this Great Swamp Fight as the tailgate party at which the [Narragansett](#) tribe had been “Berbikew’d,” his spelling. (Get a clue: he was a Puritan and the land had been purified. –What could possibly be offensive about ethnic cleansing?)

It had been at 5 AM that the white soldiers had formed up after their night in the cold snow without blankets, and set out toward this [Narragansett](#) stronghold. They had arrived at the edge of the Great Swamp, an area around [South Kingstown](#), at about 1 PM. The Massachusetts troops in the lead were fired upon by a small band of native Americans and pursued without waiting for orders. As the natives retreated they came along across the frozen swamp to the entrance of the fort, which was on an island of sorts standing above the swamp, and consisted of a triple palisade of logs twelve feet high. There were small blockhouses at intervals above this palisade. Inside, the main village sheltered about 3,000 men, women, and children. The Massachusetts troops had been enticed to arrive at precisely the strongest section of the palisade where, however, there was a gap

for which no gate had yet been built. Across this gap the natives had placed a tree trunk breast height, as a barrier to check any charge, and just above the gap was a blockhouse. Without waiting for the Plymouth and Connecticut companies, the Massachusetts soldiers charged the opening and swarmed over the barrier. Five company commanders were killed in the charge but the troops managed to remain for a period inside the fort before falling back into the swamp. The Massachusetts men, now joined by Plymouth, gathered themselves for a 2d charge. Meanwhile, Major Treat led his Connecticut troops round to the back of the fort where the palisade had not been finished. Here and there the posts were spaced apart and protected only by a tangled mass of limbs and brush. The men charged up a bank under heavy fire and forced their way past the palisade. As they gained a foothold inside, the second charge at the gap also forced an entrance and the battle raged through the Indian village. It was a fight without quarter on either side, and was still raging at sunset when Winslow ordered the wooden lodges put to the torch. The flames, whipped by the winds of the driving

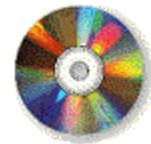


snowstorm, spread quickly. Winslow decided that the army had to fall back to the shelter of Smith's Trading Post in Coccumscossoc ([Wickford](#)), where some resupply ships might have arrived. The English gathered their wounded, the worst being placed on horseback, and fell back toward Wickford. It would not be until 2 AM that the leading units would stumble into the town. Some, losing their way, would not get shelter until 7 AM. This three-hour battle was the end of the Narragansett Campaign. The English suffering 20 killed and 200 wounded (80 of whom who later die from their wounds, there being 40 English corpses interred in one common trench in Wickford) and the [Narragansett](#) likewise suffered high casualties although about a thousand did escape.

At least one armed white man who was killed while attempting to kill others was a [Quaker](#) and an officer:



"The usual interpretation of the actions and inactions of the Rhode Island government has been that its members were inhibited by the pacifist scruples of the Quakers among them. Historians have not cited, nor have I found, evidence upon which to base this belief.... Such reading back of later Quaker understandings of the peace testimony obscures not only other wartime motives but the nature of the peace testimony as it was understood in that particular time and place. Third, in many respects the government activities do not appear to have been constrained. ... There were Quakers who bore arms during the war. Captain Weston Clarke, who was sent to relieve Warwick, Lieutenant Robert Westcott, who was killed in the Great Swamp Fight, and Abraham Mann of Providence, who was wounded are three examples."



– Meredith Baldwin Weddle, *WALKING IN THE WAY OF PEACE: QUAKER PACIFISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY*. England: Oxford UP, 2001, pages 172-173, page 204

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

(Presumably Friend Robert Westcott, like the Reverend [Roger Williams](#), had taken pains to consult with God and had been listening to the “mind and voice of the most high amongst us,” and had assured himself that [Quakers](#) who were “contrary” to war were simply mistaken as to God’s will! —You must lie in your blood, you “barbarous men of Bloud”!)

(Presumably, since Friend Abraham Mann of [Providence](#) who was wounded during the Great Swamp Fight was a white man, he was then tenderly cared for by the [Quaker](#) caretakers on [Aquidneck Island](#), who tenderly cared for those who had been wounded in the fight, if they were white men!)

While the [Narragansett](#) were not completely crushed there can be no question that the Great Swamp Fight was the turning point in the war. If the tribe had been able to join the [Wampanoag](#) at full strength in the spring the war would have lasted much longer. The Narragansett would have a few more victories in 1676, would burn [Rehoboth](#) and [Providence](#), and in March would ambush Captain Michael Pierce, but for all practical purposes they were out of the war.

In the course of this single race battle with the English, the [Narragansett](#) would lose almost 20% of its entire population, and massacre and starvation would soon be killing off most of the remainder. By 1682 fewer than 500 would remain of the original estimated 10,000 souls who had existed as of 1610. After 1682 this remnant would be allowed by the English to settle with the Eastern Niantic on a reservation at Charlestown RI. The Narragansett tribal registry currently list over 2,400 members, most of whom reside in [Rhode Island](#).¹²⁸

128. In [Rhode Island](#) especially, after the population disaster of “[King Phillip’s War](#)”, many native women would form new households with black men. Rhode Island would be boasting the largest black population in New England and a significant proportion of these blacks would be free, so in many cases this was their best available option. These unions would result in a new category of person, the “mustee,” who was considered to be a native American by himself or herself but not by the “white people” who were *de facto* making all such distinctions. You may therefore run into some hot arguments if you cite these population statistics, from whites who will attempt to insist to you that “it’s all just a bunch of n-----s making pretenses,” quote unquote. (You’ll have to live in Rhode Island for awhile, and argue cases of land title and cases of casino gambling, to get the full flavor of this.)



Most contemporary accounts of this second of the “great swamp fights” have been based upon a couple of letters by the white army’s chaplain, the Reverend Joseph Dudley, and one by Captain James Oliver, commander of the 3d Company of the Massachusetts regiment:



May it please your Honnr Mr Smiths 15, 10, 75

I am comanded by the Generall to give your Honnor account of our proceeding since our last frm Pautuxet in the Sabath evening we advanced the whole body from Mr Carpenters with Intent to surprise Ponham & his Party at about 10 or 12 Miles Distance having information by oue Warwick scouts of his seat but the darkness of ye Night Diffcutly of our Passage & unskillfulness of Pilots we passed the whole night & found ourselves at such Distance yet from ym yt we Diverted & Marched to Mr Smiths, found our sloops from Seaconck arrived since which by ye help of Indian Peter by whom your Honnor had the Information formerly of ye number & resolution of ye Naragansetts, we have burned two of their towns viz; Ahmus who is this summer come down amongst them & ye old Queens quarters consisting of about 150 Many of them large wigwams & seized or slayn 50 Persons in all our prisoners being about 40 Concerning whom the generall prayses your advice concerning their transportation and Disposall all which was performed without any loss save a slight wound by an Arrow in Lieut. Wayman’s face, the whole body of them we find removed into their great swamp at Canonicus his quarters where we hope with the addition of Connecticut, when arrived we hope to coop them up, this day we Intend the removall or spoyle of yr Corn & hope to Morrow a March toward them, our soldiers being very chearful are forward noywithstanding great Difficulty by weather & otherwise, abovsd Peter whom we have found very faithful will Make us believe yt yr are 3000 fighting Men many unarmed Many well fitted with lances we hope by cutting off their forage to force them to a fayre battle In ye Mean time I have only to present the Genralls humble service to your & to beg you Intense prayers for this so great Concern and remayn your

Honnors Humble Servant Jos: Dudley

Goodale nor Moor arrived we fear want of shot

My humble service to Madam Leveret Brother and Sister Hubbard & Dudley

Amongst our Prisonrs & Slayn we find 10 or 12 Wampanoags



Mr Smith's, 21, 10, 1675

May it please your honour

The comming of the Connecticut force to Petaquamscott, and surprisal of six and slaughter of five on Friday night, Saturday we marched towards Petaquamscott, though in snow, and in conjunction about midnight or later, we advanced: Capt. Mosley led the van, after him Massachusetts, and Plimouth and Connecticut in the rear; a tedious march in the snow, without intermission, brought us about two of the clock afternoon, to the entrance of the swamp, by the help of Indian Peter, who dealt faithfully with us; our men, with great courage, entered the swamp about twenty rods; within the cedar swamp we found some hundreds of wigwams, fortified in with a breastwork and flankered, and many small blockhouses up and down, round about; they entertained us with a fierce fight, and many thousand shot, for about an hour, when our men valiantly scaled the fort, beat them thence, and from the blockhouses. In which action we lost Capt. Johnson, Capt. Danforth, and Capt. Gardiner, and their lieutenants disabled, Capt. Marshall also slain; Capt Seely, Capt. Mason, disabled, and many other officers, insomuch that, by a fresh assault and recruit powder from their store, the Indians fell on again, recarried and beat us out of, the fort, but by the great resolution and courage of the General and Major, we reinforced, and very hardly entered the fort again, and fired the wigwams, with many living and dead persons in them, great piles of meat and heaps of corn, the ground not permitting burial of their store, were consumed; the number of their dead, we generally suppose the enemy lost at least two hundred men; Capt. Mosely counted in one corner of the fort sixty four men; Capt. Goram reckoned 150 at least; But, O! Sir, mine heart bleeds to give your honor an account of our lost men, but especially our resolute Captains, as by account inclosed, and yet not so many, but we admire there remained any to return, a captive women, well known to Mr. Smith, informing that there were three thousand five hundred men engaging us and about a mile distant a thousand in reserve, to whom if God had so pleased, we had but been a morsel, after so much disablement: she informeth, that one of their sagamores was slain and their powder spent, causing their retreat, and that they are in a distressed condition for food and houses, that one Joshua Tift, an Englishman, is their encourager and conductor. Philip was seen by one, credilbly informing us, under a strong guard.



After our wounds were dressed, we drew up for a march, not able to abide the field in the storm, and weary, about two of the clock, obtained our quarters, with our dead and wounded, only the General, Ministers, and some other persons of the guard, going to head a small swamp, lost our way, and returned again to the evening quarters, a wonder we were not prey to them, and, after at least thirty miles marching up and down, in the morning, recovered our quarters, and had it not been for the arrival of Goodale next morning, the whole camp had perished; The whole army, especially Connecticut, is much disabled and unwilling to march, with tedious storms, and no lodgings, and frozen and swollen limbs, Major Treat importunate to return to at least Stonington; Our dead and wounded are about two hundred, disabled as many; the want of officers, the consideration whereof the Genreal commends to your honer, forbids any action at present, and we fear whether Connecticut will comply, at last, to any action. We are endeavoring, by good keeping and billeting oue men at several quarters, and, if possible removal of our wounded to Rhode Isalnd, to recover the spirit of our soldiers, and shall be diligent to find and understand the removals on other action of the enemy, if God please to give us advantage against them.

As we compleat the account of dead, now in doing, The Council is of the mind, without recruit of men we shall not be able to engage the main body.

*I give your honor hearty thanks
for your kind lines, of which
I am not worthy
I am Sir, your honors
humble servant
Joseph Dudley*

Since the writing of these lines, the General and Council have jointly concluded to abide on the place, notwithstanding the desire of Connecticut, only entreat that a supply of 200 may be sent us, with supply of commanders; and, whereas we are forced to garrison our quarters with at least one hundred, three hundred men, upon joint account of colonies, will serve, and no less, to effect the design. This is by order of the council.

Blunderbusses, and hand grenadoes, and armour, if it may, and at least two armourers to mend arms.



Narragansett 26th 11th month 1675

After a tedious march in a bitter cold that followed the Dec. 12th, we hoped our pilot would have led us to Ponham by break of day, but so it came to pass we were misled and so missed a good opportunity. Dec. 13th we came to Mr Smith's, and that day took 35 prisoners. Dec 14th, our General went out with a horse and foot, I with my company was kept to garrison. I sent out 30 of my men to scout abroad, who killed two Indians and brought in 4 prisoners, one of which was beheaded. Our army came home at night, killed 7 and brought in 9 more, young and old. Dec 15th, came in John, a rogue, with pretense of peace, and was dismissed with this errand, that we might speak with Sachems. That evening, he not being gone a quarter of an hour, his company that lay hid behind a hill killed two Salem men within a mile from our quarters, and wounded a third that he is dead. And at a house three miles off where I had 10 men, they killed 2 of them. Instantly, Capt. Mosely, myself and Capt Gardner were sent to fetch in Major Appleton's company that kept 3 miles and a half off, and coming, they lay behind a stone wall and fired on us in sight of the garrison. We killed the captain that killed one of the Salem men, and had his cap on. That night they burned Jerry Bull's house, and killed 17. Dec. 16th came that news. Dec 17th came news that Connecticut forces were at Petaquamscot, and had killed 4 Indians and took 6 prisoners. That day we sold Capt. Davenport 47 Indians, young and old for 80l. in money. Dec 18th we marched to Petaquamscot with all our forces, only a garrison left; that night very stormy; we lay, one thousand, in the open field that long night. In the morning, Dec. 19th, Lord's day, at 5 o'clock we marched. Between 12 and 1 we came up with the enemy, and had a sore fight three hours. We lost, that are now dead, about 68, and had 150 wounded, many of which recovered. That long snowy cold night we had about 18 miles to our quarters, with about 210 dead and wounded. We left 8 dead in the fort. We had but 12 dead when we came to the swamp, besides the 8 we left. Many died by the way, and as soon as they we brought in, so that Dec. 20th we buried in a grave 34, next day 4, next day 2, and none since. Eight died at Rhode Island, 1 at Petaquamscot, 2 lost in the woods and killed Dec. 20, as we heard since; some say two more died. By the best intelligence, we killed 300 fighting men; prisoners we took, say 350, and above 300 women and children. We burnt above 500 houses, left but 9, burnt all their corn, that was in baskets, great store. One signal mercy that night, not to be forgotten, viz. That when we drew off, with so many dead and wounded, they did not pursue us, which the young men would have done, but the sachems would not consent; they had but ten pounds of powder let.



Our General, with about 40, lost our way, and wandered till 7 o'clock in the morning, before we came to our quarters. We thought we were within 2 miles of the enemy again, but God kept us; to him be the glory. We have killed now and then 1 since, and burnt 200 wigwams more; we killed 9 last Tuesday. We fetch in their corn daily and that undoes them. This is, as nearly as I can, a true relation. I read the narrative to my officers in my tent, who all assent to the truth of it. Mohegans and Pequods proved very false, fired into the air, and sent word before they came they would so, but got much plunder, guns and kettles. A great part of what is written was attested by Joshua Teffe, who married an Indian woman, a Wampanoag. He shot 20 times at us in the swamp, was taken at Providence Jan'y 14, brought to us the 16th, executed the 18th. A sad wretch, he never heard a sermon but once these 14 years. His father, going to recall him lost his head and lies unburied.

A list of Major Saml Apleton souldjers yt were slayne & wounded the 19th Decemb. '75, at the Indians fort at Naragansett

In the Company of killed wounded
Major Appleton 4 18
Capt. Mosely 6 9
Capt. Oliver 5 8
Capt. Davenport 4 11
Capt. Johnson 4 8
Capt. Gardiner 7 10
Capt. Prentice 1 3

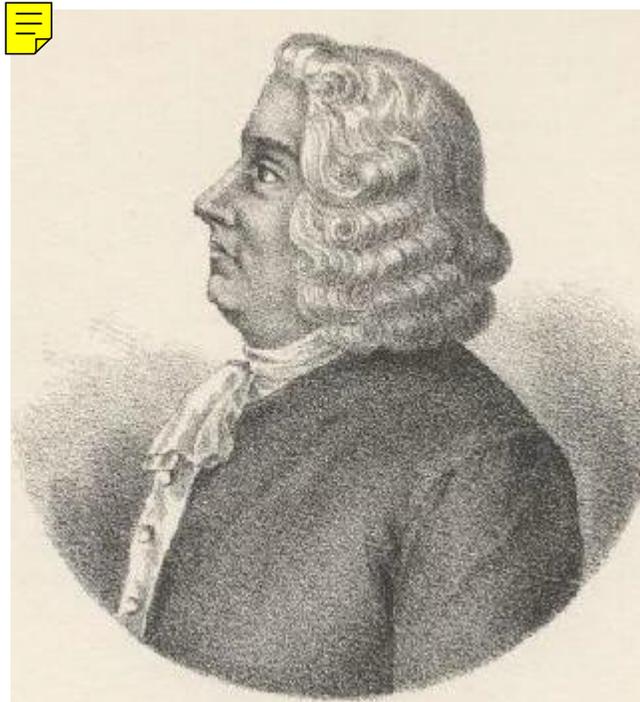
31 67

Of the officers, Capts. Davenport, Johnson, and Gardiner were killed, and Lieutenants Upham, Savage, Swain, and Ting were wounded.

Of the Connecticut troops 71 were killed.
Capt. Gallup- 10
Capt. Marshall- 14
Capt. Seeley- 20
Capt. Mason- 9
Capt. Watts- 17

1676

West Jersey was deeded to [Friend William Penn](#) and others (Quintipartite deed to the West Jersey proprietors); John Lawrence drew an East/West line across the lands.



[Friend](#) Robert Barclay wrote APOLOGY FOR THE TRUE CHRISTIAN DIVINITY:

There may be members of this catholic Church not only among all the several sorts of Christians, but also among pagans, Turks and Jews. They are men and women of integrity and simplicity of heart. They may be blind in their understanding of some things, and perhaps burdened with the superstition and ceremonies of the sects in which they have been collected. Yet they are upright in their hearts before the Lord, aiming and endeavoring to be delivered from iniquity, and loving to follow righteousness.

[Friend](#) John Easton’s “A RELACION OF THE INDYAN WARRE, BY MR. EASTON, OF ROADE ISLD., 1675”¹²⁹

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”
RHODE ISLAND

129. What relation does this have to A NARRATIVE OF THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO PHILIP’S INDIAN WAR ON 1675 AND 1676?

Friend John Underhill, son of the English soldier of fortune John Underhill, was packed off to prison for refusing “to train in the militia” and then refusing “to work on the fort.”

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

[90] **An act for y^e Better Regulating y^e Militia**

& for Punishing offend^{ers} as Shall not Conform to y^e Laws there unto Relating

Bee it Encted by y^e hon^{ble} y^e Gouer^{nr} Council & house of Representatives in this P^{re}sent Sefsions asembled & by y^e Authority thereof it is hereby Enacted y^t aft^r y^e Publication of this Act y^t if any p^{er}son or persons Listed Und^r y^e Co^mmand of any Cap^t or Commad^r in Cheif of y^e Militia Shall or do not appear Compleat in armes (Vizth) wth A Good & Sufficient muskett or Fuze a Sword or Bayenet, Catooch box or Bandelers wth twelve Bulets fitt for his Peice half a Pound of Powder & Six good Flints Upon y^e Precise Training Days already p^{re}fixt as well as when there Respective Cap^{ts} or Co^mmand^{ers} in Cheif Shall call them Togeather Either by Allarum or any oth^{er} time or times as Shall by their s^d Command^{ers} be thought fitt & Expedient for his maj^{ties} Interest During y^e Times of Warr & if any p^{er}son or p^{er}sons Listed &c Shall neglect their Respective Dutys & due Obedience & not appear in Manner Afores^d Shall forfeit for Each neglect on y^e Days Appointed for Training or Oth^{er} Meetings in Armes y^e Sum of Thre Shillings in money wth y^e Due Fees Arising thereon & for non Appearance or neglect on any Larum y^e Sum of five Shilling wth y^e Due Fees Arising thereon to be taken by Diftraint or otherwise as y^e fines for non appearance on y^e Training Days are to be Taken

.....

[92] *And Bee it Further Enacted* That y^e Respective Cap^t & Co^mission officers of Each Respective Company or Train band in this Colony have full Pow^{er} & authority during y^e time of their being in Armes on y^e training Days or on Allarums or Upon any oth^{er} occasion w^{soev}er to Punish any Private Sentinall y^t Shall Misbehaue him self wth Laying him Neck & Heels or Riding y^e wooden horse or A fine not Exceeding fore Shillings at y^e Discrefsion of s^d Commision Officers notwthstanding y^e Afore recited Acts Relateing y^e militia it Shall be in y^e pow^{er} & Authority of y^e Cap^t & Co^mission officers of Each Respective train Bands in this Colony if any P^{er}sons as they Shall Iudg realy Conscientious being wthin their list & y^t they Cannot bare arm’s in y^e Times of Allarums &c y^t if y^e s^d p^{er}sons being So Conscientious be any ways Serviceable in makeing Discoverys or Riding upon any Expedition or any thing Elce y^t may be Iudged Conuenient for y^e Preseruacion of his maj^{estys} Interest y^t it Shall be then in y^e Pow^{er} of s^d Cap^{ts} or Co^mission officers as afores^d to remit y^e fine or fines Impofed for their not appearing in Arms according to y^e Afore p^{re}mised Act



Friend [George Fox](#)'s epistle "To Friends at Dantzic" was issued during this year:



Dear Friends, – In the love of God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, look above all your outward sufferings, and him that is out of truth, that makes you to suffer; and let nothing separate you from the love of God which you have in Christ Jesus, by whom all things were made: I say, let not the birth of the flesh, with all his carnal weapons, jails, and prisons, threats, or reproaches, move you, nor separate you from the love of God, nor from your foundation, the rock of ages, Christ Jesus: but feel the well of life springing up in you, to nourish the plant that God has planted in you, of his renown, that that may grow up within his hedge, his power, which will keep out the devil and all the venomous beasts, from entering into God's garden, or kingdom. And therefore let your faith stand in the Lord's power, which is your hedge and defense, and which is your keeper, and will keep you safe, that you need not be afraid of your enemy, your adversary; for the Lord's power is over his head, and you within his power, then nothing can get betwixt you and God; and in the power of the Lord is the city set upon his hill, where the light shines, and the heavenly salt is, and the lamps burning, and trumpets sounding forth the praise of God, of the eternal joy, in his eternal word of life, that lives, and abides, and endure forever. And so to the praise and glory of God you may bring forth fresh and green fruit, being grafted into the green tree that never withers. Oh! be valiant for God's glory and his truth upon the earth, and spread it abroad, answering that of God in every man and woman's conscience; knowing him that hath brought everlasting peace into the earth: so, the songs of salvation may be in your mouths; for it is said, "With the heart man believes, and with the mouth confession is made to salvation." So every true believer will confess to Christ his salvation, their way, light, and life, out of death and darkness; their prophet, to open to them; their shepherd, to feed them; and their bishop, to oversee them; their captain and commander, to command and to lead them; their counsellor, to counsel them; and their prise, who hath offered himself for them, and also sanctifies them, and offers them up to God: to whom be all praise and glory for ever. Amen. I wrote something to the magistrates, which is in print in England; which, if your have it not to give them, you may send into Holland, and let it be translated into your language, and given to them, and spread it up and down in your country. And as for the truth in this part of the world, and in America, it prospers, and spreads, and goes on; and by it many men and women are made God's free men and women, being redeemed from him that is out of truth, that they may serve God in the life of Christ Jesus, (out of the old life in Adam in the fall,) and so come to live in the heavenly unity, wisdom, love, and dominion.

So, in that love that bears all things, and keeps your hearts, minds, and souls up to God, through which you come to love God, and Christ, and one another; in that live and dwell.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

G.F. Swarthmore, the 17th of the 3rd month, 1676

George Fox

Friend Robert Barclay's attitude toward Quakers in the arts in this year, as translated into modern English: "It is not lawful for Christians to use games, sports, plays, comedies, or other recreations which are inconsistent with Christian silence, gravity, or sobriety. Laughter, sports, games, mockery, or jests, useless conversation, and similar matters are neither Christian liberty nor harmless mirth."¹³⁰

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Nicholas Easton died, bequeathing the sum of £20 "in country pay" and his home and the land on which it stood to the Newport [Friends](#) (possibly, some of the adjacent land may also have been acquired by purchase from the widowed Ann Easton). This repurposed structure probably served as the 1st permanent place of worship for the local Quakers (for instance, the 1672 debate between the Reverend Roger Williams and various Quakers in Newport had taken place in a Friends meetinghouse). The piece of land eventually would be used in 1699 for the [Great Meetinghouse](#) of the Friends.

Friend Nicholas also left "to the maintenance of the burial yard where his body lyes, one Barrell of pork, to be managed by Christopher Houlder."

Dutch traders were buying black slaves at 30 florins each in Angola and were selling 15,000 per year in the Americas at 300 to 500 florins each. In this year in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) the public friend [William Edmundson](#) became the first Christian of English extraction to categorize the holding of others in slavery as a "sin" (this had been a totalizing declaration which Friend [George Fox](#) had always avoided). –For this new totalizing conviction of his, Friend William would be at first shunned, and then excluded, from the fellowship of Friends.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

The Heeren Gracht (Broad Street) was the first street to be paved in New-York. Wheat prices were regulated. Nicholas De Meyer was appointed mayor for the year.

February 5: Boston observed another Fast Day or Day of Humiliation.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



[Friend](#) John Easton, deputy governor of [Rhode Island](#), wrote in his journal that:

For 40 years time, reports and jelosys of war had bin veri frequent that we did not think that ... war was breking forth.

He added the thought that at this point:

we had Case to think it wold

130. BARCLAY'S APOLOGY IN MODERN ENGLISH, edited by Dean Freiday (1967), page 391

because:

the English wear afraid and Philop was afraid and both incresed in arems.

February 10, Thursday, sunrise: In the absence from Lancaster of her minister husband Joseph, [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) and her family were attacked in their garrison house there by some 400 Nipmuc who had enlisted in this race war after three of their fellows had been executed in Plymouth MA. These were the same warriors who had marched into the Praying Indian villages on November 1st of the previous year and taken, among others, [James Printer](#). (Printer eventually would help produce Rowlandson's narrative at the Cambridge Press. Was he a willing participant in this attack? Does it matter?)



Printer realized that his future lay with her (and hers with him). In the coming weeks Printer served as scribe during negotiations for Mary Rowlandson's redemption. Then, when amnesty was offered to Christian Indians who had joined the enemy, Printer turned himself in to colonial authorities, bringing with him, as required by special instruction, the heads of two enemy Indians – testaments to his fidelity. Eventually Printer returned to his work at the press in Cambridge and, in 1682, in one of the most sublime ironies of King Philip's War, James Printer set the type for *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*. Mary Rowlandson and James Printer are indeed a curious pair. Their intricately linked stories are at once uncannily similar and crucially divergent. Before the war, Mary's husband, Joseph Rowlandson, was the minister of her town, while James's brother, Joseph Tukapewillin, was the minister of his. Both Rowlandson and Printer spent the winter of 1675-1676 with enemy Nipmucs. Both returned to Boston months later to live, again, among the English. But while Rowlandson came to terms with her time among enemy Indians by writing a book, Printer supplied body parts.

Of the 50 white families resident at Lancaster, 37 whites had taken refuge in this particular garrison house. The first alert was hearing the sound of shots, as attacks were made on three of the other four garrison houses in the settlement. Four of the five fortifications would be able to withstand the attack,¹³¹ but from her own garrison house and its surroundings, none of the pack of "six stout Dogs belonging to our Garrison," she would complain, would be willing to stir,¹³²



though another time, if any Indian had come to the door, they were ready to fly upon him and tear him down. The Lord thereby would make us the more to acknowledge his hand, and to see that our help is always in him.

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

After two hours of assault, the attackers managed to set the house ablaze. Of the occupants, 12 would be killed, 131. These surviving colonists of Lancaster, including the family of Daniel Hudson (1), would seek shelter in Concord.

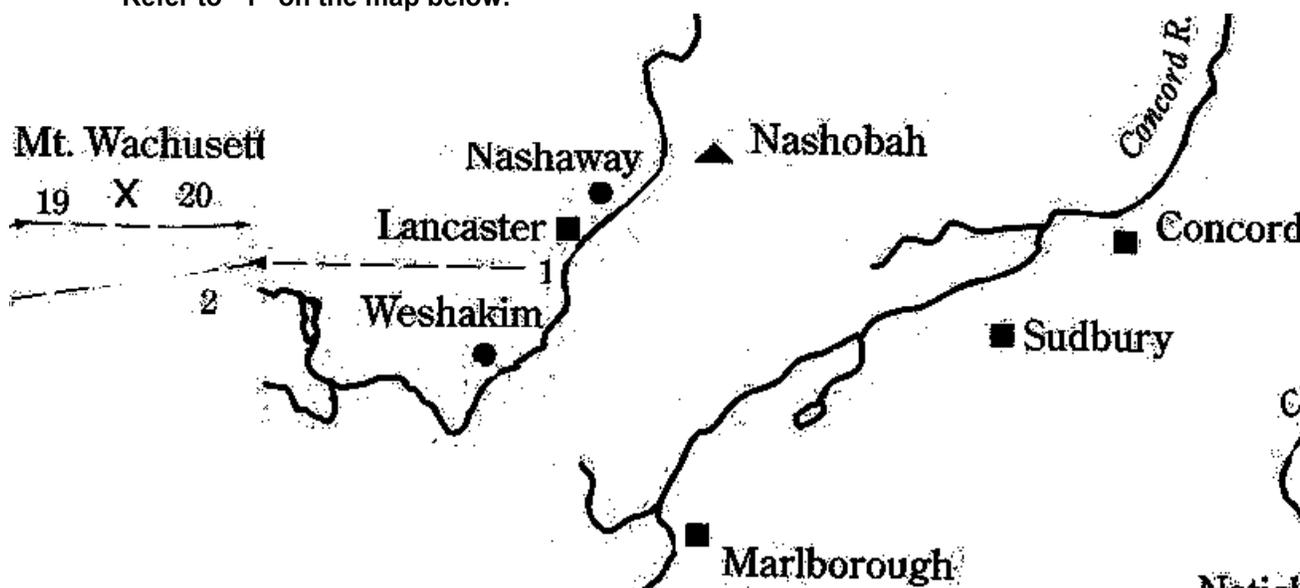


one would escape, and 24 would be held for ransom.



By now, Indian captivity is just another roadside attraction. In Lancaster MA, a sign recounts where hostage [Mary Rowlandson](#) camped with Indians after they burned the town in 1676. In Letchworth State Park (NY) is a statue of Mary Jemison... Virginia's Hungry Mother State Park... In eastern Kentucky, Jenny Wiley State Resort Park... Texas marks the spot where, in 1836, Cynthia Ann Parker was grabbed... You don't have to drive far in America to find the roadside story of a white woman in distress.

Refer to "1" on the map below:



Mistress Rowlandson would relate, "Then I took Children (and one of my sisters, hers) to go forth and leave the house: but as soon as we came to the dore and appeared, the Indians shot so thick that the bullets rattled against the House, as if one had taken an handfull of stones and threw them, so that we were fain to give back." Finally she was forced to leave the burning house. Immediately she saw her brother-in-law fall, dead from wounds; her nephew, whose leg was broken, killed, and her sister shot. She herself was shot through the side, the child she carried in her arms being struck by the same bullet. There were 13 killed and 24 taken captive. According to her account, "I had often before this said, that if the Indians should come, I should chuse rather to be killed by them then taken alive but when it came to the tryal my mind changed; their glittering weapons

132. You can consult [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#)'s captivity narrative THE SOVERAIGNTY AND GOODNESS OF GOD, TOGETHER WITH THE FAITHFULNESS OF HIS PROMISES DISPLAYED; BEING A NARRATIVE OF THE [CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION OF MRS. MARY ROWLANDSON](#) most conveniently (on paper) in Richard VanDerBeets's edition HELD CAPTIVE BY INDIANS: SELECTED NARRATIVES, 1642-1836 (Knoxville TN: U of Tennessee P, 1973). Also see Slotkin, Richard and James K. Folsom, ed., SO DREADFULL A JUDGEMENT: PURITAN RESPONSES TO KING PHILIP'S WAR, 1676-1677 (Middletown OH: Wesleyan UP, 1978). Those of us who interest themselves in this sort of thing will be interested to learn that, according to Friend [William Edmundson](#)'s journal, pages 79-80 (Dublin, 1715), some [Quakers](#) of that period were carrying the doctrine of nonresistance to evil to such a point that when the Indian alarm was given, they were refusing to take refuge in the community blockhouses. Our history books tell us that this refusal to play war was very annoying to the other white people, to the point of beginning to persecute these refusers for their persistent utterly selfish refusal to stand guard in the common defense — strangely our history books do **not** inform us that nothing of the sort actually happened, because in fact despite what Friend William asserted, the Quakers did indeed seek refuge in blockhouses protected by guns. just like all the other white people!



so daunted my spirit, that I chose rather to go along ... then that moment to end my days....” Mary Rowlandson would sojourn as a servant with her captors for almost three months, as they journeyed westward to the Connecticut River and northward into Vermont and New Hampshire. Wounded in her side and carrying the wounded child, for the first three days there would be not only no roof over their head, but nothing whatever to eat. At times a warrior would carry the child for her, but when she and the child were put on a horse she fell off, not knowing how to ride bareback. Finally she and her feverish child would be able to ride behind a warrior.

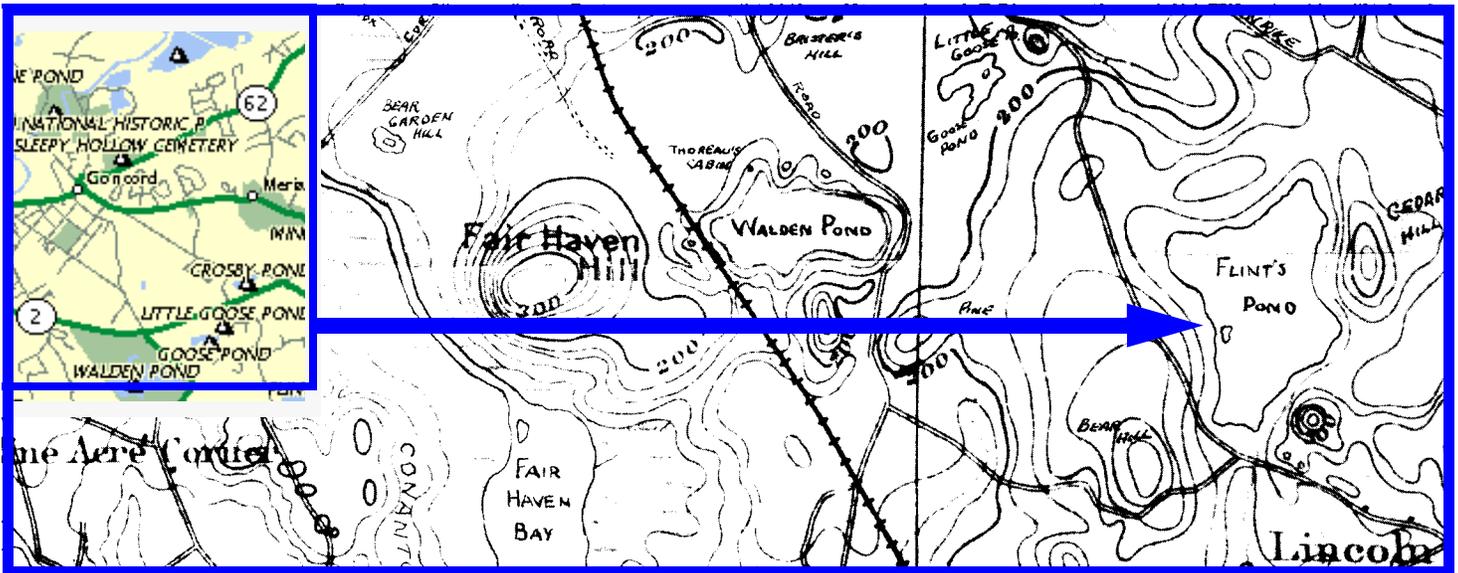
On the fourth day, Mistress Rowlandson would meet Robbert Pepper, who had been captured during the ambush at Beers Plain in Northfield the previous September. He would suggest that she put a poultice of oak leaves on her wound, as that had earlier cured a wound on his own leg. On February 18th, Mary’s child would die in her arms and be buried by the warriors on a hillside. Her other daughter was in the custody of another warrior and she would soon learn that her son was alive, in a nearby encampment. Although she was a captive, the natives would make no attempt to prevent her from seeing her children. They would give her a Bible to read. At the end of February, Mary Rowlandson and her master and mistress would leave the main body of warriors behind, so she would not see her daughter again until she was ransomed. In March the small warrior band with which she traveled moved on to Miller’s River (Baquaug) in Orange, Massachusetts, followed closely by a troop of English. Again, according to her account, “... then they made a stop, and chose some of their stoutest men, and sent them back to hold the English Army in play whilst the rest escaped: And then, like Jehu, they marched on furiously, with their old, and with their young: some carried their old decrepit mothers, some carried one, and some another.” When the group would reach Miller’s River, everyone would begin cutting dry trees to make rafts to cross the stream on that very cold day. Mistress Rowlandson would rejoice at being able to cross without chilling her feet. “The chief and commonest food was [Ground-nut](#): They eat also Nuts and Acorns, Harty-choaks, Lilly roots, Ground-beans, and several other weeds and roots, that I know not. They would pick up old bones, and cut them to pieces at the joynts, and if they were full of wormes and magots, they would scald them over the fire to make the vermine come out, and then boile them, and drink up the Liquor, and then beat the great ends of them in a Morter, and so eat them. They would eat Horses guts, and ears, and all sorts of wild Birds which they could catch: also Bear, Vennison, Beaver, Tortois, Frogs, Squirrels, Dogs, Skunks, Rattle-snakes; yea, the very Bark of Trees; besides all sorts of creatures, and provision which they plundered from the English.” Rowlandson would be part of a very large Amerindian encampment at Squakeag (Northfield, Massachusetts). While the group remained there, her son Joseph would be able to come for a short visit. During her stay in this area, she would meet Metacom and he would offer her a pipe of [tobacco](#), which she would decline “though I had formerly used Tobacco, yet I had left it ever since I was first taken. It seems to be a Bait, the Devil layes to make men loose their previous time: I remember with shame, how formerly, when I had taken two or three pipes, I was presently ready for another, such a bewitching thing it is. But I thank God, he has now given me power over it; surely there are many who may be better employed than to ly sucking a stinking Tobacco-pipe.” Mrs. Rowlandson would make clothes and barter them to her captors. In this way, for instance, she would obtain a broth thickened with the bark of a tree, and a knife. When Metacom would give her a shilling for making a shirt for his boy, she would offer the shilling to her master and he would allow her to keep it. From Squakeag, the tribe would move up into New Hampshire near the Ashuelot valley and then up to Chesterfield. During this period of her captivity, Mistress Rowlandson would see her son several times, but then he would be sold to a new master and she wouldn’t see him again until he would finally be ransomed in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Finally, when she thought she would never be taken eastward again, the group began to retrace its route to Miller’s River, then to Petersham, and finally to Mount Wachusett. Here negotiations for her ransom would begin toward the end of April. On May 2, 1676, Mary Rowlandson would be exchanged at Redemption Rock for a ransom of twenty English pounds. When she would return to Lancaster, there would be not a single English to be seen and not a single house still standing.

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

On this same date, or perhaps a week later than this: When the Praying Indians of Concord, who were Nashobah, were restricted to within a mile of their settlement on Flint's Pond or Sandy Pond,

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



(or to within a mile from the outskirts of beautiful downtown Concord, for it doesn't seem to be clear where the white people intended their local free-fire zone to begin and end) one of the things this meant was that they would starve. For this restriction prevented them from cultivating their cornfields. During a period of heavy snow the Native American villages of the Concord area, praying-ized by the Reverend John Eliot¹³³ and not, were surrounded while in their lodges by troops from Marlborough led by Captain Samuel Mosely, roped together at the neck, and herded through Concord to what can only be described as a concentration camp on barren Deer Island, a site chosen of course because no white people had been able to subsist there.¹³⁴ "Tis Satan's policy, to plead for an indefinite and boundless toleration." Most of the hostages would die there of exposure and starvation. There were only 58 of the Reverend Eliot's Praying Indians left in the Concord area, mostly Nashobah women and children. [John Hoar](#) of Concord delegated himself to supervise these people, and built a stockade for them, with workshops, near his home south of the millpond:¹³⁵

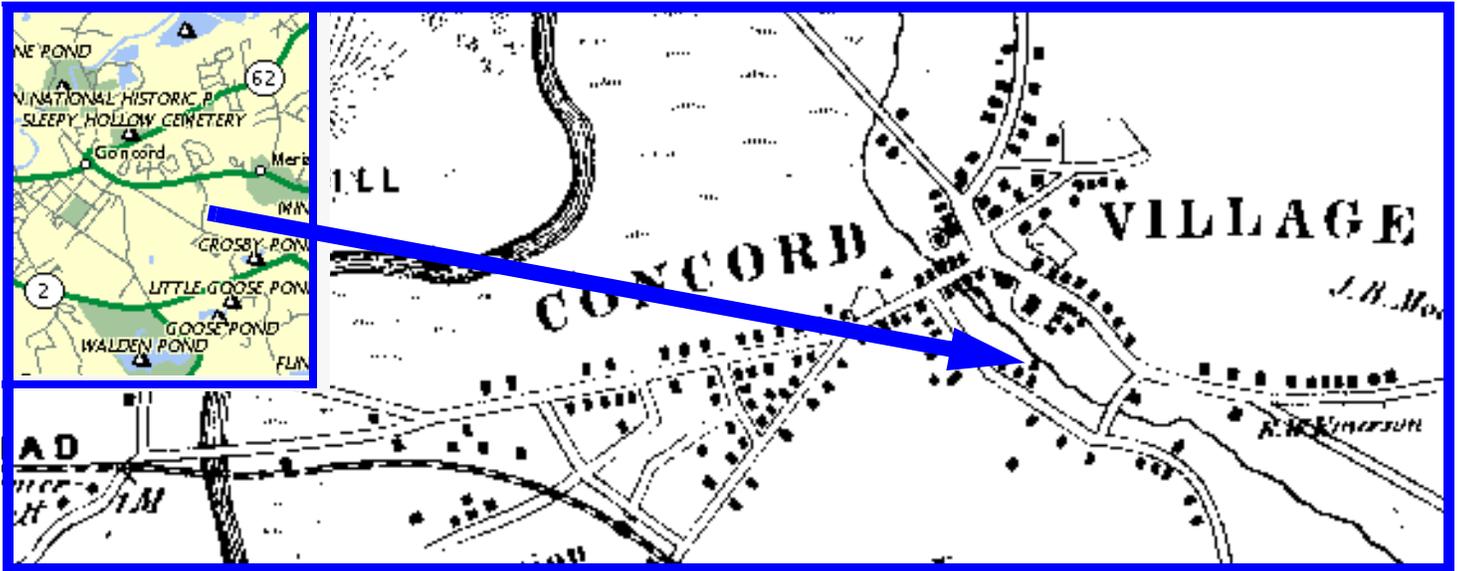
133. The Reverend John Eliot was doing what he could to shield his flock "when some of the people of Massachusetts, actuated by the most infuriate spirit, intended to have destroyed them" (ALLEN'S BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY), but his position was inevitably a compromised and therefore a compromising position. It was much easier to make them be Christians than it was to force Christians to treat them like Christians.

134. A concentration camp for Praying Indian hostages would also be set up on Clark's Island, off Plymouth MA.

135. The [John Hoar](#) stockade was near where the Alcott home known as "Orchard House" would one day stand.

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM



These people worked during the day and were locked into the stockade at night, at least in part for their own defense. At one point [John Hoar](#) hitched up an ox team and went back the eleven miles to Nashobah Plantation, to retrieve some of the supply of corn that had been laid by for their winter sustenance. Because of this, these people would be in the very last of the detachments sent out to Deer Island. However, some townspeople were not in favor of this, and surreptitiously sent word to the infamous Captain Samuel Mosely.



An attempt was made to separate the friendly Christian Indians from the wild savages, and some were brought in to Deer Island in Boston harbor. Others [primarily women and young children, and excluding any males of warrior age] were brought to Concord and entrusted to [John Hoar](#), who built a workshop and stockade for them next to his own house, which is now known as Orchard House. This caused a furor in Concord. Many considered the Christian Indians just spies and informers. The town defenses were in a precarious state [due to the fact that many of the white men were away, fighting in the race war].

One Sunday soon afterward Captain Samuel Mosely, acting on his own authority, came with his soldiers to Concord worship, and afterward addressed the congregation. He then marched out to the Hoar stockade, followed by a rabble of townspeople, and demanded that [John Hoar](#) allow him to “inspect” the remaining Praying Indians. He placed his soldiers on guard around the stockade that night, and the next morning caused the Native Americans to be assembled and marched between two files of horsemen to internment on Deer Island. His soldiers of course stripped the Nashobah even of their shirts and shoes, stealing anything worth taking.¹³⁶ The town council of Concord did not reprove Mosely: of course not, for the Nashobah being gone meant more arable fields that could be seized by white farmers.

We have a note that the wife of Joseph Petuhanit¹³⁷ was in this group of hostages.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

Meanwhile, it has been alleged, on February 10th at their farm near Concord, the white brothers Isaac and Jacob Shepard were being killed by Americans, and their 15-year-old sister Mary Shepard was being kidnapped. —That, however, on the night of the 12th this intrepid Mary would be able to take a saddle from under her kidnapper’s head as he slept, and saddle a horse he had stolen in Lancaster, and swim the Nashua River to safety:



two Men were killed at a Farm about *Concord, Ifaac* and *Jacob Sheppard* by Name, about the middle of *February*; and a young Maid that was fet to watch upon an Hill, of about 15 Years of Age, was carried Captive; who ftrangely efcaped away upon an Horfe that the *Indians* had taken from *Lancafter* a little before.

[Lemuel Shattuck](#) tells us he obtained his information as to this incident from page 25 of “Hubbard. Foster’s Century Sermon”:

About the middle of February, Abraham and Isaac Shepherd were killed near Nashobah in Concord village while threshing grain in their barn. Apprehensive of danger, says tradition, they placed their sister Mary, a girl about fifteen years old, on a hill a little distance off to watch and forewarn them of the approach of an enemy. She was, however, suddenly surprised and captured, and her brothers were slain. She was carried captive into the Indian settlements but with great heroism made her escape. While the Indians were asleep in the night, probably under the influence of spiritous liquors, she seized a horse, which they had a few days before stolen at Lancaster, took a saddle from under the head of her Indian keeper, mounted, swam across the Nashua river and rode through the forest to her home.¹³⁸

136. [Major Daniel Gookin](#), “An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England in the Years 1675, 1676, 1677,” 1836 edition, pages 495-7; MASSACHUSETTS STATE ARCHIVES XXX, 185a.

137. She had a name, but we don’t know it, do we?

138. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy, 1835

(On or about November 11, 1837 Henry David Thoreau would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Unfortunate for this atrocity story, we can corroborate only that one such Concord farmer was killed, with the report of the brother seeming to have been merely a doubled report of that one killing, and, since Mary “got away from the Indians” so readily, and since no other traces of these marauding Americans ever turned up, there is a raw possibility, even a probability, that what we had here was a very ordinary family murder,

not interracial at all, involving no strangers at all — a very ordinary family murder of the too-familiar Susan “A Nigger Must Have Done It” Smith variety followed by a criminal fabrication, in which this Mary had offed her loving bro and then blamed the bleeding corpse on persons unknown of another race. (That’s problematic, of course, but please do note, it would be quite as problematic to accept at face value the “ftrangelly efcaped” above.)

The same source lists under the date of March 10th what is apparently yet another version of or exaggeration of the same rumor, that:



At *Concord*, two Men going for Hay, one of them was killed.

We can see here how it has been, that the actual 100-200 white body count of this 18-month race war would become exaggerated over time and retelling, to the point that the war has been characterized as the bloodiest, in terms of percentage of deaths among the white population, of any war in our history, bloodier even than the US Civil War of 1862-1865!

In 1947, Townsend Scudder told the story in the following manner, on pages 30-31 of his CONCORD: AMERICAN TOWN, making the incident responsible for the willingness of the Concordians to have the Praying Indians they had been protecting roped together by the neck and marched down to the racial concentration camp that had been established on Deer Island:



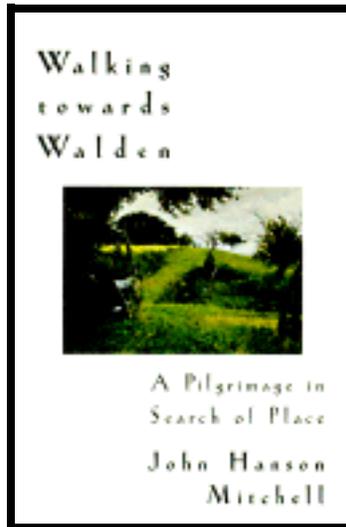
At Nagog Pond, near the deserted Praying Indian village of Nashoba, Isaac Shepard, with his brother Abraham, was threshing grain in the barn. News of the attack on Lancaster had increased the household's caution. To warn of danger, the men posted their fourteen-year-old sister, Mary, on a boulder part way up the snow-covered hillside behind the house. But the pounding of the flails drowned the girl's shriek. A moment later, Isaac Shepard sprawled in death near the musket he had not had time to fire; his brother Abraham lay unconscious near him. From the barricaded house, the two men's wives saw Indians make off with the girl. Abraham Shepard rallied enough to set out through the snow with his dead brother's wife, his own wife, and his wife's small baby, for refuge at Concord. A week later the Shepard girl rode into the village. She told how the Indians had taken her on a three days' journey inland to Winnisimmet - their camp northwest of ruined Brookfield. Many Indians, she said, were at this place. She thought they had other prisoners with them. There, in the night, she had slipped from her captor's wigwam, untethered a horse, then followed her back track home. Concord felt no mood to temporize. The neighborhood was rife with rumors that Praying Indians still at large had taken part in the Lancaster massacre and raid on the Shepard farm. On the Sunday following Mary's return, just as the people were filing into meeting, a troop of horsemen clattered into town. At their head was Captain Samuel Moseley.... If the citizens wished it, he would take these vermin to Deer Island.



Now more recently, on page 58 of John Hanson Mitchell's WALKING TOWARDS WALDEN: A PILGRIMAGE IN SEARCH OF PLACE (Reading MA: Addison-Wesley, 1995), an extrabogus version of the Mary Shepard story has resurfaced without references being cited. According to this author Mitchell's inventive elaborations, the native Americans were under the influence of a Warrior Queen, a "renegade leader," and had killed not two white men but three (the father, in addition to the two brothers), and the sister had been taken to a *wickiup* near Mt. Wachusett, from which she then escaped. Thus it is that history gets rewritten to serve the self-respect of the descendant children of the victor:



On the western slopes of the hill, in the place known as Quagana Hill, there was a farm held by a family from Concord named Shepard. There were three children in the Shepard family, the youngest of whom, Mary, in 1675 was a fair young woman of some fourteen years. According to the local histories, one February afternoon in 1676, during the hostilities of "King Phillip's War", Isaac Shepard and his two sons went out to thresh wheat in the barn at the base of Quagana Hill. Mary was posted at the summit to watch for Indians. As subsequent events indicate, Mary was a feisty, independent young woman, but she was not a good guard. Sometime in the afternoon, a small raiding band of Indians fighting in alliance with the great renegade leader Queen Weetamoo attacked the Shepard family; they killed the father and brothers and took Mary prisoner. She was carried down to Weetamoo's camp at Weninessit near present-day Mount Wachusett and imprisoned in one of the wickiups, guarded by the women or one of the warriors, possibly Weetamoo's consort, Netus. That same night, the story goes, she stole a horse and a blanket and escaped. She fled through the primeval wilderness, swam the horse across the Nashua River, and some days later arrived in Concord to report the atrocity.



According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

2 1676. Feb. 10, 7. Mr. Sanford dyes.

March 10: The Plymouth court fined 18 potential militiamen for “not going forth being pressed,” which is to say, for refusing to serve in the local military. Nine of these 18 were [Quakers](#) of Sandwich and Scituate:

- Friend Daniel Butler
- Friend Zacharia Jenkins
- Friend Ephraim Allen
- Friend William Allen
- Friend Zachariah Colman
- Friend Joseph Colman
- Friend Thomas Colman
- Friend John Rance
- Friend John Northy

Three other [Quakers](#) also were refuseniks, but evidently had refused even to make an appearance before this court:

- Friend Israel Gaunt
- Friend Increase Allen
- Friend Obadiah Butler

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

According to the Reverend William Hubbard's A NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS IN *NEW-ENGLAND*, FROM THE FIRFT PLANTING THEREOF IN THE YEAR 1607, TO THIS PRESENT YEAR 1677. BUT CHIEFLY OF THE LATE TROUBLES IN THE TWO LAFT YEARS, 1675, AND 1676. TO WHICH IS ADDED A DIFCOURFE ABOUT THE *WARRE* WITH THE PEQUODS IN THE YEAR 1637, published in 1677, on this day a Concord man was killed while going after hay.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

Presumably, then, this would be one of the 13 town residents who are listed in the statistics as having died during this year:

	Marriages	Births	Deaths
1656	3	11	—
1657	3	11	3
1658	3	6	3
1659	2	10	4
1660	6	11	3
1661	2	12	6
1662	4	14	4
1663	5	14	4
1664	4	11	2
1665	7	13	6
1666	2	22	6
1667	8	15	6



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Marriages Births Deaths

	Marriages	Births	Deaths
1668	4	21	5
1669	4	24	5
1670	2	21	2
1671	6	22	7
1672	5	20	3
1673	6	29	6
1674	3	20	5
1675	5	21	11
1676	4	13	13
1677	11	22	6

March 26, Sunday: American attacks were staged on the English settlements at Longmeadow, Marlborough, and Simsbury. Mendon and Wrentham were evacuated. Although the citizens of Marlborough had become war refugees, it was decided that due to the strategic location a garrison of soldiers would need to maintain themselves in a fortified house there.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

After the Plymouth force had staged its assault on the principal village of the [Narragansett](#) in the Great Swamp near [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#), the surviving Narragansett—who had to this point been neutral—of necessity had joined with the surviving Wampanoag. That Great Swamp Fight had taken the lives, by some accounts, of some 300 braves and almost 400 women and children. During the following spring the merged groups were seeking their vengeance. Captain Michael Peirce of Scituate led a detachment in pursuit of Miantonomi’s son, the sachem Canonchet, at Quisnicket near [Pawtucket](#), but within the original limits of Bristol County (this happened near what is now Lincoln Woods Park in [Lincoln, Rhode Island](#)). They had marched to Taunton, and then along the Old Seacunke Road to [Rehoboth](#) (East Providence), and then had come north along the east side of the Seekonk. On this day a war party led by chief sachem Canonchet successfully ambushed and overwhelmed Captain Pierce’s company of approximately 63 or 65 Englishmen and 20 native Cape Cod auxiliaries on the banks of the [Blackstone River](#) in present-day [Central Falls](#) somewhere near

Lonsdale, at a ford in the river in a heavily wooded area.¹³⁹ Several of the native American guides from Cape Cod were able to escape alive by various subterfuges. Actually, it seems the American natives lost more warriors in this fight than the English. Supposedly, nine of the white warriors were captured and would be conveyed to a spot in [Cumberland](#) that now goes under the name “Nine Men’s Misery,” and there killed.¹⁴⁰



A messenger had been sent to [Providence](#) for aid, before the ambush, but had been, according to tradition, too pious to interrupt a church service in progress when he arrived. After he had waited outside the church for hours while the long service proceeded, his message was too late the relief force being able only to bury the scalped bodies. (A few days later Canonchet would be captured and executed.)

139. It would appear that at least some of the white soldiers who were cut down fighting back-to-back in that “double-double ring” were [Quakers](#) who had abandoned their Peace Testimony for the duration of the race war — because Benjamin Tompson would memorialize them as such in his canto “New-Englands Tears For Her Present Miseries”:

Here Captious ones, without their Queries lie,
The Quaker here, the Presbyterian by,
The Scruple dormant lies of thee and thou,
And most as one to Deaths dominion bow.

Among the fallen fighters whom we imagine probably to have been armed Quakers were:

- Friend Stephen Wing, Jr. of Sandwich
- Friend Samuel Bourman or Bowerman of Barnstable
- Friend John Sprague of Duxbury

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

140. According to Sidney Rider the common accounts of the episode are based mainly on legend. For instance, the [Cumberland](#) monument, which happens to be the first ever erected to American white fighters, states that these victims were the “pursued,” as if they had been seeking to avoid this, when actually they were very much the pursuers and had been out looking for a fight. The location now identified by this name on the grounds of the Edward J. Hayden library on Diamond Hill Road is highly questionable as having any relation to the events as they actually happened. Bicknell reports that the skulls of the nine victims were found in the 1960s in the basement of the Rhode Island Historical Society on Brook Street in [Providence](#), where they had been stored after being recovered in an 1800s antiquarian dig.

Among the skulls, that of Benjamin Buckland of Rehoboth was easy to identify, because he (like headman *Taoyateduta* in Minnesota in a subsequent race war) had a double set of teeth.



March 29: At the beginning of King Philip’s War, [Providence](#) had been neutral and this neutrality had been respected by the Wampanoag. However, whites from Providence and another [Rhode Island](#) town had joined the United Colonies army as it marched had through on its way to the “Great Swamp Fight” in which so many [Narragansett](#) and Wampanoag had been killed, and after which so many had starved because their winter supplies had burned. On this day, therefore, with only some 30 whites of the 500 residents of [Providence](#) remaining in the vicinity, the English settlement was raided. Only one man and one woman were killed during the general torching of the empty houses of the town. The man was named Wright. This resident had trusted in the power of the BIBLE to save him, and had remained in his house clutching this book. The native American torch party, encountering this intransigence, “ripped him open, and put his BIBLE in his belly.” The woman was a [Quaker](#): Friend Elizabeth Sucklin. All the other 30-odd remaining residents had taken refuge in garrison houses and these garrison houses were not attacked. “Elizabeth Sucklin was preparing to goe from Her own Hous to A Fort but delaying they Killed Her.” “The House of John Smith where the Town records were Kept, was burnt with about 26 Others, but the Record was mostly thrown into the Mill Pond, afterward carried to Newport for Safety and brought back the 27th of April next year 1677.” The native attackers did not torch the house that had been erected by Samuel Whipple on the north side of Abbott Street to the east of the Town Street that is now North Main, possibly because they were aware that it had been being used for religious meetings. Allegedly, during this general torching, an exceedingly strange meeting took place. The Reverend [Roger Williams](#), age 77, allegedly walked out into the forest, with his home and 71 other homes in smouldering ashes behind him (another source says 54 houses were torched, another that 27 were torched: whatever, we know that of the entire town, only two houses survived), and allegedly he remonstrated with the [Narragansett](#) warriors.



To their claim that

“God was [with] them and Had forsaken us for they had so prospered in Killing and Burning us far beyond What we did against them,”

the famous Reverend allegedly responded

“God had prospered **us** so that wee had driven the Wampanoag with Phillip out of his Countrie...”



In other words, we have here really does amount to a couple of strange strangenesses:

1stly, we have here a purported historical record of an encounter in which we might have presumed the incautious reverend was going to get his incautious ass murdered whereas nothing of that sort occurred;

2dly, we have here a record of a bunch of guys supposedly more influenced or less influenced by Christianity, who all seem to be presuming equally as they stand around at the forest margin, chit-chatting about deep theology, that whatever best succeeds in this world *ipso facto* constitutes human righteousness!

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”
WAMPANOAG



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

March 31: The Massachusetts Council released *Nepanet* Tom Dublett (Praying Indian, 3d husband of *Kehonosquah* Sarah Doublett) from its Deer Island concentration camp and sent him off into the forest to deliver the following message to *Quinnapin*, a [Narragansett](#) leader, and *Weetamoo*, the “squaw sachem” of *Pocasset*, the captors of [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#):

Intelligence is Come to us that you have some English (especially women and children) in Captivity among you. Wee have therefore sent this messenger offering to redeeme them either for payment in goods or wampum, or by exchange of prisoners.... If you have any among you that can write your Answer to this our messenger, wee desire it in writing, and to that end have sent paper pen and Incke ... provided he [your messenger] Come unarmed and Carry a white flagge upon a staffe vissible to be seene, which wee call a flagg of truce; and is used by civil nations in tyme of warre.

[Friend](#) “Low” (Zoar or Zoeth) Howland of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) was killed at *Pocasset*, now [Tiverton](#), near the [Aquidneck Island](#) ferry (be careful not to confuse this location with Pocasset, Massachusetts), and his body found in a stream which would come to be known as the Sin and Flesh Brook. (At the end of the race war  a native American named Manasses Molasses suspected of having killed this [Quaker](#) would be sold into slavery.)

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Spring: During the spring of this year Friend [George Fox](#) wrote from York to his wife, Friend [Margaret Askew Fell](#) Fox.

DEAR HEART:

To whom is my love, and to thy daughters, and to all Friends that inquire after me. My desires are that ye all may be preserved in the Lord's everlasting Seed, in whom ye will have life and peace, dominion and settlement, in the everlasting home or dwelling in the house built upon the foundation of God.

In the power of the Lord I am brought to York, having had many meetings in the way. The road was many times deep and bad with snow, our horses sometimes were down, and we were not able to ride; and sometimes we had great storms and rain; but by the power of the Lord I went through all.

At Scarhouse there was a very large meeting, and at Burrowby another, to which Friends came out of Cleveland and Durham; and many other meetings we have had. At York, yesterday, we had a very large meeting, exceedingly thronged, Friends being at it from many parts, and all quiet, and well satisfied. Oh the glory of the Lord that shone over all!

This day we have had a large men's and women's meeting, many Friends, both men and women, being come out of the country, and all was quiet. This evening we are to have the men's and women's meeting of the Friends of the city.

John Whitehead is here, with Robert Lodge and others; Friends are mighty glad, above measure. So I am in my holy element and holy work in the Lord; glory to His name for ever! Tomorrow I intend to go out of the city towards Tadcaster, though I cannot ride as in days past; yet praised be the Lord that I can travel as well as I do!

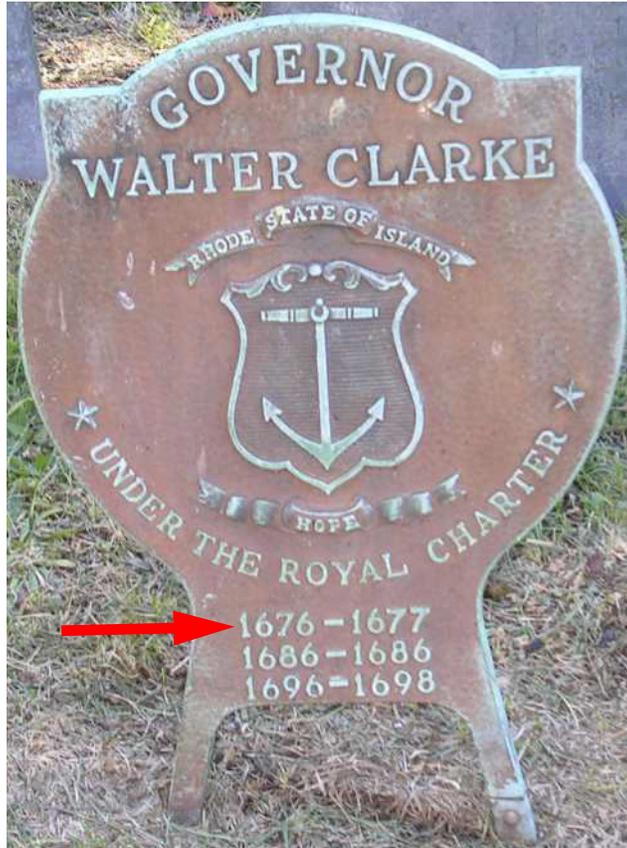
So with my love in the fountain of life, in which as ye all abide ye will have refreshment of life, that by it we may grow and gather eternal strength to serve the Lord, and be satisfied, to the God of all power, who is all-sufficient to preserve you, I commit you all.

G. F.

York, the 16th of the Second month [April] 1677.

JOURNAL

May: The deputy governor, [Friend Walter Clarke](#), was elected governor of [Rhode Island](#).



May 23: Josiah Winslow wrote that “The people in all our towns (Scituate excepted) are very desirous to be ranging after the enemy.” It seems likely that in referring to Scituate, he was referring to the refusal of the 18 potential militiamen of March 10th, for he adds that in the inflamed context of the times, after the native Americans had killed four English at Taunton, and burned a house and a barn, “not a man from Scituate would stir to remove them.” We note that although Winslow might have chosen to use words suggesting that these refuseniks were cowards, or were selfish, he chose instead to employ neutral terms which carry no such freight.

QUAKERS
“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



[90] An act for y^e Better Regulating y^e Militia
& for Punishing offend^{ers} as Shall not Conform to y^e Laws there
unto Relating

Bee it Encted by y^e hon^{ble} y^e Gouer^{er} Councill & houfe of Representatives in this P^{re}sent Sefsions afsembled & by y^e Authority thereof it is hereby Enacted y^t aft^r y^e Publication of this Act y^t if any p^{er}son or persons Listed Und^r y^e Co^mmand of any Cap^t or Commad^{er} in Cheif of y^e Militia Shall or do not appear Compleat in armes (Vizth) wth A Good & Sufficent muskett or Fuze a Sword or Bayenet, Catooch box or Bandelers wth twelve Bulets fitt for his Peice half a Pound of Powder & Six good Flints Upon y^e Precife Training Days already p^{re}fixt as well as when there Rfpective Cap^{ts} or Co^mmand^{ers} in Cheif Shall call them Togeather Either by Allarum or any oth^{er} time or times as Shall by their s^d Command^{ers} be thought fitt & Expedient for his maj^{ties} Interest During y^e Times of Warr & if any p^{er}son or p^{er}sons Listed &c Shall neglect their Rfpective Dutys & due Obedience & not appear in Manner Afores^d Shall forfeit for Each neglect on y^e Days Appointed for Training or Oth^{er} Meetings in Armes y^e Sum of Thre Shillings in money wth y^e Due Fees Arifing thereon & for non Appearance or neglect on any Larum y^e Sum of five Shilling wth y^e Due Fees Arifeing thereon to be taken by Diftraint or otherwise as y^e fines for non apperance on y^e Training Days are to be Taken

....

[92] *And Bee it Further Enacted*
That y^e Rfpective Cap^t & Co^miffion officers of Each Rfpective Company or Train band in this Colony have full Pow^{er} & authority during y^e time of their being in Armes on y^e training Days or on Allarums or Upon any oth^{er} occasion w^hsoev^{er} to Punish any Private Sentinall y^t Shall Mifbehaue him self wth Laying him Neck & Heels or Riding y^e wooden horse or A fine not Exceeding fore Shillings at y^e Difcrefsion of s^d Commiffion Officers notwthstanding y^e Afore recited Acts Relateing y^e militia it Shall be in y^e pow^{er} & Authority of y^e Cap^t & Co^miffion officers of Each Rfpective train Bands in this Colony if any P^{er}sons as they Shall Iudg realy Confcientious being wthin their lift & y^t they Cannot bare arm's in y^e Times of Allarums &c y^t if y^e s^d p^{er}sons being So Confcientious be any ways Serviceable in making Discoverys or Riding upon any Expedition or any thing Elce y^t may be Iudged Conuenient for y^e Preferuation of his maj^{estys} Interest y^t it Shall be then in y^e Pow^{er} of s^d Cap^{ts} or Co^miffion officers as afores^d to remit y^e fine or fines Impofed for their not appearing in Arms accord^{ing} to y^e Afore p^{re}mifed Act

July 1, Saturday: Edward Byllinge transferred his rights to New Jersey land to the [Quakers William Penn](#), Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas, with Fenwick to receive one-tenth of the property as his fee for settling it, followed by the formal division of the province into East New Jersey and West New Jersey through the Quintipartite Deed, along an East/West line drawn by John Lawrence. This, it should be noted, did not eliminate Edward Byllinge as a New Jersey proprietor but was a step taken in anticipation of bankruptcy proceedings by his creditors. In fact, in the release signed by the Duke of York in 1680 and confirmed by the King in 1682, Byllinge would be not only named as one of the proprietors but also would be clothed with full power to govern in person.

The name of this document is "Quintipartite Deed of Revision, Between East and West Jersey."

READ THE FULL TEXT

According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

July 1., 9 Indians sold for 30£. Capt. Hincksman took a little before. The night after, James the Printer and other Indians came into Cambridge.

Saturday, July 1, 1676. Mr. Hezekiah Willet slain by Naragansets, a little more than Gun-shot off from his house, his head taken off, body stript. Jethro, his Niger, was then taken: retaken by Capt. Bradford the Thursday following. He saw the English and ran to them. He related Philip to be sound and well, about a 1000 Indians (all sorts) with him, but sickly: three died while he was there. Related that the Mount Hope Indians that knew Mr. Willet, were sorry for his death, mourned, kumbed his head, and hung peag in his hair.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

July 15, Saturday: From Major Samuel Sewall's diary in Boston:¹⁴¹ After, heard of an hundred twenty one Ind



Quaker marcht through the town, crying, "Repent, &c."



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

killed and taken. Note. One Englishman lost in the woods taken and tortured to death. Several Indians (now about) come in at Plymouth, behave themselves very well in discovering and taking others. Medfield men with volunteers, English and Indians, kill and take Canonicus with his son and 50 more.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

141. Thomas, M. Halsey, ed. THE DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL 1674-1729. NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1972.

August 25: Just after the killing of Phillip, the [Rhode Island](#) government staged a court-martial of native headmen at [Newport](#), charging them with crimes such as treason and murder. The court panel probably included five [Quakers](#). There was no jury. Quinapin, Sunkeecunasuck, Wenanaquabin, and Wecopeak were found guilty and taken out and shot. There must have been some sort of special circumstances for Manasses Molasses, however (perhaps they weren't certain of his guilt?), for upon being convicted of killing [Friend](#) "Low" (Zoar or Zoeth) Howland earlier that year  at the Sin and Flesh Brook at [Pocasset](#), now [Tiverton](#), near the [Aquidneck Island](#) ferry, he was sold as a [slave](#).

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:



Din'd with Sir Jo: Banks's at his house in Lincolns Inn fields: upon recommending Mr. Upman to be Tutor to his sonn going into France: This Sir Jo: Bankes was a Merchant, of small beginnings, but by usurie &c: amass'd an Estate of 100000 pounds &c.

August 26 (Old Style): *I din'd at the Admiralty, with [Sec\[retary\] Pepys](#): Supp'd at L[ord] Chamberlaines, here was Cap[tain] Baker, who had ben lately on the attempt of the Norwest passage: he reported prodigious depth of yce, blew as a Saphire & as transparant: That the thick mists was their chiefe impediment, & cause of returne: [I went home.]*

September 2 (Old Style): *I paied 1700 pounds, to the Marquis de Sissac, which he had lent to my L[ord] Berkeley &c: which I heard the Marqu[i]s lost at play [within] a night or two:*

November 27: There occurred a fire in Boston that would be described, in an [almanac](#) shortly afterward, as "Bostons greatest fire." Well, this wasn't actually as great as the later fires, to be lovingly portrayed in Currier & Ives lithographs, but all buildings along a stretch of the waterfront were indeed destroyed. It being said that this was evidence of God's displeasure at the violation of the Sabbath day — a roundup of [Quakers](#) was promptly initiated.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

9th day of 10th month: [Friend](#) Edward Wanton, a shipbuilder in Scituate MA, had been refusing to contribute to the support of the town minister, whom he termed a “priest.” On this day the town authorities came to his home and confiscated five pewter plates.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[John Evelyn](#)’s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:



October 9 I went with Mrs. Godolphin & my Wife to Black-wall to see some Indian Curiosities, & as I was walking thro a streete, the way, being s[il]lippiere & misty, I fell against a piece of Timber, with such violence, as quite beate the breath out of my body, so as being taken up, I could not speake, nor fetch any breath, for some space, & then with greate difficulty, coming to my sense, after some applications, being carried into an house, & let bloud: I was carried to the water side, & so home, where after a daies rest, I recovered, though my bruse was not quite healed: This being one of the greatest deliverances that ever I had, The Lord Jesus make me ever mindfull, & thankfull:

1677

[Newport, Rhode Island Friends](#) recorded that William Allen and Patience Beer were married “at our publick meeting house in Newport.” Presumably the building in question was the dwelling house that former governor Nicholas Easton had left to the Friends upon his death in 1676.

GREAT MEETINGHOUSE



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Spring: During the spring of this year Friend [George Fox](#) wrote from York to his wife, Friend [Margaret Askew Fell](#) Fox.

DEAR HEART:

To whom is my love, and to thy daughters, and to all Friends that inquire after me. My desires are that ye all may be preserved in the Lord's everlasting Seed, in whom ye will have life and peace, dominion and settlement, in the everlasting home or dwelling in the house built upon the foundation of God.

In the power of the Lord I am brought to York, having had many meetings in the way. The road was many times deep and bad with snow, our horses sometimes were down, and we were not able to ride; and sometimes we had great storms and rain; but by the power of the Lord I went through all.

At Scarhouse there was a very large meeting, and at Burrowby another, to which Friends came out of Cleveland and Durham; and many other meetings we have had. At York, yesterday, we had a very large meeting, exceedingly thronged, Friends being at it from many parts, and all quiet, and well satisfied. Oh the glory of the Lord that shone over all!

This day we have had a large men's and women's meeting, many Friends, both men and women, being come out of the country, and all was quiet. This evening we are to have the men's and women's meeting of the Friends of the city.

John Whitehead is here, with Robert Lodge and others; Friends are mighty glad, above measure. So I am in my holy element and holy work in the Lord; glory to His name for ever! Tomorrow I intend to go out of the city towards Tadcaster, though I cannot ride as in days past; yet praised be the Lord that I can travel as well as I do!

So with my love in the fountain of life, in which as ye all abide ye will have refreshment of life, that by it we may grow and gather eternal strength to serve the Lord, and be satisfied, to the God of all power, who is all-sufficient to preserve you, I commit you all.

G. F.

York, the 16th of the Second month [April] 1677.

JOURNAL

4th month: Friend Edward Wanton, a shipbuilder in Scituate, had been refusing to contribute to the support of the town minister, whom he termed a "priest." On this day the town authorities returned to his home and confiscated one cow to help support the Puritan meetinghouse.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Later in the year: Friend [George Fox](#) returned to London for the [Quaker](#) yearly meeting, and then went down to Sussex to the home of Friend [William Penn](#), a house known as Worminghurst. And on from there....

George Fox

It pleased the Lord to bring me safe to London, though much wearied; for though I rode not very far in a day, yet, through weakness of body, continual travelling was hard to me. Besides, I had not much rest at night to refresh nature; for I often sat up late with Friends, where I lodged, to inform and advise them in things wherein they were wanting; and when in bed I was often hindered of sleep by great pains in my head and teeth, occasioned, as I thought, from cold taken by riding often in the rain. But the Lord's power was over all, and carried me through all, to His praise.

To the London Yearly Meeting many Friends came from most parts of the nation; and some out of Scotland, Holland, etc. Very glorious meetings we had, wherein the Lord's powerful presence was very largely felt; and the affairs of Truth were sweetly carried on in the unity of the Spirit, to the satisfaction and comfort of the upright-hearted; blessed be the Lord for ever!

After the yearly meeting, having stayed a week or two with Friends in London, I went down with William Penn to his house in Sussex, John Burnyeat and some other Friends being with us. As we passed through Surrey, hearing the quarterly meeting was that day, William Penn, John Burnyeat, and I, went from the road to it; and after the meeting returning to our other company, went with them to William Penn's that night; which is forty miles from London.

I stayed at Worminghurst about three weeks; in which time John Burnyeat and I answered a very envious and wicked book, which [Roger Williams](#), a priest of New England (or some colony thereabouts) had written against Truth and Friends. [Friend Fox did not meet the Reverend Williams in [Providence](#), but the [Rhode Islander](#) in 1676 wrote a book with the title GEORGE FOX DIGGER OUT OF HIS BURROWS. This reply by Fox and Burnyeat was a 65-page pamphlet entitled A NEW ENGLAND FIRE BRAND QUENCHED.]

When we had finished that service, we went with Stephen Smith to his house at Warpleton in Surrey, where we had a large meeting. Friends thereaway had been exceedingly plundered about two months before on the priest's account; for they took from Stephen Smith five kine (being all he had) for about fifty shillings tithes.

Thence we went to Kingston, and so to London, where I stayed not long; for it was upon me from the Lord to go into Holland, to visit Friends and to preach the gospel there, and in some parts of Germany. Wherefore, setting things in order for my journey as fast as I could, I took leave of Friends at London; and with several other Friends went down to Colchester, in order to my passage for Holland.

JOURNAL

Next day, being First-day, I was at the public meeting of Friends there, which was very large and peaceable. In the evening I had another large one, but not so public, at John Furly's house, where I lodged. The day following I was at the women's meeting there, which also was very large. Thence next day we passed to Harwich, where Robert Duncan, and several other Friends out of the country, came to see us; and some from London came to us there, that intended to go over with me.

The packet in which we were to go not being ready, we went to the meeting in the town, and a precious opportunity we had together; for the Lord, according to His wonted goodness, by His overcoming, refreshing power, opened many mouths to declare His everlasting Truth, to praise and glorify Him.

** After the meeting at Harwich we returned to John Vandewall's, where I had lodged; and 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....*

JOURNAL

July 8, Sunday: The Massachusetts Bay Colony had begun to require that all give an oath of allegiance to the state. [Friend](#) Margaret Brewster,¹⁴² to protest this, appeared in the Old South Church for Sunday morning worship with her hair down and her face colored black, attired in sackcloth and ashes. The authorities would have her tied her behind a cart, stripped to the waist, and lashed from the church's door through the town of Boston.



In the "Old South," by [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)

On the 8th of July, 1677, Margaret Brewster with four other Friends went into the South Church in time of meeting, "in sackcloth, with ashes upon her head, barefoot, and her face blackened," and delivered "a warning from the great God of Heaven and Earth to the Rulers and Magistrates of Boston." For

142. There is no "Margaret" listed in the first three generations of the *Mayflower* family Brewster. This Quaker, therefore, would not have been a convert to Quakerism from that founding family, but an unrelated immigrant.



the offence she was sentenced to be "whipped at a cart's tail
up and down the Town, with twenty lashes."

SHE came and stood in the Old South Church,
A wonder and a sign,
With a look the old-time sibyls wore,
Half-crazed and half-divine.

Save the mournful sackcloth about her wound,
Unclothed as the primal mother,
With limbs that trembled and eyes that blazed
With a fire she dare not smother.

Loose on her shoulders fell her hair,
With sprinkled ashes gray;
She stood in the broad aisle strange and weird
As a soul at the judgment day.

And the minister paused in his sermon's midst,
And the people held their breath,
For these were the words the maiden spoke
Through lips as the lips of death:

"Thus saith the Lord, with equal feet
All men my courts shall tread,
And priest and ruler no more shall eat
My people up like bread!

"Repent! repent! ere the Lord shall speak
In thunder and breaking seals
Let all souls worship Him in the way
His light within reveals."

She shook the dust from her naked feet,
And her sackcloth closer drew,
And into the porch of the awe-hushed church
She passed like a ghost from view.

They whipped her away at the tail o' the cart
Through half the streets of the town,
But the words she uttered that day nor fire
Could burn nor water drown.

And now the aisles of the ancient church
By equal feet are trod,
And the bell that swings in its belfry rings
Freedom to worship God!

And now whenever a wrong is done
It thrills the conscious walls;
The stone from the basement cries aloud
And the beam from the timber calls.

There are steeple-houses on every hand,
And pulpits that bless and ban,
And the Lord will not grudge the single church
That is set apart for man.

For in two commandments are all the law
And the prophets under the sun,
And the first is last and the last is first,
And the twain are verily one.

So, long as Boston shall Boston be,
And her bay-tides rise and fall,



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Shall freedom stand in the Old South Church
And plead for the rights of all!



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

August 25: [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.

George Fox

** ... 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.

JOURNAL



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.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY 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.

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

September 27: In 1672, King Louis XIV had sent a French army of 120,000 to invade the Netherlands. Resistance to France is what brought [William, Prince of Orange](#) (who would become [King William III of England](#)) to power in the Netherlands.



The Dutch had been able to force the French army to withdraw in 1674, and later campaigns had been indecisive, so by this point King Louis had become weary of the affair. Friend Robert Barclay’s “Epistle to the Ambassadors met at Nimeguen” (along with Friend [Georgius Fox](#)’s exhortatory “An epistle of love and friendly advice, to the ambassadors,” translated into Latin as *Epistola hortatoria legatim magnatum Christianismi in praesentiarum pacis componendae gratiá Neomagi congressis*, which he would write in “Schotland ... den 22 dag van de maand die men noemt November 1677,” and which would be printed) would be presented to the ambassadors of the King of France and those of the United Netherlands, with several other potentates. The belligerents in the Dutch War (1672-1678) were to meet at Nimeguen (now “Nijmegen”) on the Waal River in the Netherlands province of Gelderland to sign a peace treaty. After this Friend Fox would



travel into Germany:

George Fox

From him who is a lover of Truth, righteousness, and peace, who desires your temporal and eternal good; and that in the wisdom of God that is from above, pure, gentle, and peaceable, you may be ordered, and order all things, that God hath committed to you, to His glory; and stop those things among Christians, so far as you have power, which dishonour God, Christ, and Christianity!

G.F.

[Here is an incident from the trip into Germany.] *Being clear of Hamburg, we took leave of Friends there, whom we left well; and taking John Hill with us, passed by boat to a city in the Duke of Luneburg's country; where, after we were examined by the guards, we were taken to the main-guard, and there examined more strictly; but after they found we were not soldiers, they were civil, and let us pass.*

In the afternoon we travelled by wagon, and the waters being much out, by reason of heavy rains, when it drew towards night we hired a boy on the way to guide us through a great water we had to pass. When we came to it, the water was so deep, before we could come at the bridge, that the wagoner had to wade, and I drove the wagon.

When we were come on the bridge, the horses broke part of it down, and one of them fell into the water, the wagon standing upon that part of the bridge which remained unbroken; and it was the Lord's mercy to us that the wagon did not run into the brook. When they had got the horse out, he lay a while as if dead; but at length they got him up, put him to the wagon again, and laid the planks right; and then, through the goodness of the Lord to us, we got safe over.

After this we came to another water. Finding it to be very deep, and it being in the night, we hired two men to help us through, who put cords to the wagon to hold it by, that the force of the water might not drive it from the way. But when we came into it, the stream was so strong that it took one of the horses off his legs, and was carrying him down the stream. I called to the wagoner to pluck him to him by his reins, which he did, and the horse recovered his legs; and with much difficulty we got over the bridge, and went to Bremerhaven, the town where the wagoner lived.

It was the last day of the Sixth month that we escaped these dangers; and it being about eleven at night when we came in here, we got some fresh straw, and lay upon it until about four in the morning. Then, getting up, we set forward again towards Bremen, by wagon and boat.

JOURNAL



On the way I had good opportunities to publish Truth among the people, especially at a market-town, where we stayed to change our passage. Here I declared the Truth to the people, warning them of the day of the Lord, that was coming upon all flesh; and exhorting them to righteousness, telling them that God was come to teach His people Himself, and that they should turn to the Lord, and hearken to the teachings of His Spirit in their own hearts.

Next day, feeling a concern upon my mind with relation to those seducing spirits that made division among Friends, and being sensible that they endeavoured to insinuate themselves into the affectionate part, I was moved to write a few lines to Friends concerning them, as follows:

All these that set up themselves in the affections of the people, set up themselves, and the affections of the people, and not Christ. But Friends, your peaceable habitation in the Truth, which is everlasting, and changes not, will outlast all the habitations of those that are out of the Truth, be they ever so full of words. So they that are so keen for John Story and John Wilkinson, let them take them, and the separation; and you that have given your testimony against that spirit, stand in your testimony, till they answer by condemnation. Do not strive, nor make bargains with that which is out of the Truth; nor save that alive to be a sacrifice for God, which should be slain, lest you lose your kingdom.

G.F.

Amsterdam, the 14th of the Seventh month, 1677.

After some time George Keith and William Penn came back from Germany to Amsterdam, and had a dispute with one Galenus Abrahams (one of the most noted Baptists in Holland), at which many professors were present; but not having time to finish the dispute then, they met again, two days after, and the Baptist was much confounded, and Truth gained ground.

JOURNAL

Sewell in his HISTORY OF FRIENDS writes that during the 5-hour discussion Galenus Abrahams, a prominent Mennonite, was insisting that “nobody nowadays could be accepted as a messenger of God unless he confirmed the same by miracle.”

19th day of 8th month: Friend Edward Wanton, a shipbuilder in Scituate, had been refusing to contribute to the support of the town minister, whom he termed a “priest.” On this day the town authorities returned to his home and confiscated broadcloth worth six shillings per yard.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

November 21: Friends [George Fox](#) and [William Penn](#) and the others in the party returned from the continent to England. It would seem that during his absence on the continent there had been some opposition regarded as “unruly and troublesome,” during meetings at the home of his friend Thomas Ellwood at Hunger Hill near London.

Finding our spirits clear of the service which the Lord had given us to do in Holland, we took leave of Friends of Rotterdam, and passed by boat to the Briel, in order to take passage that day for England. Several Friends of Rotterdam accompanied us, and some of Amsterdam, who were come to see us again before we left Holland. But the packet not coming in till night, we lodged that night at the Briel; and next day, being the 21st of the Eighth month, and the first day of the week, we went on board, and set sail about ten, viz., William Penn, George Keith, and I, and Gertrude Dirick Nieson with her children.

We were in all about sixty passengers, and had a long and hazardous passage; for the winds were contrary and the weather stormy. The boat also was very leaky, insomuch that we had to have two pumps continually going, day and night; so that it was thought there was quite as much water pumped out as the vessel would have held. But the Lord, who is able to make the stormy winds to cease, and the raging waves of the sea calm, yea, to raise them and stop them at His pleasure, He alone did preserve us; praised be His name for ever!

Though our passage was hard, yet we had a fine time, and good service for Truth on board among the passengers, some of whom were great folks, and were very kind and loving. We arrived at Harwich on the 23d, at night, having been two nights and almost three days at sea.

Next morning William Penn and George Keith took horse for Colchester; but I stayed, and had a meeting at Harwich. There being no Colchester coach there, and the postmaster's wife being unreasonable in her demands for a coach, and deceiving us of it also after we had hired it, we went to a Friend's house about a mile and a half in the country, and hired his wagon, which we bedded well with straw and rode in it to Colchester.

I stayed there till First-day, having a desire to be at Friends' meeting that day; and a very large and weighty one it was; for Friends, hearing of my return from Holland, flocked from several parts of the country, and many of the townspeople coming in also, it was thought there were about a thousand people at it; and all was peaceable.

I stayed at Bristol all the time of the fair, and some time after. Many sweet and precious meetings we had; many Friends being there from several parts of the nation, some on account of trade, and some in the service of Truth. Great was the love and unity of Friends that abode faithful in the Truth, though some who were gone out of the holy unity, and were run into strife, division, and enmity, were rude and abusive, and behaved themselves in a very unchristian manner towards me.

But the Lord's power was over all; by which being preserved in heavenly patience, which can bear injuries for His name's sake, I felt dominion therein over the rough, rude, and unruly spirits; and left them to the Lord, who knew my innocency, and would plead my cause. The more these laboured to reproach and vilify me, the more did the love of Friends that were sincere and upright-hearted, abound towards me; and some that had been betrayed by the adversaries seeing their envy and rude behaviour, broke off from them.

JOURNAL



1678

For some reason, a “mans’ meeting” of the Quakers held in this year was held not at the Friends meetinghouse in Newport, Rhode Island but instead “at the widow Coddingtons” (it had been in the great room of this mansion that Friend George Fox had been greeted).

A complaint was made to the Plymouth court, that in Sandwich the Quakers were refusing to contribute to the maintenance of the town minister and the town church.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The petition to the court also instanced that the Sandwich Quakers had been verbally sharp with the non-Quakers, that their literature was deceiving “the hearts of the simple,” and that “wandering” Quakers had “crept in.” The outcome of this complaint would be that in the future no Quaker would be listed in the town records as a member of this town, and thus no Quaker would be entitled to have any share during the distribution of town lands.¹⁴³

This year marked the completion of the observations of the Reverend William Hubbard in regard to the history of the “New Plymouth” colony.

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

READ HUBBARD TEXT

Chapter LXXVII. A continuation of the History of New Plymouth, from the year 1633, until the year 1678.

Friend Robert Barclay (1648-1690) offered that “for Quaker gentlemen, there are innocent Divertisements which may sufficiently serve for relaxation of the mind ... such as ... to follow after gardening... matters of history, visits ... and other such things.....”

At about this point the first Quaker meetinghouse was built in Lynn.

143. We can be quite certain that, had the Quakers been more willing to participate in the killing of native Americans during the race war of 1675/1676, this petition could not have been submitted, because as the Quakers attempted to respond to this hostile attack by their town neighbors, they responded by offering an explanation of their Peace Testimony. They had not gone to war alongside their neighbors, they attempted to explain, as a consequence of their spiritual prudence — they had had a selfish interest in the well-being of their own souls, which had prevented them from participating in the killing. It had not been for the well-being of the Indians, that they had refused to go off to kill them, but because “they well know that the Eternall well being of their immortal soules is concerned in it.” They also warned their non-Quaker neighbors that, in persecuting Quakers, they were placing themselves at risk of suffering the wrath of almighty God: there is “nothing more certaine than that he will avenge their cause.” Indeed, unfortunate events had already occurred in the lives of some of their accusers (a number of examples were cited), revealing that “their do doing provoakes the Lords anger.” The Quakers resented being lumped together with a bunch of non-Quaker cowards who had not participated in the killing “for their owne perticuler intrrest which at most could be but the feare of the losse of their outward life.” (It should be noted that one of these contemptible non-Quakers who had neglected to go off to war out of personal cowardice had been John Smith, Jr., son of the local minister.)

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

The first Quaker meetinghouse was built on the land of Henry Ewell at Scituate in the Bay Colony, at a site that would later be made the garden of William Cushing (1732-1810, 1st Chief Justice of the USA, last American jurist to wear the powdered wig).

June 3: The Reverend Samuel Nowell explained to the Massachusetts troops for whom he was chaplain, that “The Lord is a Man of War.” Those [Quakers](#) with their ideas of not resisting evil are merely wierdos:

It is a strange piece of dotage befallen this crazy-headed age,
that men should not use the sword.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



June 26: Having dealt with the “unruly and troublesome” opposition to him that had arisen during his absence on the continent of Europe, Friend [George Fox](#) went to London, participated in [Quaker Yearly Meeting](#), and then reported what had transpired by letter to his wife, Friend [Margaret Askew Fell](#) Fox.

About two weeks after I came to London, the yearly meeting began, to which Friends came up out of most parts of the nation, and a glorious, heavenly meeting we had. Oh, the glory, majesty, love, life, wisdom, and unity, that were amongst us! The power reigned over all, and many testimonies were borne therein against that ungodly spirit which sought to make rents and divisions amongst the Lord's people; but not one mouth was opened amongst us in its defense, or on its behalf. Good and comfortable accounts also we had, for the most part, from Friends in other countries; of which I find a brief account in a letter which soon after I wrote to my wife, the copy whereof here follows:

DEAR HEART:

To whom is my love in the everlasting Seed of life that reigns over all. Great meetings here have been, and the Lord's power hath been stirring through all. The Lord hath in His power knit Friends wonderfully together, and His glorious presence did appear among them. And now the meetings are over, blessed be the Lord! in quietness and peace.

From Holland I hear things are well there: some Friends are gone that way, to be at their Yearly Meeting at Amsterdam. At Embden, Friends that were banished are got into the city again.

At Dantzic, Friends are in prison, and the magistrates threatened them with harder imprisonment; but the next day the Lutherans rose, and plucked down (or defaced) the Popish monastery; so they have work enough among themselves.

The King of Poland received my letter, and read it himself; and Friends have since printed it in High Dutch. By letters from the Half-Yearly Meeting in Ireland, I hear that they are all in love there.

At Barbadoes, Friends are in quietness, and their meetings settled in peace. At Antigua also, and Nevis, Truth prospers, and Friends have their meetings orderly and well. Likewise in New England and other places, things concerning Truth and Friends are well; and in those places the men's and women's meetings are settled; blessed be the Lord!

So keep in God's power and Seed, that is over all, in whom ye all have life and salvation; for the Lord reigns over all in His glory, and in His kingdom; glory to His name forever, Amen.

In haste, with my love to you all, and to all Friends.

G.F.

London, the 26th of the Third month, 1678.



1679

In [Rhode Island](#), deputy governor and attorney general John Cranston¹⁴⁴ became president, and would serve as such for the remainder of his life (he would die on March 12, 1680). After his term as governor, [Friend Walter Clarke](#) was again appointed deputy governor, and would serve in this post until re-elected as governor in 1686.

At about this point, in [Dartmouth](#), Eliashib Smith was born. (We know that [John Smith](#) had thirteen children and that the initial five, Hassadiah, John, Josiah, Eliazer, and Hezekiah, were born to his 1st wife, [Friend Deborah Howland Smith](#). The will makes it clear that Hannah, Sarah, and Deborah were born to the 2d wife, [Friend Ruhamah Kirby Smith](#). About Judah, Gershom, Deliverance, Mehitable, and Eliashib we infer that they also were born to the 2d wife Ruhaman. As to how it was that so many children were being born to a 2d Quaker wife while the 1st Quaker wife was still alive, and as to the details of the movement of the Smith family from Plymouth to Dartmouth, the record is silent.)

Friend [George Fox](#) would be spending almost the entire year in retirement at Swarthmore. He was evidently in a Thoreauvian mood, for he instructed his fellows in his and Burnyeat's A NEW-ENGLAND-FIRE-BRAND QUENCHED, BEING AN ANSWER UNTO A SLANDEROUS BOOK, ENTITLED; GEORGE FOX DIGGED OUT OF HIS BURROWS, &C., that "Christ never leads his people to disobey Just Laws, but to fulfil them (and Unjust Laws are to be obeyed at no times)." Quakers were to comport themselves within the secular society according to its established rules, while reserving the obligation that they had to disobey any regulations placed upon religious belief, and to disobey anything that conflicted with their consciences — and the final judgment as to whether government had intruded into such areas lay of course with them rather than with the government. Quakers were to disobey, not to resist, and they were then to patiently suffer the consequences of their disobedience:



"Resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right

144. John Cranston had been born in 1625 in Scotland/England and had come to America in about 1637, "licensed to administer physic and practice chirurgery throughout the whole colony." He had been attorney general of the colony since 1654 and deputy governor since 1672, and during King Phillip's war had been the major general in command of all the colony's militia. He was governor of the colony at his death on March 12, 1679/1680 in Newport. He is buried in Newport's Common Burial Ground. John married Mary Clarke on June 3, 1658 in Newport. Mary Clarke had been born in 1641 in Newport. She would die, after a remarriage, on April 7, 1711 in Newport and be buried in Newport's Common Burial Ground. They had the following children: Samuel Cranston was born on August 16, 1659. He married Mary Hart during 1680 in Newport. Mary was born during 1663 in Newport. She died on September 17, 1710 in Newport and was buried in Newport's Clifton Burial Ground. Samuel would become, in 1698, like his father a president of Rhode Island, and would be 30 times successively chosen, holding this office until his death on April 26, 1727 in Newport — probably longer than any other American politician ever required to seek annual re-election. The city of Cranston, Rhode Island would be named for Governor Samuel Cranston. (The Quaker meetinghouse that was new there in 1729, "new" to distinguish it at the time from their older meetinghouse, still stands.) James Cranston was born 1661 in Newport. He died 16 September 1662 in Newport. Caleb Cranston was born about 1662 and died before 1711. Jeremiah Cranston was born about 1663 in Newport. He died about 1678 in Newport. Mary Cranston was born 27 January 1665 in Newport. She died 24 Mar 1666 in Newport. Benjamin Cranston was born about 1668. William Cranston was born about 1670 in Newport. Elizabeth Cranston was born about 1671 and died 3 June 1736. John Cranston was born about 1675 in Newport. Peleg Cranston was born 1677 in Newport.



cheek, turn to him the other."

George Fox

This was the year in which Friend [George Fox](#) would write his epistle "To Friends In America, Concerning Their Negroes, and Indians":



All Friends, everywhere, that have Indians or blacks, you are to preach the gospel to them, and other servants, if you be true Christians; for the gospel of salvation was to be preached to every creature under heaven; Christ commands it to his disciples, "Go and teach all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, son, and holy ghost." And this is the one baptism with the spirit into one body, which plunges down sin and corruption, which hath gotten up by disobedience and transgression. For all have been plunged into sin and death from the life, for all died in Adam, then they have been all subjected by the evil spirit, which led them out of the truth into the evil; and therefore they must all be baptized into the death of Christ, and put on Christ, if they have life. And also, you must preach the grace of God all blacks and Indians, which grace brings salvation, that hath appeared unto all men, to teach and instruct them to live godly, righteously, and soberly: which grace of God is sufficient to teach and establish all true christians, that they may appear before the throne of grace. And also, you must teach and instruct blacks and indians, and others, how that God doth pour out his spirit upon all flesh in these days of the new covenant, and new testament; and that none of them must quench the motions of his spirit nor grieve it nor vex it; nor rebel against it, nor err from it, nor resist it; but be led by his good spirit to instruct them; and with which they may profit in the things of God; neither must they turn from his grace into wantonness, nor walk despitefully against the spirit of grace, for it will teach them to live soberly, godly, and righteously, and season their words. And also, you must instruct and teach your Indians and negroes, and all others, how that Christ, by the grace of God, tasted death for every man, and gave himself a ransom for all men, to be testified in due time, and is the propitiation not for the sins of christians only, but for the sins of the whole world: and how, that he doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world, with his true light, which is the life in Christ, by whom the world was made. And Christ, who is the light of the world, saith, "Believe in the light, that you may become children of the light." And they that do evil, and hate the light (which is the life in Christ) and will not come to the light, because it will reprove them, and love the darkness more than the light; this light is their condemnation. And so, all must be turned from darkness to light, to believe in the light; and from the power of satan to God; and if they do not believe, they will be reproved, condemned, and judged ny Christ, who hath all power



in heaven and in earth, given unto him, who will judge both the quick and the dead, and reward every man according to his works, whether they be good or evil. And therefore you are to open the promises of God to the ignorant, and how God would give Christ a covenant, a light to the Gentiles, the heathen, and a new covenant to the house of Israel, and the house of Judah, and the he is God's salvation to the ends of the earth; and how that the earth shall be covered with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea; so that the glorious knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth. And the Lord said, "He knew that Abraham would teach and instruct his family, that they should learn to keep his laws and statutes after he was gone;" and Abraham did circumcise all his males, yea, them that he had bought with his money of any stranger. Now who are of faith, and walks in the steps of faithful Abraham, do preach up and instruct all their families in the circumcision of the spirit, that they may be circumcised with the spirit, which puts off the body of death, and the sins of the flesh, that is come up in man and woman by transgression; so that in the spirit they may serve and worship the true and living God; and so that ye all may come to enjoy the presence of the Lord in your families, and improve your talents that Christ hath given unto you; for David saith, that saw Christ in his new covenant, "Let all nations praise the Lord;" again, "Let the poor and needy praise thy name, And let all people praise thee, O God. And O ye servants of the Lord, praise the Lord; for the Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works. And all thy works shall praise thee, O Lord; and thy saints shall bless thee, they shall speak of thy glory and of thy kingdom, and talk of thy power." For the Lord saith, "From the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles. And in every place incense shall be offered unto my name; and a pure offering; for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts." And this heavenly incense, and offering in every place, is the spiritual offering in the new covenant; for the Jews were to offer but in one place, in the temple, in the old covenant, but in the new covenant their offering is in the holy temple of their hearts, in the spirit, with which they offer the pure, and holy, and acceptable sacrifice to God; with that spirit which God hath given them, they have a living sense of God their creator, and Father of all their mercies, who hath made them, and hath made all things for them, and redeems by his son Christ Jesus, to whom be praise, and honour, and thanks for evermore. So let all bow at the name of Jesus, to his power and light, and spirit, for they have bowed to the power of darkness, that foul and unclean spirit, who is out of truth, and in whom there is no truth. And therefore now all are to bow at the name of Jesus; for there is no salvation in any other name under heaven, but in the name of Jesus, whose name is above every name under heaven, who is the first born of every creature, and the first begotten from the dead, whom God now speaks to his people by, his son; and all are to hear him, the great prophet; and every tongue is to confess to Christ Jesus, to the glory of God the



*Father, who is the first and the last, who bruises the serpent's head. And so through Christ Jesus man and woman comes again to God. All blessings and praises be the Lord God, through Jesus Christ, for ever and evermore. Amen.
G.F. Swarthmore, the 10th month, 1679*

His epistle entitled "Concerning True Liberty" dates to this year:



*And now, friends, you who are called into this glorious liberty of the sons of God, stand fast in it. And as the apostle saith, "Brethren, ye have been called unto liberty, only use is not for an occasion to the flesh; but in love serve one another." Gal. v. 13. "As free, not using you liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God." 1 Pet. ii. For there were some, who while they promised themselves liberty, they themselves were servants of corruption. Such were like the dog and the sow, biting, rending, and vomiting, and wallowing in the mire; and as bad as the synagogue of the libertines that turned against Stephen. 2 Pet 11. and Acts vi. 9. And therefore the apostle was careful of the churches' liberty in Christ, when he said, "But take heed, lest this liberty of yours become a stumbling-block to them that are weak," etc. 1 Cor. viii. For the apostle was so careful and tender, that he would not have his true liberty judged of another man's conscience, etc. as you may see more at large in Cor x. And the apostle said, "False brethren come unawares privily, to spy out their liberty, which they had in Christ Jesus, that they might bring them into bondage; to whom we gave place by subjection, not for an hour, that the truth of the gospel might continue with you," to wit, the Galatians. Gal. ii. 4. And therefore he exhorts them to stand fast in that liberty wherewith Christ Jesus hath made them free, etc. which is the duty of all true christians now, to stand fast in that glorious liberty, which Christ the heavenly and spiritual man, the second Adam, makes them free in; and in this they will have salt in themselves, to discern between the true liberty and freedom and the false, and know how to use their holy and spiritual liberty and freedom in Christ Jesus, to the praise and glory of God. So, friends, the Lord God almighty preserve you all, in the heavenly order of Christ Jesus, in his holy seed, life, and spirit, that all may live and walk in it, to the praise, and glory, and honour of God and Christ. Amen.
G.F. The 3d of the 9th month, 1679*

Friend [George Fox](#)'s epistle entitled "To Suffering Friends In Prison At Bristol" also dates to this year:



Dear Friends, - With my love to all the prisoners and the



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faithful, as though I names them. It is the time now for all the faithful to keep in Christ their sanctuary, in whom you have all peace, rest, life, and salvation, and by the testimony of Jesus, and the blood of the Lamb, whose names are written in the Lamb's book of life, before the foundations of the world they were they that did overcome, and did eat of the hidden manna, and had the new name. And therefore now is the time to keep the word of patience, and the testimony of Jesus; for they that keep the word of patience, the Lord will keep them in the hour of temptation, which will come upon the whole world, to try them which dwell upon the earth; for the word was before the world was, and the tempter; for all things were made by the word. And it is also the word of reconciliation, the word of power, the word of wisdom. and the word of life, and the word of salvation, by which people are reconciled to God, that are born again of the incorruptible seed by the word of God; and they feed and grow by the milk of the work, which lives, and abides, and endures for ever, which strengthens all the faithful, in all ages, in their afflictions, imprisonments, and sufferings; and it is the same to God's people now in this day of trial, to preserve all his people every where, in his spirit and power, faithful to himself; for, he that endures faithful to the end shall be saved. and Christ saith, "He that is ashamed of me before men, him will I be ashamed of before my Father, and his angels which are in heaven." And therefore it is good to confess Christ before men, to be your priest, prophet, your shepherd, your bishop. you way, your mediator, that makes peace betwixt God and you; and be valiant for his glorious name and truth upon the earth. And so with my love in the seed, in which you and all nations are blessed.

G.F. From Dolston, the 6th of the 10th month, 1683

George Fox



PALE WIND FLOWERS:
OR THE LITTLE PRISON MAID¹⁴⁵

'Let not anything straiten you when God moves.'—W. DEWSBURY,
Epistle from York Tower, 1660.

'All friends and brethren everywhere, that are imprisoned for the Truth, give yourselves up in it, and it will make you free, and the power of the Lord will carry you over all the persecutors. Be faithful in the life and power of the Lord God and be valiant for the Truth on the earth; and look not at your sufferings, but at the power of God; and that will bring some good out of all your sufferings; and your imprisonments will reach to the prisoned that the persecutor prisons in himself.... So be faithful in that which overcomes and gives victory.'—G. FOX.

'Bread and Wine were the Supper of the Lord in the dispensation of Time, ... a figure of His death, which were fulfilled when He had suffered and rose again, and now He is known to stand at the door and knock, "If any man hear my Voice and open the door, I will come in and sup with him and he with me," saith Christ. And we being many are one Bread and one Body and know the Wine renewed in our Father's Kingdom. Christ the Substance we now witness; Shadows and Figures done away; he that can receive it, let him.'—W. DEWSBURY.

145. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. *A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS*. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



**PALE WIND FLOWERS:
OR THE LITTLE PRISON MAID**

I

'Dear grandfather will be wearying for me! We must not linger.' There was a wistful ring in the child's voice as she spoke. Little Mary Samm looked longingly towards a clump of wood anemones dancing in the sunshine, as she followed her aunt, Joan Dewsbury, through a coppice of beech-trees on the outskirts of the city of Warwick. It was a bright windy day of early spring in the year 1680. Mary was twelve years old, but so small and slight that she looked and seemed much younger. And now she wanted badly to gather some wood anemones. But would Aunt Joan approve? Would it be selfish to leave 'dear grandfather' longer alone?

Happily the older woman, who preceded little Mary on the narrow woodland pathway, possessed a kind heart underneath her severe, grey, Quaker bodice and stiff manner. She caught the wistful tone in the little girl's voice, and, turning round, noticed the wood anemones. Indeed, the wood anemones insisted on being noticed. Joan Dewsbury walked on a few steps further in silence; then, setting the heavy basket down on the trunk of a felled tree, 'No, Mary,' she said, 'in truth we must not linger; but we may rest a few moments. Also thou knowest thy grandfather's love of a posy in his prison. If I see aright, there are some pale windflowers blowing yonder, beside that old tree, though it is full early for them still. Here, give me thy basket, and hie thee to gather them. I will sit down and wait for thy return; and, if we hasten our steps hereafter, we shall not be much delayed.'

Little Mary Samm glanced up with a joyful smile. She had espied the few, first, faint windflowers as soon as she entered the wood; but, without her aunt's permission, it would never have entered her head to suggest that she might gather them. For Mary was a carefully trained (not to say primly brought up) little maiden of the seventeenth century, when children followed their elders' injunctions in all things, without daring to dwell on their own wishes. If Joan Dewsbury had been an artist she would have enjoyed watching the child's slim little upright figure stepping daintily over the rustling brown beech leaves, between the rounded trunks of the grey trees. The air was full of the promise of early spring. A cold blue sky showed through the lattice work of twigs and branches; but, as yet, no fluttering leaf had crept out of its sheath to soften, with a hint of tender green, the virginal stiffness and straightness of the stems. Grey among the grey tree-trunks little Mary flitted about, gathering her precious windflowers. She was clad in the demure

Puritan dress worn by young and old alike in the early days of the Society of Friends. A frock of grey duffel hung in straight lines around her slight figure; a cape of the same material was drawn closely round her shoulders, while a grey bonnet framed the pensive face. A strange unchildlike face it was, small and pinched, with a high, narrow forehead and sharply pointed chin. There were no childish roses in the pale cheeks. A very faint flush of pink, caused by fresh air and unwonted exercise, could not disguise the curious yellow tinge of the skin, like old parchment that has been kept too long from the light of day. Only the tips of a few locks of light brown hair, cut very short and straight round the ears, were visible under the close, tightly-fitting bonnet.



PALE WINDFLOWERS

'An ugly little girl, in perfectly hideous clothes,' modern children might have said if they had seen Mary Samm for the first time, looking down at her windflowers, though even then there was a hint of beauty in the long, curved, black eyelashes that



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

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lay quietly on the pale cheeks, and a very sweet expression hovered round the corners of the firm, delicate, little mouth. But no one who could have seen little Mary running back to her aunt with her precious flowers in her hand would have called her 'ugly' or even 'plain' any longer. The radiant light in her eyes transfigured the small, pinched face of the demure little being in its old-fashioned garments. Even critical modern children would have forgotten everything else, and would have exclaimed, 'She has the most beautiful eyes!'

What colour were her eyes? They were not blue, or black, or grey, or brown, or hazel, or green, or yellow. Perhaps they were in truth more yellow than anything else. They were full not only of sparkling lights but also of deep velvety shadows that made it difficult to tell their exact colour. Who can say the colour of a mountain stream that runs over a pebbled bed? Every stone can be seen through the clear, transparent water, but there are mysterious, shadowy darkneses in it also, reflected from the overhanging banks. Little Mary Samm's eyes were both clear and mysterious as such a mountain stream; while her voice,—but hush! she is speaking again, her rather shrill, high tones breaking the crisp silence of the March afternoon.

'Here is the posy, Aunt; will not dear grandfather love his pale windflowers, come like stars to visit him in his prison? Only these flower stars will not pass away quickly out of sight as do the real stars we watch together through the bars every evening.'

Joan Dewsbury took the bunch of anemones from her niece's cold fingers, laid it down carefully in Mary's rush basket and covered it with a corner of the cloth. Had she been a 'nowadays aunt' she might have thought that Mary was not unlike a windflower herself. The girl's small white face was flushed faintly, like the ethereal white sepals; there was a delicate, fragile fragrance about her as if a breath might blow her away, yet there was an unconquerable air of determination also in her every movement and gesture. But Joan Dewsbury was not a 'nowadays aunt'; she was a 'thenadays aunt,' and that was an entirely different kind. She never thought of comparing a little girl, who had come to take care of her grandfather in his prison, with the white, starry flowers that came out in the wood so early, holding on tight to the roots of the old tree, and blooming gallantly through all the gales of spring. Joan Dewsbury's thoughts were full of different and, to her, far more important matters than her niece's appearance. She rose, and, after handing Mary her small rush basket and settling her own larger one comfortably on her arm, the two started off once more with quickened steps through the wood. Neither the older woman nor the girl was much of a talker, and the winding woodland pathways were too narrow for two people to walk abreast. But when they came out on the broad grassy way that wandered across the meadows by the side of the smooth Avon towards the city walls, they did seem to have a few things to say to one another. They spoke of the farm they had visited, of the milk, eggs, and cheese they carried in their baskets. But most often they



mentioned 'the prison.' Little Mary still seemed to be in a great hurry to get back to be with 'dear grandfather,' while her companion was apparently anxious to detain her long enough to learn something more of her life in the gaol.

'I could envy thee, Mary, were it not a sin,' she said once. 'Thou art a real comfort to my dear father. Since my mother died, gladly would I have been his companion, and have sought to ease his captivity, but the Governor of the gaol would not allow it.' 'Ay, I know,' replied Mary, in her clear, high-pitched voice. 'My mother told me that day at my home in Bedfordshire, that no one but a child like me could be allowed to serve him, and to live in the prison as his little maid.'

'Didst thou want to come, Mary?' her aunt enquired. Mary's face clouded for a moment. Then she looked full at her aunt. The candid eyes that had nothing to hide, reflected shadows as well as light at that moment.

'No, Aunt,' she said, firmly and clearly, 'at the first I did not want to come. There was my home, thou seest; I love Hutton Conquest, and my mother, and the maids, my sisters. Also I had many friends in our village with whom I was wont to have rare frolics and games. When first my mother told me of the Governor's permission, I did not want to leave the pleasant Bedfordshire meadows that lie around our dear farm, and go to live cooped up behind bolts and bars. Besides, I had heard that Warwick Gaol was a fearsome place. I was affrighted at the thought of being shut up among the thieves and murderers. And—' She hesitated.

'Poor maid,' said her aunt, 'still thou didst come in the end?' 'In the end it was made clear to me that my place was with dear grandfather,' said the child in her crisp, old-fashioned way. 'My mother said she could not force me; for she feared the gaol fever for me. I feared it too. And it is worse even than I feared. At nights I hear the prisoners screaming with it often. Nearly every day some of them die. They say it is worse for the young, and I know my grandfather dreads that I may take it. He looks at me often very sadly, or he did when I first came. Always then at nightfall he grew sad. But, latterly, we have been so comfortable together that I think he hath forgot his fears. When the evenings darken, and he can no longer read or write, we sit and watch the stars. Then if I can persuade him to tell me stories of what he hath undergone, that doth turn his thoughts, and afterwards he will fall asleep, and sleep well the whole night through.'

'Thou art a comfort to him, sure enough,' her aunt answered. 'It is wonderful how much brighter he hath been since he had thee, though he hath never smiled since my mother's death. But thou thyself must surely grow tired of the prison and its bare stone walls? Thou must long to be back at play with thy sisters in the Bedfordshire meadows?'

'That do I no longer,' little Mary Samm made answer firmly. 'I love my sisters dearly, dearly,' she raised her voice unconsciously as she spoke, and a chaffinch on a branch overhead filled in the pause with an answering chirp, 'I love my mother too. Didst thou really say thou wert expecting her to visit thee



right soon? My dear, dear mother! But I love my dear grandfather best of all, for he hath nobody but me to care for him. At least, of course, he hath thee, Aunt Joan,' she added hastily, noticing a slight shade pass over her aunt's face. 'And what should we do without thee to bake bread for us, and go to the farm to fetch him fresh eggs, and butter, and cheese, and sweet, new milk? He would soon starve on the filthy prison fare. See, I have the milk bottle safe hidden under my flowers.'

'Aye, thou wast ever a careful maid,' answered her aunt; 'but, tell me, hath the Governor indeed grown gentler of late, and hath he given my father more liberty, and a better room?'

'That he hath indeed. He patted my head this very morn, and said I might have permission to come out and walk with thee for the first time,' Mary answered. 'He saith, too, that the gaol is no place for a child like me, and that thou shalt come and see us in a se'nnight from now; then haply thou wilt bring my mother with thee! The room my grandfather hath now is small in truth, but he can lie down at length, and I have a little cupboard within the wall where I can also lie and hear if he needs me. Doth he but stir or call "Mary" at nights, ever so gently, in a moment I am by his side.'

'And canst thou ease him?' her aunt enquired.

'That I can,' answered Mary proudly. 'Often I can ease him, or warm his poor cold hands, or soothe him till he sleeps again, for he grows weaker after this long imprisonment.'

'Small wonder,' replied her aunt. 'If thou hadst seen the dungeon where they set him first-foul, beneath the floor, with no window, only a grating overhead to give him air. There were a dozen or more felons and murderers packed in it too, along with him, so that he had not enough room even to lie down. But there-it is not fit for a child like thee to know the half of all he hath undergone in the cause of Truth.'

'Dear, dear grandfather,' said Mary wistfully, 'yet he never complains. He says always that he "doth esteem the locks and bolts as jewels," since he doth endure them for his Master's sake.'

'Ay, and what was his crime for which he suffered at first in that foul place? Nothing but his giving of thanks one night after supper at an inn. His accusers must needs affirm this to be "preaching at a conventicle." Hist! we had better be silent now we have reached the town. I must leave thee at the gate of the gaol, and go on my way, while thou goest thine. Be sure and say to my dear father that I and thy mother will visit him as soon as ever the Governor shall permit.'

A few minutes later they stopped; Joan Dewsbury took the basket from her arm and gave it to her niece. 'Farewell, dear child,' she said cheerily, as the porter opened the tall portal of the prison; but her eyes grew dim as she watched the small figure disappear behind the heavy bolts and bars.

'She is a good maid, and a brave one,' she said to herself as she passed down the street between the timbered houses to her home. 'Yet she is not as other children are. For all the comfort she is to my dear father, I would fain think of her safe once



more at home with her sisters. Right glad I am that her mother hath sent me word by a sure hand to say she cometh speedily to see of her condition for herself. The Governor is right, the gaol is no place for a child, nor is it the life for her either. She liveth too much in her own thoughts. This morn on our walk to the farm when I asked her wherefore she seemed sorrowful, she replied that she was "troubled in her conscience, that she thought she would not live long and wanted satisfaction from the Lord as to whither her soul would go if she were to die." Yet she sprang after those flowers as gaily as her sisters, and she saith always that she is well. If only she may keep as she is until her mother shall come.'

Shaking her head, and full of anxious thoughts, the kind woman pursued her homeward way. Over the cobble-stones and between the timbered houses with their steep gables and high-thatched roofs, she passed through the city until she came to her own small dwelling, William Dewsbury's home, where his daughter lived alone, and awaited his return.

II

Have you ever seen a ray of golden sunshine steal in through the thick blinds, heavy shutters and close curtains that try to shut it out? People may pull down the blinds and shut the shutters and draw the curtains, and do their very best to keep the sunshine away. Yet, sooner or later, a ray always manages to get in somehow. It dances through a chink here or a hole there, or steals along the floor, till at last it arrives, a radiant messenger, in the darkened room to say that a whole world of light is waiting outside.

In spite of her sombre garments, Mary Samm was like such a ray of sunshine as she stole into Warwick prison. No doors, bolts or bars could keep her out; and the gaoler seemed to know it, as he preceded her down the damp, dark, stone passages: the walls and floor oozing moisture, and the ceiling blackened by the smoke of many candles. The prisons of England were all foul, ill-smelling, fever-haunted places at that time; and hardly any of them was worse than Warwick gaol.

William Dewsbury had earned the esteem of his keepers during his successive imprisonments which lasted altogether for nearly nineteen years. He was privileged now to lie away from the other criminals, who were herded together in the main building. He had been given a small apartment that looked towards the river on the far side of a courtyard, called the sergeants' ward. There was even a pump in the centre of this courtyard from whence his granddaughter might fetch him water daily, and the old man and the child were now privileged to take exercise together in the fresh air;—a great solace in the weary monotony of prison life. The gaoler unlocked the door of this sergeants' ward, and then, putting into Mary's hand the key of her grandfather's apartment, he retraced his steps to the outer gate. Mary sped across the cobble-stones of the courtyard with joyful haste, unlocked the door, set down her baskets carefully, the big one first, the little one after it, and then, 'Grandfather, dear Grandfather,'



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she exclaimed, 'tell me, am I late? Hast thou missed thy little prison maid?'

The white-haired man, who was writing at a rough oak table, lifted his head as she entered. His face was worn and haggard; his eyes were sunken, but the smile that overspread his countenance, as he saw who had entered, was as bright as little Mary's own. Laying down his pen and pushing the papers from him, he held out his arms, and in another minute his granddaughter was clasped in his embrace.

It would be hard to say which of the two was the happier as she placed the precious windflowers in his thin, blue-veined hand and told him all she had seen and done. Joan's messages were given; and then, 'But what hast thou been doing, dear Grandfather?' Mary asked in her turn. 'Hast thou been writing yet another Epistle to Friends to encourage them to stand firm? I see thy name very clear and bold at the foot: "William Dewsbury." I love thy name, Grandfather! It reminds me of our summer flowers and berries at home in Bedfordshire and of the heavy dews that fall on them. Thy name is as good as a garden, Grandfather, in itself.'

'It is thou who shouldst be in a garden thyself, my little Mary,' William Dewsbury answered sorrowfully. 'It is sad to bring thee back within these gloomy walls, a maid like thee.'

'Nay, Grandfather, it is not sad! Thou promised me that thou wouldst never say that again! My work was shewn me plainly; that I was to come and care for thee, and fetch thee thy provisions. It is full early yet for supper, although the light is fading; canst thou not tell me a little tale while I sit on thy knee? Afterwards we will eat our meal, and then thou wilt tell me more stories yet, more and more, to shorten the dark hours till the stars are shining brightly and it is time to go to rest.'

'Thou hast heard most of my tales so often, dear Granddaughter, as we sit here these dark evenings, that thou dost almost know them better than I myself,' the old man replied.

'Yea, truly, I know them well,' answered Mary. 'Yet I am never weary of hearing of thy own life long ago. Tell me once more how thou wast brought off from being a soldier, and established in the path of peace.'

'Thou must have that tale well nigh by heart already, dear lamb,' the old man answered. 'Many a time I have told thee of my early days among the flocks, how I was a shepherd lad until I came to thine own age of twelve years. Thereafter, when I was thirteen years old, I was bound an apprentice to a clothmaker in a town called Holdbeck, near Leeds. He was a godly man and strict, but sharp of tongue. I might have continued in that town to this day. But when I was fully come to man's estate the Civil War between King and Parliament broke out all over the land. Loath was I to take up arms, having been ever of a peaceable disposition, but when wise men, whom I revered, called upon me to fight for the civil and religious freedom of my native land, it seemed to me, in my dark ignorance of soul, that no other course remained honourably open to me. I feared if I did not join the Army of the Parliament that had sworn to curb the



tyranny of Charles Stuart, then upon my head would rest the curse of Meroz, "who went not to the help of the Lord against the mighty." Thus I became a soldier, thinking that by so doing I was fighting for the Gospel—and forgetting that my Master was One who was called the Prince of Peace.

'Small peace, in truth, did I find in the ranks of the army of the Parliament—or indeed in any other place, until in the fulness of time it was made clear to me that I was but seeking the living amongst the dead, and looking without for that which was only to be found within.

'Then my mind was turned within, by the power of the Lord, to wait on His counsel, the Light in my own conscience, to hear what the Lord would say: and the word of the Lord came unto me, and said, "Put up thy sword into thy scabbard.... Knowest thou not that if I need I could have twelve legions of Angels from my Father": which Word enlightened my heart, and discovered the mystery of iniquity, and that the Kingdom of Christ was within, and was spiritual, and my weapons against them must be spiritual, the Power of God.

'It was on this wise that I came to join the Army of the Lamb, and of His peaceful servants who follow Him whithersoever He goeth.'

'But, Grandfather, explain to me, how couldst thou leave the Parliamentary army thou wert pledged to serve?'

'A hard struggle I had truly to get free. Yet I did leave it, for I was yet more deeply pledged to Him Who had said, "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight." At length my way was made more plain before me. I left the army and resumed my weaving. Thus I passed through deep baptizings of the Holy Ghost and of fire,—baptisms too deep for a child like thee to understand how they affected my soul.'

Mary nodded her head gently and said to herself, 'Perhaps I can understand already, better than my grandfather thinks. Have I not twice already in my young years been brought nigh to death? Even now death seemeth to me often not far away.'

'Wouldst thou then fear to die, Grandfather?' she added aloud.

'No more than a bird would fear to leave its cage and fly, were once the door but open,' the old man answered. 'But the door is still securely fastened for me, it seems; and since I had thee, my little bird, to share my captivity I am no longer anxious to leave my cage. I was younger by four years than thou art now, my child, when I lost my fear of the grave. It was on this wise. I was but a little lad of eight years old, mourning and weeping for the loss of my dear father, who had been taken from us. As the tears streamed down my cheeks, methought I heard a Voice saying: "Weep for thyself; thy father is well." Never since that day, Mary child, have I doubted for one moment that for those who go hence in peace, it is well indeed.'

'Dear Grandfather, there is a sad sound in thy voice,' said little Mary. 'It is too dark by this time to see thy face, but I cannot let thee be sad. How shall I cheer thee? Ah! I know! how could I have forgotten? My aunt charged me to say she hath



news by a sure hand that my dear mother may be coming hither to visit thee and me before many days are over.'

'My daughter Mary is ever welcome,' said the old man dreamily, 'and in the darkness thy voice is so like to hers, I could almost deem she herself was sitting by my side. Already the young moon has disappeared behind the battlements of the castle. Yet I need not her silver light to tell me that thy hair is softer and straighter than thy mother's, and without the golden lights and twining curls that hers had when she was thy age.'

'The moon truly has left us, Grandfather,' Mary interrupted, springing from his knee. 'Yet what matters the darkness while we are close together? I can still see to get thy supper ready for thee. Thou must eat first, and then we will talk further, until it is time to go to rest.'

Deftly the little prison maid moved about the bare cell, drawing her grandfather's chair to the rough oak table. On this she arranged the loaf of bread and bottle of milk from her basket, setting them and the earthenware mugs and platters out on the white cloth, to look as home-like as possible. The anemones in the centre still glimmered faintly as if shining by their own light. The simple meal was a very happy one. When it was finished and the remains had been cleared away and carefully replaced in the basket for to-morrow's needs, the stars were looking in through the prison bars.

'Now, one more story, Grandfather,' said Mary firmly, 'just one, before we go to rest.'

'I love to see thy small white face shining up at me through the gloom,' the old man answered. 'I will tell thee of my first meeting with George Fox. Hast thou ever heard that story?'

The little prison maid was far too wary to reply directly.

'Tell it to me now, Grandfather,' she replied evasively, and then, to turn the old man's thoughts in the right direction, 'thou hadst already left the army by that time?' she hazarded.

'Ay, that I had,' answered Dewsbury. 'I had left it for several years, and a measure of Truth I had found for myself. Greatly I longed to proclaim it and to share my new-found happiness with others. But the inward Voice spoke to me clearly and said: "Keep thee silent for six full years, until the year 1652 shall have come. Then shalt thou find more hungering and thirsting among the people than at the present time." So "I kept silence even from good words, though it was pain and grief to me." Thou knowest, Mary, even while I was yet in the army, many and deep exercisings had I had in my spirit, and such were still my portion at times. About this time, by the providence of God, I chanced to hear of a young woman living in the city of York, who was going through a like season of sorrow and anguish regarding her immortal soul. After due deliberation, I found it in my heart to pay her a visit. I did this and went on foot to York. When I came into her presence, at once we were made aware of each other's conditions. No sooner did we begin to converse than we found ourselves joined together in deep unity of spirit. Her spiritual exercises answered unto mine own, as in water face answereth to face. Dost thou understand, child, of what I am



speaking?’

‘I follow not thy language always with entire comprehension, dear Grandfather,’ answered Mary with her usual precise honesty of speech, ‘but it appears to me thy meaning is clear. I think that this young woman must likely have been my grandmother?’

William Dewsbury smiled. ‘Thou art right,’ he said, ‘it was to be even so, in the fulness of time; that, however, was long after. Almost at once we became man and wife. There seemed no need to settle that between us. It had been settled for us by Him who brought us together. We knew it from the first moment that we saw each the other’s face. Thy grandmother had in a measure joined herself unto the Anabaptists, therefore ‘twas at one of their meetings that we were wed. The power of the Spirit was an astonishment unto them, and I have heard it said that never hath the Divine Presence been more felt in any assembly than it was that day. Thy grandmother resembled thee, my Mary, as thou wilt be when thou art a woman grown—when thou shalt be taller and rounder, and less slim and spare. Her eyes were darker than thine, and she had the same soft brown hair as thine, but with thy mother’s golden threads in it, my Ann! Before she became my wife, she had been blessed with a plenty of this world’s goods, but no sooner were we wed than her brother unjustly deprived her of her property. For myself, I cared not. Now that she was safely mine own, he was welcome to the land that should have been hers by right. Yet for her sake I strove to get it back, but in vain. Then did the enemy of souls reproach me for having brought her, whom I tenderly loved, into a state of poverty. In humiliation and lowness of mind before the Lord, without yielding to the tempter, I desired Him to make me content to be what He would have me to be; and, in a moment, I was so filled with the presence of the Lord, that I was not able to bear the weight of the glory that was upon me. I desired the Lord, if He had any service for me to do, to withdraw, for I could not live; then I heard as it were a Voice say to me, “Thou art Mine, all in heaven and earth is Mine, and it is thine in Me; what I see good I will give unto thee, and unto thy wife and children.”’

‘Poor Grandfather, that was a hard pass for thee,’ murmured Mary, smoothing the old man’s coat sleeve. ‘But did not a great joy follow close upon thy trouble?’ she prompted, ‘a great joy on a moonshine night, not a dark one like this?’

William Dewsbury’s countenance kindled with fresh life and vigour. ‘Yea, my child,’ he answered, ‘light did indeed illuminate us on that same moonshine night of which thou speakest, when we went, my Ann and I, to Lieutenant Roper’s house to hear the Stranger preach. All our lives we had both been seeking, but now by the Power of the Lord, the time was come for us to find. We went to hear a Stranger. But no stranger was George Fox. Rather did we recognise him, from the first moment of that meeting, as the own brother of our souls. Up and down the length and breadth of the land I had journeyed, seeking for deliverance and for truth. Now, in my own county of Yorkshire, my deliverer was found. It was not alone the words he spake,



though they were forcible and convincing, much more it was the irresistible Power of the Lord breathing through him that brought us to our knees. All men could see as they looked upon his goodly form, not then marred by cruel imprisonments and sufferings, that he was a man among ten thousand. But to me he was also a chosen vessel of the Lord; for power spoke through him, yea, to my very heart. I have told thee, Mary, of my long searchings after truth, and of those of my dear wife. There was no need to mention one of them to George. With the first words he spake it was clear to me that he knew them all, he could read our necessities like an open book. Well hath it been said of him that "he was a man of God endued with a clear and wonderful depth; a discerner of other men's spirits, and very much a master of his own." Our hearts clave unto him at once. We could scarcely restrain ourselves until the meeting should be at an end, to disclose our inmost souls unto him. Then at last, when all the multitude had departed, we watched Friend George set out on his homeward way. We followed him in all haste, my Ann and I, until we came up with him in a lonely field. The moon shone full on his face and on our seeking faces, revealing us to each other. At first he gazed on us as if we were strangers. For all we had longed ardently to tell him, we found no words. Only a long time we stood together silently, we three, with the dumb kine slumbering around us in the dewy meadows; we three, revealed to one another in the full light. Then at last we confessed to the Truth before him, and from him we received Truth again. There is no Scripture to warrant the sprinkling of a few drops of water on the face of a child and calling that Baptism; but there is a Scripture for being baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire. That true essential Baptism did our spirits receive in very deed that night from God's own minister of His Everlasting Gospel. 'Thus, then and there, were we three knit together in soul; and the Lord's Power was over all.'

The old man's voice died away into silence. His thoughts were far off in the past. The loneliness of the prison was forgotten, little Mary knew that her evening's task was done. Very gently she flitted from his side, arranged his bed for the night, and then slipped, noiselessly as a shadow, into her little inner cell, scarcely larger than a cupboard. Here she undressed in the darkness and laid herself down on her little straw pallet on the floor. But she had brought the precious windflowers with her. 'They are so white, they will be like company through the dark night hours,' she said to herself, placing the glass close to her bed. Presently, through a tiny slit of window high up in the prison wall, one sentinel star looked down into the narrow cell. It peeped in upon a small white figure straight and slim amid the surrounding blackness of the cell, with 'dear, long, lean, little arms lying out on the counterpane'; but Mary's eyes were wide open, her ears were listening intently for her grandfather's softest call.

Gradually the ray of starlight crept up the prison wall and disappeared; soon other stars one by one looked in at the narrow window and passed upwards also on their high steep pathways;



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gradually the eyelids closed, and the long dark lashes lay upon the white cheeks. Drowsily little Mary thought to herself, 'I am glad my mother will soon be here, but it hath been a very happy evening. Truly I am glad I came to help dear grandfather, and to be his little prison maid.'
Only one starry white windflower, clasped tight in her fingers through the long night hours, gradually drooped and died.



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HISTORICAL NOTES

Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

'PALE WINDFLOWERS.'

See account of Dewsbury in 'BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM.' Also 'THE FAITHFUL TESTIMONY OF THAT ANTIENT SERVANT OF THE LORD, AND MINISTER OF THE EVERLASTING GOSPEL, WILLIAM DEWSBURY.' Also 'TESTIMONY TO MARY SAMM,' p. 348, same volume. The details given are as far as possible historical, but the setting, the walk, and the windflowers are imaginary. The prison scene is as far as possible historical. The Testimony to little Mary tells the sequel to her 'happy evening,' and a few paragraphs from it are given here.



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1680

Since the monarch owed his dad some £15,000 and couldn't pay up, [Friend William Penn](#) was asking to be granted instead an area north of Maryland and west of the Delaware River.



This would be the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania. He obtained the construction of the 1st brewery in

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Pennsylvania

BEER

New Hampshire passed its first capital crimes laws.

Between 1680 and 1700, The Royal African Company would be exporting 140,000 [slaves](#) from Africa, while private adventures would be exporting another 160,000.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

Governor Simon Bradstreet of the Massachusetts Bay Colony responded to an inquiry by “the lords of his Majesties privy council”:

There had been no company of blacks or slaves brought into the country since the beginning of this plantation, for the space of 50 years, only one small vessell about two yeares since after 20 month's voyage to Madagascar brought hither betwixt 40 and 50 negros, most women and children, sold for 10 pounds, 15 pounds and 20 pounds apiece, which stood the merchants in near 40 pounds apiece one with another: now and then two or three negros are brought hither from Barbados and other of his majesties plantations, and sold here for about 20 pounds apiece, so that there may bee within our government about 100 or 120, and it may bee as many Scots brought hither and sold for servants in the time of the war with Scotland, and most now married and living here, and about halfe so many Irish brought hither at several times as servants.

According to Hugh Thomas's *THE SLAVE TRADE: THE STORY OF THE ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE, 1440-1870* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1997), during this decade a ship captained by a [Quaker](#), Friend William Frampton, would bring the initial African [slaves](#) to Philadelphia.

The transportation of English convicts to the American colonies was at this point in time a fully developed practice:



The shipment of convicts, as "His Majesty's passengers," to be plantation bond-laborers was an especially profitable branch of the trade since it was subsidized by the authorities in England. Although this practice proceeded systematically on a national scale under a law passed by Parliament in 1717, convicts were sent to the Chesapeake colonies in the seventeenth century. Those convicts who survived the voyage were sold by the ship's captain for his own or his employer's account. James Revel arrived in Virginia some time before 1680 at eighteen years of age, having been sentenced to fourteen years' bond-servitude. He later wrote recollections of his experiences, which began with the dockside marketing process. After a seven-week trip, the convicts were put ashore, where they were cleaned up to be made presentable to the prospective customers. The men and women were displayed separately, for "Examining [*sic*] like Horses." "Some view'd our teeth, to see if they were good, Or fit to chew our hard and homely Food. If any like our look, our limbs, our trade, the Captain then good advantage made."



Before this point, the concept "white" had not been made much use of in Virginia. After this point, things would be changing. The white race was going to be invented. However, the first use of the term "white" in a Virginia statute, to designate the European-Americans as a social category, would not appear until the Year of Our Lord 1691.



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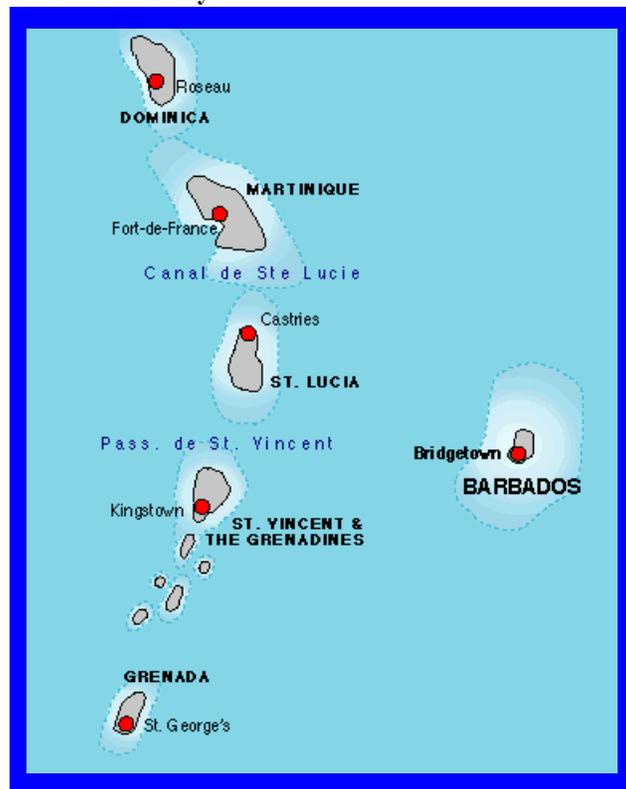
EARLY QUAKERISM

By this point in time, in merry olde England, some 11,000 [Quakers](#) had been imprisoned, and 243 of them had died in prison. The letter that the committee of Friends had sent to King Charles II in 1660  was reprinted at this point, and in the reprinting, the following material was added:

Courteous Reader,

This was our testimony above twenty years ago; and since then we have not been found acting contrary to it, nor ever shall. For the Truth, that is our Guide, is unchangeable. And this is now reprinted to the men of this age, many of whom were then children; and doth stand, as our certain testimony against all plotting and fightings with carnal weapons. And if any, by departing from the Truth, should do so, this is our testimony in the Truth against them, and will stand over them, and the Truth will be clear of them.

According to Jon Butler's *AWASH IN A SEA OF FAITH*, during the period 1680-1760 in the English colonies in America, the white owners of blacks systematically expunged all traces of African religious systems, except for a few relics of particular rituals that were held onto in secrecy. In Barbados, because of their persistent attempts to include blacks in worship, Quaker planters were forbidden to assemble for religious meetings. Effectively, Friend [George Fox](#)'s efforts to intercede in the Barbados racial situation seemed to have been a failure, for although Friends there continued to meet for worship, they did so as all-white groupings, groupings that had in fact so many persecutions of their own to cope with and to mourn that they were unable or unwilling to intercede in the persecutions of racial and religious others. The new laws strengthened the hand of the Quaker "individualistic" (or, to use a modern term, "Libertarian") businessmen among them, who were eager to hide themselves behind the Quaker façade of soberness (*vide* Mr. Quaker Oats) **while yet participating fully in the profits of a slave economy.**



After spending the previous year in retirement at Swarthmore "in the North," Friend George's activity and travels begin anew. This decade would find him much of the time in "the South," in general around London, dealing with the movement led by Friends Wilkinson and Story in opposition to a settled system of government and discipline, and dealing with the Conventicle Act persecutions which had filled prisons and jails with Quakers.



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His treatment of Islam and of the *QUR'AN*—which evidently he knew rather well— was empathetic despite the fact that he would comment in his letter to the Great Turk in this year, that he had been deceived by [Mohammed](#).¹⁴⁶

George Fox

After this I was moved of the Lord to visit Friends in some parts of Surrey and Sussex. I went to Kingston by water, and tarried certain days; for while I was there, the Lord laid it upon me to write both to the great Turk, and the Dey of Algiers, severally, to warn them, and the people under them, to turn from their wickedness, fear the Lord, and do justly; lest the judgments of God should come upon them, and destroy them without remedy. To the Algerines I wrote more particularly concerning the cruelty they exercised towards Friends and others, whom they held captives in Algiers.

At Hertford I met with John Story, and some others of his party; but the testimony of Truth went over them, and kept them down, so that the meeting was quiet.

It was on a First-day; and the next day being the men's and women's meeting for business, I visited them also, and the rather because some in that place had let in a disesteem of them. Wherefore I was moved to open the service of those meetings, and the usefulness and benefit thereof to the Church of Christ, as the Lord opened the thing in me; and it was of good service to Friends.

I had a meeting also with some of those that were gone into strife and contention, to show them wherein they were wrong; and having cleared myself of them, I left them to the Lord.

JOURNAL

AN UNDISTURBED MEETING¹⁴⁷

'It was impossible to ignore the Quaker because he would not be ignored. If you close his meeting-house he holds it in the street; if you stone him out of the city in the evening, he is there in the morning with his bleeding wounds still upon him.... You may break the earthen vessel, but the spirit is invincible and that you cannot kill.'—JOHN WILHELM ROWNTREE.

'Interior calmness means interior and exterior strength.'—J. RENDEL HARRIS.

'Be nothing terrified at their threats of banishment, for they cannot banish you from the coasts and sanctuary of the Living God.'—MARGARET FOX.

'Grant us grace to rest from all sinful deeds and thoughts, to surrender ourselves wholly unto Thee, to keep our souls still before Thee like a still lake; that so the beams of Thy love may be mirrored therein, and may kindle in our hearts the beams of faith, and love, and prayer. May we, through such stillness and hope, find strength and gladness in Thee O God, now, and for evermore.'—JOACHIM EMBDEN, 1595.

*'For the soul that is close to GOD
In the folded wings of prayer,
Passion no more can vex,*

146. There was a distinctive openness toward other faiths in early Quakerism, despite lapses, as may be seen for instance in Friend [John Woolman](#)'s visits among native Americans. How much of his own eclectic attitude [Henry Thoreau](#) would acquire from his study of [George Fox](#), simply has not yet been evaluated — because none of the scholars who might have done such an evaluation, who seem all to have been Unitarian Universalists, have as yet been competent in this area. (As yet, I have been unable to discover among these scholar-wannabes anyone for whom all Quakers were not indifferently the same.) Thoreau's attitude toward scripture would be remarkably similar to that of the [Quaker](#) poet of his era, Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#). A reading of Whittier's religious and Quaker-oriented poems would clearly demonstrate this congruence — and this of course is the path liberal Quakerism has trod since. Consider for instance a stanza from Whittier's poem "The Meeting":

I know how well the fathers taught,
What work the later schoolmen wrought;
I reverence old-time faith and men,
But God is near us now as then...
And still the measure of our needs
Outgrows the cramping bounds of creeds;
The manna gathered yesterday
Already savors of decay...

And in "Miriam" we find:

And I made answer: "Truth is one;
And in all lands beneath the sun,
Whoso hath eyes to see may see
The tokens of its unity.
No scroll of creed its fulness wraps,
We trace it not by school-boy maps,
Free as the sun and air it is
Of latitudes and boundaries.
In Vedic verse, in dull Koran,
Are messages of good to man...."



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Infinite peace is there.'
EDWIN HATCH.

147. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



AN UNDISTURBED MEETING

Quiet and lonely now stands the small old farmhouse of Drawwell, on the sunny slope of a hill, under the shadow of the great fells. To this day the old draw-well behind the house, which gives its name to the homestead, continues to yield its refreshing draught of pure cold water. 'It is generally full, even in times of drought, and never overflows.'¹⁴⁸ To this day, also, the 'living water,' drawn in many a 'mighty Meeting' held around that well in the early years of Quakerism, continues to refresh thirsty souls.

It was to Drawwell Farm that George Fox came with his hosts Thomas and John Blaykling, on Whitsun Wednesday evening in June 1652, at the end of Sedbergh Fair. From Drawwell he accompanied them to Firbank Chapel, the following Sunday forenoon. There, high up on the opposite fell, he was moved, as he says in his Journal, to 'sit down upon the rock on the mountain' and 'discourse to over a thousand people, amongst whom I declared God's everlasting Truth and word of life freely and largely, for about the space of three hours, whereby many were convinced.' More than once in after days, George Fox returned again thankfully to Drawwell, seeking and finding rest and refreshment for soul and body under its hospitable, low, stone roof, as he went up and down on those endless journeys of his, throughout the length and breadth of England, whereby he 'kept himself in a perpetual motion, begetting souls unto God.'

Many hallowed memories cling about Drawwell Farm,—as closely as the silvery mist clings to every nook and cranny of its walls in damp weather,—but none more vivid than that of the Undisturbed Meeting of 1665.

George Fox was not present that day. His open-air wanderings, and his visits to the home under the great fells were alike at an end for a time, while in the narrow prison cells of Lancaster and Scarborough he was bearing witness, after a different fashion, to the freedom of the Spirit of the Lord. George Fox was not among the guests at Drawwell. No 'mighty Meeting,' as often at other times, was gathered there that day. There was only a company of humble men and women seated on forms and chairs under the black oak rafters of the big barn that adjoins the house, since the living-room was not spacious enough to hold them all with ease, although their numbers were not much above a score.

The Master and Mistress of Drawwell were present of course. Good Farmer Blaykling, with his ever ready courtesy and kindness, looked older now than on the day, thirteen years before, when he and his father had brought the young preacher back with them from the Fair. He himself had known latterly what it was to suffer 'for Truth's sake,' as some extra furrows on his brow had testified plainly since the day when 'Priest John Burton of Sedbergh beat John Blaykling and pulled him by the hair off his

148. This paragraph is taken from E.E. Taylor's description of Drawwell.



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seat in his high place.' Happily that outbreak had passed over, and all seemed quiet this Sunday morning, as he took his place in the big barn. His wife sat by his side; around them were their children (none of them young), the farm lads and lasses, and several families of neighbouring Friends. But it chanced that the youngest person present, one of the farm lasses, was well into her teens.

'Surely it was the loving-kindness of the Lord' (motherly Mistress Blaykling was wont to testify in after years) 'that brought the ordeal only upon us, grown men and women, and not upon any tender babes.' The Meeting began, much like any other Meeting in that peaceful country, where Friends ever loved to gather under the shadow of the hills and the yet mightier overshadowing of the Spirit of God. The Dove of Peace brooded over the company. Even as the unseen water bubbled in the dark depths of the old draw-well close by, so, in the deep stillness, already some hearts were becoming conscious of—

'The bubbling of the hidden springs,
That feed the world.'

Soon, out of the living Silence would have been born the fresh gift of living speech....

When suddenly, into all this peace, there came the clattering of horses' hoofs along the stony road that leads to the farm, followed by loud voices and a pistol shot, as a body of troopers trotted right up to the homestead. Finding that deserted and receiving no answers to their shouts, they proceeded to the barn itself in search of the assembled Friends. The officer in charge was a young Ensign, Lawrence Hodgson, a very gay gentleman indeed, a gentleman of the Restoration, when not only courtiers but soldiers too, knew well what it was to be courtly.

He came from Dent, 'with other officers of the militia and soldiers.' Now Dent was a place of importance, in those days, and looked down on even Sedbergh as a mere village. Wherefore to be sent off to a small farm in the outskirts of Sedbergh in search of a nest of Quakers was a paltry job at best for these fine gentlemen from Dent. Naturally, they set about it, cursing and swearing with a will, to shew what brave fellows they were. For here were all these Quakers whom they had been sent to harry, brazening out their crime in the full light of day. By Act of Parliament it had been declared, not so long ago either, that any Quakers who 'assembled to the number of five or more persons at any one time, and in any one place, under pretence of joining in a religious worship not authorised by law, were, on conviction, to suffer merely fines or imprisonment for their first and second offences, but for the third, they were to be liable to be transported to any of His Majesty's plantations beyond seas.' A serious penalty this, in those days second only to death itself, and a terror to the most hardened of the soldiery; but here was a handful of humble farmfolk, deliberately daring such a punishment unafraid.

'Stiff-necked Quakers—you shall answer for this,' shouted Ensign Hodgson as he entered 'cursing and swearing' (so says the old



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account) 'and threatening that if Friends would not depart and disperse he would kill them and slay and what not.' 'You look like hardened offenders, all of you, and I doubt this is not a first offence.' So saying, the Ensign set spurs to his horse and rode up and down the barn, overturning forms and chairs, slashing at the women Friends with the flat of his sword, while some of the roughest of his followers poked the sharp points of their blades through the coats of the men, 'just to remind you, Quaker dogs, of what we could do, an' we chose.'

Amid all this noise and hurly-burly, the men and women Friends sat on in stillness as long as possible. Only when their seats were actually overturned, they rose to their feet and stood upright in their places. They were ready to be beaten or trampled upon, if necessary; but they would not, of their own will, quit their ground. Strangely enough, the wives did not rush to their husbands or cling to them; the men did not seek to protect the women-folk. They all remained, even the lads and lasses, self-poised as it were, one company still; resting, as long as they could, quietly, in the inward citadel of peace. In spite of all the hubbub, the true spirit of worship was not disturbed.

At last the soldiers, determined not to be baffled, came to yet closer quarters and drove their unresisting victims, willy nilly, before them from under the sheltering rafters of the barn. The Friends were roughly hustled down the steep hillside and driven hither and thither, but still the meeting was not interrupted, for their hearts could not be driven out from the overshadowing presence of God.

So the great fells looked down upon a strange scene a few minutes later,—a strange scene, yet one all too common in those days. A cavalcade of glittering horsemen with their flowing perukes, ruffles, gay coats, plumed hats, and all the extravagances of the costume of even the fighting man of 'good King Charles's golden days.' In the centre of this gay throng, a little company of Friends in their plain garments of homespun and duffel, moving along, with sober faces and downcast eyes, speaking never a word as their captors prepared to force them to their destination—the Justice's house at Ingmire Hall near Sedbergh. Now from Drawwell Farm to Ingmire is some little distance. The way is hilly, and the roads are narrow and rough. Bad going it is on those roads even to-day, and far worse in the times of which I write. Therefore the troopers quickly grew weary of their task, weary of trying to rein in their mettlesome horses to keep pace with the slow steps of their prisoners, weary, too, of even the sport of pricking at these last with their swords, to try to make them go faster.

They had barely reached the bottom of the slope when Ensign Hodgson, ever a restless youth, lost patience. As soon as he found his horse on a bit of level road, he called to his men, 'Halloo! here's our chance for a canter!—We'll leave the Lambs to follow us to the slaughter-house at their own sweet will.' Then, seeing mingled relief and consternation on the men's faces, he slapped his thighs with a loud laugh and said: 'Ye silly fellows, have no fear! No Quaker ever yet tried to escape



from gaol, nor ever will. We can trust them to follow us in our absence as well as if we were here to drive them. Quakers haven't the wit to seek after their own safety.'

The audacity of the plan tickled the troopers. Following Hodgson's example, they, one and all, raised their plumed hats and, rising high in their stirrups, bowed with mock courtesy, as they took leave of their prisoners.

'Farewell, sweet Lambkins,' called out the Ensign, 'hasten your Quaker pace and meet us at the slaughter-house at Ingmire Hall as fast as you can, OR' ... he cocked his pistol at them, and then, dashing it up, fired a shot into the air. With wild shouting and laughter the whole troop disappeared round a turn of the road. 'To Sedbergh,' they cried, 'to Sedbergh first! Plenty of time for a carouse, and yet to arrive at Ingmire Hall as soon as the Lambs!'

Arriving in Sedbergh at a canter they slackened rein at a tavern and refreshed themselves with a draught of ale and an hour's carouse, before setting off to meet their prisoners at the Justice's house.

When they arrived at Ingmire Hall, to their dismay, not a Quaker was in sight. Sending his men off to scour the roads, Ensign Hodgson himself dismounted with an oath on Justice Otway's doorstep, and went within to inquire if the Quakers from Drawwell had yet arrived.

'The Quakers, WHOM YOU WERE SENT TO FETCH from Drawwell and for whose non-appearance you are yourself wholly responsible, HAVE NOT ARRIVED,' answered the Justice tartly, raising his eyebrows as if to emphasise his words. All men knew that good Sir John Otway was no friend to persecution; and gay Lawrence Hodgson was no favourite of his.

With a louder oath than that with which he had entered the house, the Ensign flung out of it again, and rode off at the head of his men—all of them discomfited by their vain search, for not a Quaker was to be seen in the neighbourhood. The 'Lambs' were less docile than had been supposed. After all, they had successfully managed to avoid the 'slaughter-house'; they must have retreated to Drawwell, if they had not even seized the opportunity to escape.

Back again along the road to Drawwell, therefore, the whole sulky company of horsemen were obliged to return, much out of humour. Cursing their leader's carelessness, as he doubtless cursed his own folly, they trotted along, gloomily enough, till they came to the bend of the road where the homestead comes in sight, and where they had taken leave of their prisoners. There, as they turned the corner, suddenly they all stopped, thunderstruck, pulling their horses back on to their haunches in their amazement.

The Lambs had not escaped! Though they had not followed meekly to the slaughter-house, at least they had made no endeavours to flee, or even to return to the sheepfold on the hillside above them. All the time that the soldiers had been carousing in the alehouse, or searching the lanes, the little company of Friends had remained in the very same spot where the soldiers had left



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them nearly two hours before.
And there they were still, every one of them;—sitting on the green, grassy bank by the wayside. There they were, quietly going on with their uninterrupted worship. Yes; out there, under the shadow of the everlasting hills, untroubled by the shadow of even a passing cloud of fear, the Friends calmly continued to wait upon God.



HISTORICAL NOTES

Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

'AN UNDISTURBED MEETING.'

I first heard this story graphically told by Ernest E. Taylor. His intimate knowledge of the neighbourhood, and minute historical researches into the lives of the Early Friends in this district, made the whole scene vivid to his listener. In writing down my own account from memory, some months later, I find I have unintentionally altered some of the details, and have in particular allowed too long a time for the soldiers' carouse, and have substituted a troop of horse for militia. For these lapses from strict historical accuracy I alone am responsible; but it has seemed better to leave the story as it was written and to append the following note from the ancient MS. account of the sufferings at Sedbergh, to show exactly what did occur:

'1665. Friends being met at John Blaykling's at Drawwell, Lawrence Hodgson of Dent, an Ensign to the Militia, came into the meeting with other Militia men, cursing and swearing that if Friends would not depart and disperse, he would kill them and slay and what not. Then as Friends did not disperse they pulled them out of doors and so broke up the meeting. The Ensign thereupon went off, expecting Friends to have followed him, but they sat down and stood together at the house end [? and] on the hill-side. So the Ensign came back and with his drawn sword struck at several Friends and cut some in the hat and some in the clothes, and so forced and drove them to Sedbergh town, where after some chief men of the parish had been spoken with, Friends were let go home in peace.'—Sedbergh MSS. Sufferings.

It was of course the gathering together 'in numbers more than five' and 'refusing to disperse' that was at this time illegal and made the Friends liable to severe punishment. There is still a tradition in the neighbourhood that the Quakers were to be taken not to Ingmire Hall, but to the house of another Justice at Thorns.



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Winter: In the press of the great persecution of [Quakers](#), Friend [George Fox](#) began to serve more or less as a Parliament lobbyist.

George Fox

*I abode at London most part of this winter, having much service for the Lord there, both in and out of meetings: for as it was a time of great suffering among Friends, I was drawn in spirit to visit Friends' meetings more frequently; to encourage and strengthen them both by exhortation and example. The Parliament also was sitting, and Friends were diligent in waiting upon them, to lay their grievances before them. * We received fresh accounts almost every day of the sad sufferings Friends underwent in many parts of the nation. In seeking relief for my suffering brethren I spent much time; together with other Friends, who were freely given up to that service, attending at the Parliament-House for many days together, and watching all opportunities to speak with such members of either House as would hear our just complaints. Indeed, some of these were very courteous to us, and appeared willing to help us if they could; but the Parliament being then earnest in examining the Popish plot, and contriving ways to discover such as were Popishly affected, our adversaries took advantage against us (because they knew we could not swear nor fight) to expose us to those penalties that were made against Papists; though they knew in their consciences that we were no Papists, and had had experience of us, that we were no plotters.*

JOURNAL



BUTTERFLIES IN THE FELLS¹⁴⁹

'My concern for God and His holy, eternal truth was then in the North, where God had placed and set me.'—MARGARET FOX.

'I should be glad if thou would incline to come home, that thou might get a little Rest, methinks its the most comfortable when one has a home to be there, but the Lord give us patience to bear all things'—M. FOX to G. Fox, 1681.

'I did not stir much abroad during the time I now stayed in the North; but when Friends were not with me spent pretty much time in writing books and papers for Truth's service.'—G. FOX.

'All dear Friends press forward in the straight way.'—JOHN AUDLAND.

'Is not liberty of conscience in religion a fundamental?... Liberty of conscience is a natural right, and he that would have it, ought to give it, having liberty to settle what he likes for the public.... This I say is fundamental: it ought to be so. It is for us and the generations to come.'—OLIVER CROMWELL.

149. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



BUTTERFLIES IN THE FELLS

Above all other Saints in the Calendar, the good people of Newcastle-upon-Tyne do hold in highest honour Saint Nicholas, since to him is dedicated the stately Church that is the pride and glory of their town. Everyone who dwells in the bonnie North Countrie knows well that shrine of Saint Nicholas, set on high on the steep northern bank of the River Tyne. Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole North, is St. Nicholas. Therefore, in olden times, one Roger Thornton, a wealthy merchant of the town, saw fit to embellish it yet further with a window at the Eastern end, of glass stained with colours marvellous to behold. Men said indeed that Merchant Roger clearly owed that window to the Saint, seeing that when he first entered the town scarce a dozen years before, he came but as a poor pedlar, possessed of naught but 'a hap, a halfpenny, and a lambskin,' whereas these few years spent under the shadow of the Saint's protection had made him already a man of great estate. Roger Thornton it was who gave the Eastern window to the Church, but none know now, for certain, who first embellished the shrine with its crowning gift, the tall steeple that gathers to itself not only the affection of all those who dwell beneath its shadow, but also their glory and their pride. Some believe it was built by King David of Scotland: others by one Robert de Rede, since his name may still be seen carven upon the stone by him who has skill to look. But in truth the architect hath carried both his name and his secret with him, and the craftsmen of many another larger and more famous city have sought in vain to build such another tower. By London Bridge and again at Edinburgh, in the capitals of two fair kingdoms, may indeed be seen a steeple built in like fashion, but far less fair. One man alone, he whose very name hath been forgotten, hath known how to swing with perfect grace a pinnacled Crown, formed of stone yet delicate as lacework, aloft in highest air. Therefore to this day doth the Lantern Tower of St. Nicholas remain without a peer.

A Lantern Tower the learned call it, and indeed the semblance of an open lantern doth rise, supported by pinnacles, in the centre of the Tower; but to most men it resembles less a lantern than an Imperial crown swung high in air, under a canopy of dazzling blue. It is a golden crown in the daytime, as it shines on high above the hum of the city streets in the clear mid-day light. It becomes a fiery crown when the sun sets, for then the golden fleurs-de-lys on each of the eight golden vanes atop of the pinnacles gleam and glow like sparks of flame, climbing higher and ever higher into the steep and burnished air. But it is a jewelled crown that shines by night over the slumbering town beneath; for then the turrets and pinnacles are gemmed with glittering stars.

That Tower, to those who have been born under it, is one of the dearest things upon this earth. Judge then of the dismay that was caused to every man, woman, and child, when Newcastle was



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being besieged by the Scottish army during the Civil Wars, at the message that came from the general of the beleaguering army, that were the town not surrendered to him without delay, he would train his guns on the Tower of St. Nicholas itself, and lay that first in ruins. Happily Sir John Marley, the English Commander, who was likewise Mayor of the Town, was more than a match for the canny Scot. And this was the answer that the gallant Sir John sent back from the beleaguered town: that General Leslie might train his guns on the Tower and welcome, if such were his pleasure, but if he did so, before he brought down one single stone of it, he would be obliged to take the lives of his own Scottish prisoners, whom the guns would find as their first target there.

Sir John was as good as his word. The Scottish prisoners were strung out in companies along the Tower ledges, and kept there day after day, till the Scottish Army had retreated, baffled for that time, and St. Nicholas was saved. Therefore, thanks to Sir John Marley and his nimble wit, the pinnacled Crown still soars up aloft into the sky, keeping guard over the city of Newcastle to-day, as it hath done throughout the centuries.

Little did the Friends, who came to Newcastle a few years after the Scotsmen had departed, regard the beauty of St. Nicholas or its Tower. They came also desiring to besiege the town, though with only spiritual weapons. The Church to them was but a 'steeple-house,' and the Tower akin to an idol. Thus slowly do men learn that 'the ways unto God are as the number of the souls of the children of men,' and that wherever a man truly seeketh God in whatsoever fashion, so he do but seek honestly and with his whole heart, God will consent to be found of him.

Yet though the Friends who came to Newcastle came truly to besiege the town for love's sake, not with love did the town receive them. 'Ruddy-faced John Audland' was the first to come, he who had been one of the preachers that memorable Sunday at Firbank Chapel, and who, having yielded place to George Fox, had been in his turn mightily convinced of Truth. 'A man beloved of God, and of all good men,' was John Audland, 'of an exceedingly sweet disposition, unspeakably loving and tenderly affectionate, always ready to lend a helping hand to the weak and needy, open-hearted, free and near to his friends, deep in the understanding of the heavenly mysteries.' Yet little all this availed him. In Newcastle as elsewhere he preached the Truth, 'full of dread and shining brightness on his countenance.' Certain of the townfolk gathered themselves unto him and became Friends, but the authorities would have none of the new doctrine, and straightway clapped him into gaol. There he lay for a time, till at last he was set free and went his way. After him came George Fox, when some thirteen years had gone by since Sir John Marley saved the Tower, and General Leslie had returned discomfited to Edinburgh. From Edinburgh, too, George Fox had come on his homeward way after that eventful journey to the Northern Kingdom, when 'the infinite sparks of life sparkled about him as soon as his horse set foot across the Border.' Weary he was of riding when he reached the gates of Newcastle-upon-



Tyne. Yet 'gladdened' in his heart was he, for as he had passed by Berwick-upon-Tweed, the Governor there had 'shewn himself loving towards Friends,' and, though only a little Meeting had been gathered, 'the Lord's power had been over all.' As Fox and his companion rode through the woods and beside the yellow brown streams and over the heathery moors of Northumberland, they found and visited many scattered Friends whose welcome had made George Fox's heart rejoice. But no sooner had he entered the town than all his gladness left him, at the grievous tale the faithful Friends of Newcastle had to tell. Ever since John Audland's preaching had stirred the souls of the townsfolk, the priests and professors had done their best to prevent 'this pernicious poison from spreading.' Five Newcastle priests had written a book, entitled 'the Perfect Pharisee under Monkish Holiness,' in which they blamed Friends for many things, but above all for their custom of preaching in the streets and open places. 'It is a pestilent heresy at best,' they said (though they used not these very words), 'yet did they keep it to themselves 'twere no great harm, but we find no place hears so much of Friends' religion as streets and market-places.'

Yet even so their witness agreed not together. For while the priests accused Friends of too much preaching in public, a certain Alderman of the city, Thomas Ledger by name, put forth three other books against them. And his main charge was this—'THAT THE QUAKERS WOULD NOT COME INTO ANY GREAT TOWNS, BUT LIVED IN THE FELLS LIKE BUTTERFLIES.'

George Fox, hearing these things from the Friends assembled to greet him at the entrance to the town, was tried in his spirit, and determined that the matter should be dealt with, without more ado. The Journal saith: 'The Newcastle priests wrote many books against us, and one Ledger, an Alderman of the town, was very envious of truth and friends. He and the priests had said, "the Quakers would not come into great towns, but lived in the fells like butterflies." I took Anthony Pearson with me and went to this Ledger, and several others of the Aldermen, desiring to have a meeting among them, seeing they had written so many things against us: for we were now come, I told them, into their great town. But they would not yield we should have a meeting, neither would they be spoke with, save only this Ledger and one other. I queried: "Had they not called Friends Butterflies, and said we would not come into any great towns? And now they would not come at us, though they had printed books against us; WHO ARE THE BUTTERFLIES NOW?"

'As we could not have a public meeting amongst them we got a little meeting amongst friends and friendly people at the Gate-side. As I was passing by the market-side, the power of the Lord rose in me, to warn them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them. And not long after all the priests were turned out of their profession, when the King came in.'

Thus did those same envious priests, who had accused Friends of living like butterflies in the fells, become themselves as butterflies, being chased out of the great town, and forced to flit to and fro in the open country. The Friends, meanwhile,



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increased on both sides of the river Tyne. In 1657 George Whitehead visited Newcastle, and was kindly received in the house of one John Dove, who had been a Lieutenant in the army before he became a Friend.

Whitehead, himself one of the 'Valiant Sixty,' writes:—'The Mayor of the town (influenced by the priests), would not suffer us to keep any meeting within the Liberty of the Town, though in Gate-side (being out of the Mayor's Liberty), our Friends had settled a meeting at our beloved Friend Richard Ubank's house.... The first meeting we then endeavoured to have within the town of Newcastle was in a large room taken on purpose by some Friends.... The meeting was not fully gathered when the Mayor of the Town and his Officers came, and by force turned us out of the meeting; and not only so, but out of the Town also; for the Mayor and his Company commanded us and went along with us as far as the Bridge over the river Tine that parts Newcastle and Gates-head, upon which Bridge there is a Blew Stone to which the Mayor's Liberty extends; when we came to the stone, the Mayor gave his charge to each of us in these words: "I charge and command you in the name of His Highness the Lord Protector. That you come no more into Newcastle to have any more meetings there at your peril."' "

The Friends, therefore, continued to meet at the place that is called Gateside (though some say that Goat's head was the name of it at first), and there they remained till, after divers persecutions, they were at length suffered to assemble within the walls of Newcastle itself, upon the north side of the 'Blew Stone' above the River Tyne. Here, in 1698, they bought a plot of ground, within a stone's-throw of St. Nicholas, facing towards the street that the townsmen call Pilgrim Street, since thither in olden days did many weary pilgrims wend their way, seeking to come unto the Mound of Jesu on the outskirts of the town. And that same Mound of Jesu is now called by men, Jesu Mond, or shorter, Jesmond, and no longer is it the resort of pilgrims, but rather of merchants and pleasure seekers. Yet still beside the Pilgrim Street stands the Meeting-House built by those other pilgrim souls, those Quakers, whom the men of the town in scorn called 'butterflies.' And there, so far from flitting over the fells, they have continued to hold their Meetings and worship God after their own fashion within those walls for more than two hundred years.

Before ever this had come to pass, and while the Quakers of Newcastle were still without an assembling place on their own side of the river, it happened that a certain man among them, named Robert Jeckel, being nigh unto death (though as yet he knew it not), was seized with a vehement desire to behold George Fox yet once more in the flesh, since full sixteen years had gone by since his visit to the town.

Wherefore this same Robert Jeckel, hearing that his beloved friend was now again to be found at Swarthmoor, dwelling there in much seclusion, seeking to regain the strength that had been sorely wasted in long and terrible imprisonments,—this man, Robert Jeckel, would no longer be persuaded or gainsaid, but set



out at once with several others, who were like-minded and desirous to come as speedily as might be to Swarthmoor.

In good heart they set forth, but that same day, and before they had come even as far as unto Hexham, Robert Jeckel was seized with a sore sickness, whereat his friends entreated him to return the way he came to his own home and tender wife. But he refused to be dissuaded and would still press forward. At many other places by the way he was ill and suffering, yet he would not be satisfied to turn back or to stop until he should arrive at Swarthmoor. And thither after many days of sore travel he came.

The Mistress of Swarthmoor was now no longer Margaret Fell but Margaret Fox. Eight full years after the death of her honoured husband, Judge Fell, and after long waiting to be sure that the thing was from the Lord, she had been united in marriage with her beloved friend, George Fox, unto whom she was ever a most loving and dutiful wife. Therefore, when Robert Jeckel arrived with his friends before the high arched stone gateway that led into the avenue that approacheth Swarthmoor Hall, it was Mistress Fox, who, with her husband, came to meet their guests. Close behind followed her youngest daughter, Rachel Fell, the Seventh Sister of Swarthmoor Hall. She, the Judge's pet and plaything in her childhood, was now a woman grown. Seeing by Robert Jeckel's countenance that he was sorely stricken, Mistress Fox led him straight to the fair guest chamber of Swarthmoor, where she and her daughter nursed him with their wonted tenderness and skill, hoping thus, if it might be, to restore him to his home in peace. But it had been otherwise ordained, for Robert Jeckel, arriving at Swarthmoor on the second day of the fifth month that men call July, lay sick there but for nine days and then he died.

During his illness many and good words did he say, among others these: 'Though I was persuaded to stay by the way (being indisposed), before I came to this place, yet this was the place where I would have been, and the place where I should be, whether I live or die.'

George Fox, being himself, as I say, weakened by his long suffering in Worcester Gaol, was yet able to visit Robert Jeckel as he lay a-dying, and exhorted him to offer up his soul and spirit to the Lord, who gives life and breath to all and takes it again. Whereupon Robert Jeckel lifted up his hands and said, 'The Lord is worthy of it, and I have done it.' George Fox then asked him if he could say, 'Thy will, oh God, be done on earth as it is in heaven,' and he, lifting up his hands again, and looking upwards with his eyes, answered cheerfully, 'he did it.' Then, he in his turn, exhorting those about him, said: 'Dear Friends, dwell in love and unity together, and keep out of jars, strife, and contentions, and be sure to continue faithful to the end.' And speaking of his wife, he said, 'As to my wife, I give her up freely to the Lord; for she loveth the Lord and He will love her. I have often told my dear wife, as to what we have of outward things, it was the Lord's first before it was ours; and in that I desire she may serve the truth to the end of her days.'



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'In much patience the Lord did keep him, and he was in perfect sense and memory all the time of his weakness, often saying, "Dear Friends, give me up and weep not for me, for I am content with the Lord's doings." And often said that he had no pain, but gradually declined, often lifting up his hands while he had strength, praising the Lord, and made a comfortable end on the 11th day of the fifth month, 1676.'

Thus did the joyful spirit of this dear friend at last take flight for the Heavenly Country, when, as he said himself in his sickness, 'Soul separated from body, the Spirit returning to God that gave it, and the body to the earth from whence it came.' Yea, verily; his soul took flight for the Heavenly Country, happier in its escape from the worn chrysalis of his weak and weary body than any glad-winged butterfly that flitteth over the fells of his own beloved Northumberland.



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HISTORICAL NOTES

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'BUTTERFLIES IN THE FELLS.'

See 'BYGONE NORTHUMBERLAND,' by W. Andrews. 'Piety Promoted,' i. 88-90. W.C. Braithwaite's 'BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM,' p. 373. 'THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN NEWCASTLE,' by J.W. Steel.



1681

Horsleydown Monthly Meeting in London of the Religious Society of Friends advised that a [Quaker](#) ought to decline to employ “those reflecting disgusting Termes of Distinction,” the political words Whig and Tory, because such terminology might “provoke [one] Neighbour against another” (these brackets are as they appear in the original pamphlet as it was then printed).

As an example of [Quaker disownment](#), here is one that was announced in this year at the Castledermot monthly meeting:

“These are to certify to all People where this Writing may come, that whereas A.B. hath for divers years gone under the denomination of a Quaker, and yet in several things hath walked disorderly, and more especially hath been subject to the vile and notorious Sin of Drunkenness; and tho’ he hath from time to time, for the space of ten years and upwards, been very tenderly admonished, both privately and publickly, yet still he persists and is subject to be overcome by that notorious Sin, to the great Dishonour of God, his Truth and People, and to the saddening of the Hearts of the Upright, . . . we can do no less than declare against him and his evil course of Life; and hereby signify unto all the World, that we do disown him and all such unsavoury Members and actions as he is found in. And the Lord our God, in whose Presence we are knows that this is not done in any Rashness or Prejudice towards him as a man, but in very much Tenderness and Humility. – And if it shall please God so to work upon his Heart and Spirit that he be made sensible of his Sin and Transgression, and come, thro’ Judgment, unto true and unfeigned Repentance and Amendment of Life, and, in true Penitency and Brokenness of Spirit, seek Reconciliation again with the Lord and his People, we shall in the same tenderness and unfeigned Love be glad and willing to receive him, as the Father did his prodigal Son, into Favour and Fellowship again, until which time we do Deny and Disown him and his Actions, and cannot account or esteem him to be one of us.”¹⁵⁰

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

DRUNKENNESS

150. Quoted in John Rutty, TREATISE CONCERNING CHURCH DISCIPLINE (1752), pages 129-131.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

January 5: When his father the admiral (and general) had died soon after his trial, [William Penn](#), at the age of 26, had become a very rich man. He took a principal share in the liquidation of the affairs of Edward Byllinge and thereby became one of the Trustees of West New Jersey, which he settled with [Quakers](#). He subsequently purchased the neighboring settlement of East New Jersey and was granted an extensive tract of country to the west of Delaware in discharge of a crown debt of nearly £16,000 due to him as representative of his father. This was named the province of Pensilvania (so the word is spelt in the charter) at the suggestion of King Charles II, in honor not of Penn but of his recently deceased father, Admiral Sir William Penn. Penn wrote the following letter on the subject to his friend Robert Turner, a merchant of Dublin on 5th January 1681:

Dear Friend,

After many waitings, watchings, solicitings and disputes in Council, this day my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges by the name of Pennsylvania; a name the King would give it in honour of my father. I proposed New Wales Sylvania. Then, instead of Wales they added Penn to it. Though I much opposed it, and went to the King to have it struck out and altered, he said it was past, and he would take it upon him; nor could twenty guineas move the Under-Secretary to vary the name. I feared lest it should be looked upon as a vanity in me, and not respect, as it truly was, in the King to my father, whom he often mentions with praise.

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March 4: Friend [William Penn](#) had been granted a New-World charter by King Charles II of England in exchange for forgiveness of a substantial debt he owed to Admiral Sir William Penn, the father — he would become that



area of the world's [Quaker](#) Proprietor for a “Holy Experiment” in a land to be called “Pennsylvania.” This included land overlapping the New York colony as far north as Syracuse.

(Having received royal permissions, for what such things are worth, the usual storyline has it that Penn immediately would solicit the permission and cooperation of the actual owners and occupants of this land!)





Oh, all right, it's a story. We all know that stories have to be simpler than what actually happens.



“Treaties” seems to me to be very much too strong and specific a term to mobilize in the originary [William Penn](#) context. “Meetings,” certainly, and “dialogs,” and “interactions,” and “consultations” — but the deployment of such a term as “treaties” would seem to necessitate that there had been a formal record made of a specific agreement which had been entered into, and there does not seem to be any claim made at that time that at any time there was placed on the record any such formal and specific record, or agreement. I very much honor the manner in which Penn approached the race-interaction problem, but the meaning of this interracial interaction should not be exaggerated by the utilization of such tropes from a general Western diplomacy context as “treaties.” It is a very interesting task, to follow the representation of the meeting with headman Tamanend under the tree, as found in all the various Hicks paintings of the Peaceable Kingdom, back in time and discover elements of its staging and composition in a previous engraving of a previous painting, and then



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discover the identities of various of the figures in this painting, as above — and discover that a number of the persons depicted as being present were demonstrably not so much as on this continent at the time in question.

A much more egregious problem comes when white people presume, as they very commonly did and still do, that because there was such an interaction on record between a visiting white man and various local personages, and because in a later period white people could be observed on the landscape and not red people, therefore a fully qualified land sale must have taken place. It is as if someone had come to your house for a party, bringing a bottle of wine and a hostess gift and weapons — and then afterward used that attendance as obvious proof that you had sold your home to them in exchange for that bottle of wine and hostess gift which had gotten you admitted to their house party. —It never does any good to object “But my home wasn’t on the real estate market” or “I thought that was just a pleasant social call” or “Is it not prudent for one to be quite tactful and agreeable and sociable when someone comes around to your home to visit with you, and that someone is packing a weapon?”

On the basis of his contact first with Jews in England, and then with these natives of the American forest, Friend [William Penn](#) would hypothesize that the American Indians were perhaps the Lost Tribes of Israel: “A man would think himself in Dukes Place or Bury Street in London, where he seeth them.” Native American faces looked to him like the faces of Jews — and their languages sounded a lot to him like Hebrew. Does that mean that Penn became a self-entitling American Exceptionalist? —Well, not necessarily, as there’s no record that he took this line of thought in any reprehensible direction.

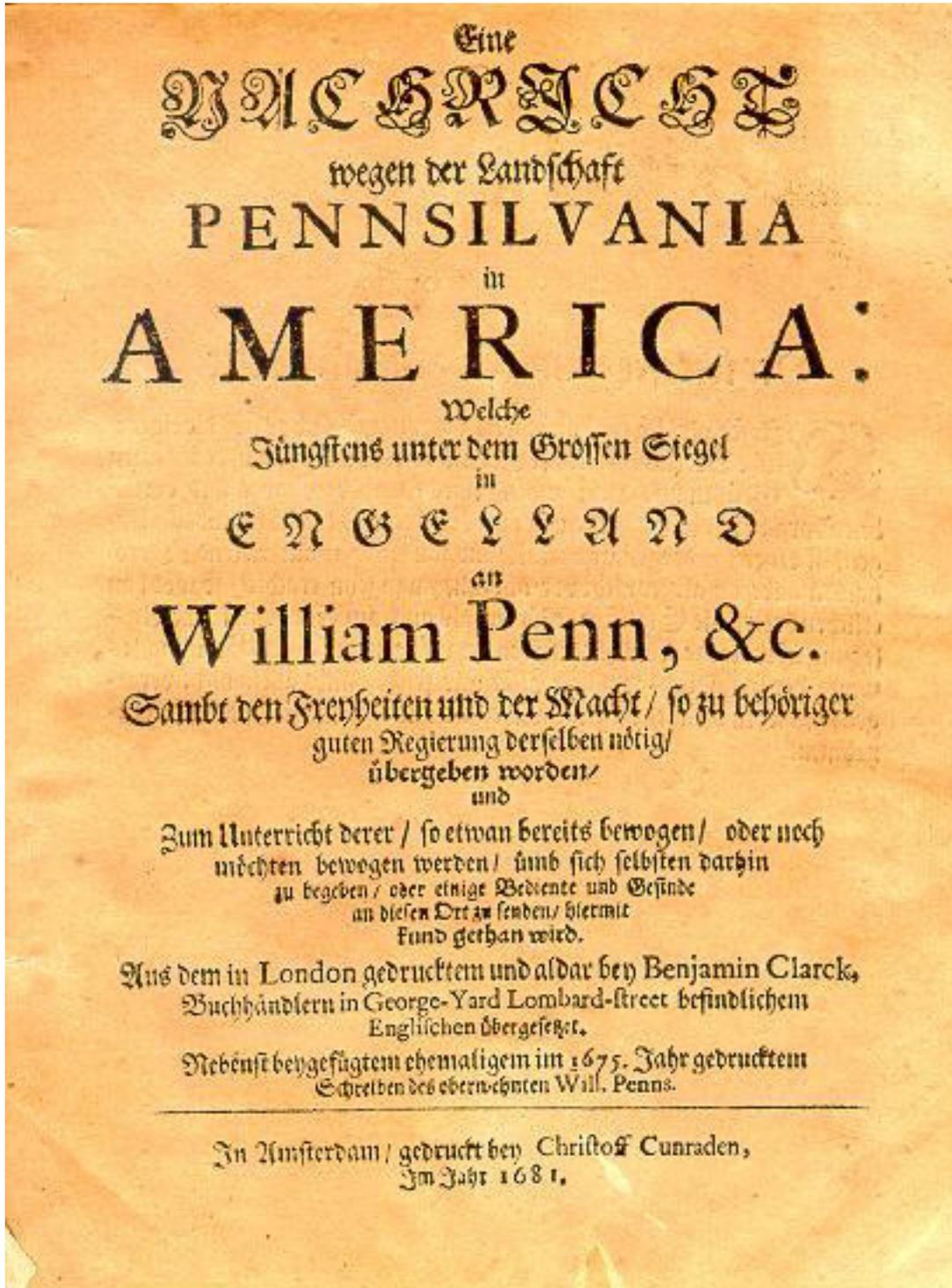
Penn demonstrably did recommend that in the clearing of the woodlands of his Pennsylvania, “care be taken to leave one acre of trees for every five acres cleared.” But does that mean he was ecologically conscious? Not necessarily. It may merely have indicated that he was aware of the continuing value of woodlots as a source for domestic fuel.



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During this year, Proprietor Penn was trying to recruit colonists:





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**SOME ACCOUNT
OF
THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN AMERICA;**

**Lately Granted under the
Great Seal Of ENGLAND
To William Penn, &c.**

**Together with the Privileges and Powers
necessary to the well-governing thereof.**

**Made Public for the Information of such as
are or may be disposed to Transport
themselves or Servants into those Parts.**

**LONDON: Printed, and Sold by Benjamin Clark,
Bookseller in George Yard, Lombard Street, 1681.**



William Penn's Invitation

Since (by the good providence of God) a Country in America is fallen to my lot, I thought it not less my duty than my honest Interest to give some public notice of it to the World, that those of our own, or other Nations, that are inclined to Transport themselves or Families beyond the Seas, may find another Country added to their choice, that if they shall happen to like the Place, Conditions and Constitutions, (so far as the present Infancy of things will allow us any prospect) they may, if they please, fix with me in the Province hereafter described. But before I come to treat of my particular Concernment, I shall take leave to say something of the benefit of Plantations or Colonies in general, to obviate a common Objection.

Colonies then are the Seeds of Nations begun and nourished by the care of wise and populous Countries; as conceiving them best for the increase of Human Stock, and beneficial for Commerce.

Some of the wisest men in History have justly taken their Fame from this Design and Service: We read of the Reputation given on this account to Moses, Joshua and Caleb in Scripture Records; and what Renown the Greek story yields to Lycurgus, Theseus, and those Greeks that Planted many parts of Asia: Nor is the Roman account wanting of instances to the Credit of that people; They had a Romulus, a Numa Pompilius; and not only reduced, but moralized the Manners of the Nations they subjected; so that they may have been rather said to conquer their Barbarity than Them.

Nor did any of these ever dream it was the way of decreasing their People or Wealth: For the Cause of the decay of any of those States or Empires was not their Plantations, but their Luxury and corruption of Manners: For when they grew to neglect their ancient Discipline, that maintained and rewarded Virtue and Industry, and addicted themselves to Pleasure and Effeminacy, they debased their Spirits and debauched their Morals, from whence Ruin did never fail to follow any People: With Justice therefore I deny the vulgar Opinion against Plantations, That they weaken England; they have manifestly enriched, and so strengthened her; Which I briefly evidence thus.

1st. Those that go into a Foreign Plantation, their Industry their is worth more than if they stayed at home, the Product of their Labor being in Commodities of a superior Nature to those of this Country. For Instance; hat is an improved Acre in Jamaica or Barbados worth to an improved Acre in England? We know 'tis three times the value, and the product of it comes for England, and is usually paid for in English Growth and Manufacture. Nay, Virginia shows that an ordinary Industry in one man produces



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Three thousand pound weight of Tobacco and Twenty Barrels of Corn yearly: He feeds himself, and brings as much of Commodity into England besides as being returned in the Growth and Workmanship of this Country, is much more than he could have spent here: Let it also be remembered, that the Three thousand weight of Tobacco brings in Three thousand Two pences by way of Custom to the King, which makes Twenty-five Pounds; An extraordinary Profit.

2nd. More being produced and imported than we can spend here, we Export it to other Countries in Europe, which brings in Money, or the Growth of those Countries, which is the same thing; and this is the Advantage of English Merchants and Seamen.

3rd. Such as could not only marry here, but hardly live and allow themselves Clothes, do marry there, and bestow thrice more in all Necessaries and Conveniences (and not a little in Ornamental things too) for themselves, their Wives and Children, both as Apparel and Household stuff; which coming out of England, I say 'tis impossible that England should not be a considerable Gainer.

4th. But let it be considered, That the Plantations employ many hundreds of Shipping, and many thousands of Seamen; which must be in diverse respects and Advantage to England, being an Island, and by nature fitted for Navigation above any Country in Europe. This is followed by other depending Trades, as Shipwrights, Carpenters, Sawyers, Hewers, Trunnel Makers, Joiners, Slopfellers, Dry salters, Iron workers, the Eastland Merchants, Timber fellers, Victuallers, with many more trades which hang upon Navigation: So that we may easily see the Objection (That Colonies or Plantations hurt England) is at least of no strength, especially if we consider how many thousands Blacks and Indians are also accommodated with Clothes and many sorts of Tools and Utensils from England, and their Labor is mostly brought hither, which adds Wealth and People to the English Dominions. But 'tis further said, They injure England, in that they draw away too many of the people; for we are not so populous a country as formerly: I say there are other reasons for that. (PENN was writing after the Bubonic Plague of 1660s and the English Civil Wars).

1st. Country People are so extremely addicted to put their Children into Gentlemens Service, or send them to Towns to learn Trades, that Husbandry is neglected; and after a soft and delicate Usage there, they are for ever unfitted for the Labor of a Farming Life.

2nd. The Pride of the Age in its Attendance and Retinue is so gross and universal, that where a man of 1000 Pounds a year formerly kept but four or five Servants, he now keeps more than twice the number; He must have a Gentleman to wait upon him in his Chambers, a Coach man, a Groom or two, a Butler, a Man Cook,



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a Gardner, two or three Lackeys, it may be a Huntsman, and a Faulkner, the Wife of a Gentlewoman and Maids accordingly: This was not known by our Ancestors or like Quality. This hinders the Plough and the Dairy, from whence they are taken, and instead of keeping People to Manly Labor, they are effeminated by a lazy and luxurious Living; But, which is worse, these people rarely marry; though many of them do worse; but if they do, 'tis when they are in Age; And the reason is clear, because their usual keeping at their Master's is too great and costly for them with a Family at their own Charge, and they scarcely know how to live lower; so that too many of them choose rather to vent their Lusts at an evil Ordinary than honestly Marry and Work; The excess and sloth of the Age not allowing Marriage and the Charge that follows; all which hinders the increase of our People. If Men, they often turn either Soldiers, or Gamesters (gamblers), or Highwaymen (robbers). If Women, they too frequently dress themselves for a bad market, rather than know the Dairy again, or honestly return to Labor, whereby it happens that both the Stock of the Nation Decays and the Issue is corrupted.

3rd. Of old time the Nobility and Gentry spent their Estates in the Country, and that kept the people in it; and their Servants married and sate at easy Rents under their Masters' favor, which peopled the place: Now the Great men (too much loving the Town and resorting to London) draw many people thither to attend them, who either don't marry; or if they do, they pine away their small gains in some petty Shop; for there are so many, they prey upon one another.

4th. The Country being thus neglected, and no due Balance kept between Trade and Husbandry, City and Country, the poor Country man takes double Toil, and cannot (for want of hands) dress and manure his land to the Advantage it formerly yielded him, yet must he pay the old Rents, which occasions Servants, and such Children as go not to Trades, to continue single, at least all their youthful time, which also obstructs the increase of out people.

5th. The decay of some Country manufacturers (where no Provision is made to supply the people with a new way of living) causes the more Industrious to go abroad to seek their Bread in other Countries and gives the lazy an occasion to loiter and beg or do worse, by which means the Land swarms with Beggars: Formerly 'twas rare to find any asking Alms, but the Maimed, or Blind, or very Aged; now thousands of both Sexes run up and down, both City and Country, that are sound and youthful, and able to work, with false Pretenses and Certificates; nor is there any care taken to employ or deter such Vagrants, which weakens the Country, as to People and Labor.

To which let me add, that the great Debauchery in this Kingdom has not only rendered many unfruitful when married, but they live not out half their time, through Excess, which might be



prevented by a vigorous execution of our good Laws against corruption of manners. These and the like Evils are the true grounds of the decay of our People in the Country, to say nothing of Plagues and Wars: Towns and Cities cannot complain of the decay of People, being more replentified than ever, especially, London, which with reason helps the Country man to this objection. And though some do go to the Plantations, yet numbering the Parishes in England, and computing how many live more than die, and are born than buried, there goes not over to all the Plantations a fourth part of the yearly increase of the People. And when they are there, they are not (as I said before) soft to England, since they furnish them with much Cloths, Household stuff, Tools, and the like necessaries and that in greater quantities than here their condition could have needed, or they could have bought, being there well to pass, that were but low here, if not poor; and now Masters of Families too, when here they had none, and could hardly keep themselves; and very often it happens that some of them, after their Industry and Success there have made them wealthy, they return and empty their Riches into England; one in this capacity being able to buy out twenty of what he was when he went over.

Thus much to justify the Credit and Benefit of Plantations; wherein I have not sought to speak my interest, but my Judgment; and I dare venture the success of it with all sober and considering men. I shall now proceed to give some account of my own concern.

1st. I shall say what may be necessary of the Place or Province.

2nd. Touch upon the Constitutions.

3rd. Lay down the Conditions.

4th. Give my sense what persons will be fit to go.

5th. What Utensils, Furniture, and Commodities are fit to carry with them, with the charge of the voyage, and what is first to be done and expected there for some time.

And Lastly, I shall give an Abstract of the Grant by Letter Patents under the Great Seal of England, that an account may be given of the Estate and Power granted to me thereby.

I. Something of the Place

The place lies 600 miles nearer the Sun than England; for England being the 50th degree and ten minutes of North Latitude, and this Place begins at Forty, which is about the Latitude of Naples in Italy, or Mompellier in France. I shall say little in its praise, to excite desires in any, whatever I could truly write as to the Soil, Air and Water: This shall satisfy me, that by the Blessing of God, and the honesty and industry of Man, it may be



a good and fruitful Land.

For Navigation it is said to have two conveniences; the one by lying ninescore (180) miles upon the Delaware River; that is to say, about three score and ten (70) miles, before we come to the Falls, where a Vessel of Two Hundred Tons may Sail, (and some Creeks and small Harbors in that Distance, where ships may come nearer than the River into the Country) and above the Falls, for Sloops and Boats, as I am informed, to the extent of the Patent. The other convenience is through Chesapeake Bay.

For Timber and other Wood there is a variety for the use of man. For Fowl, Fish and Wild Deer, they are reported to be plentiful in those Parts. Our English Provision is likewise now to be had there at reasonable Rates. The Commodities that the Country is thought to be capable of, are Silk, Flax, Hemp, Wine, Cider, Wood, Madder, Liquorices, Tobacco, Potash, and Iron, and it does actually produce Hides, Tallow, Pipe Staves, Beef, Pork, Sheep, Wool, Corn, as Wheat, Barley, Rye, and also Furs, as your Peltree, Minks, Raccoons, Martins, and such like; store Furs which is to be found among the Indians, that are profitable Commodities in Europe.

The way of trading in those Countries is thus: they send to the Southern Plantations Corn, Beef, Pork, Fish and Pipe Staves, and take their Growth and bring for England, and return with English Goods to their own Country.

Their Furs, they bring for England, and either sell them here, or carry them out again to other parts of Europe where they will yield a better price: And for those that will follow the Merchandise and Navigation there is conveniency, and Timber sufficient for Shipping.

II. The Constitutions

For the Constitution of the Country, the Patent shows, first, That the People and Governor have a Legislative Power, so that no Law can be made or Money raised, but by the People's consent.

2nd. That the Rights and Freedoms of England (the best and largest in Europe) shall be in force there.

3rd. That no Law against Allegiance (which should we, it were by the Law of England void of itself that moment) we may Enact what Laws we please for the good prosperity and security of the said Province.

4th. That so soon as any are engaged with me, we shall begin a Scheme or Draft together, such as shall give ample testimony of my sincerer Inclinations to encourage Planters, and settle a free, just and Industrious Colony there.



III. The Conditions.

My conditions will relate to three sorts of people: 1st. Those that will buy: 2nd. Those that take up Land upon Rent: 3rd. Servants. To the first, the Shares I sell shall be certain as to the number of Acres, free from any Indian encumbrance, the price of a hundred pounds, and for the Quit rent but one English shilling or the value of it yearly for a hundred Acres; and the said Quit Rent not to be paid until 1684. To the second sort, that take up Land upon Rent, they shall have liberty so to do paying yearly one penny per Acre, not exceeding Two hundred Acres. To the third sort, to wit, Servants that are carried over, Fifty Acres shall be allowed to the Master for every Head, and Fifty Acres to every Servant when their time is expired. And because some engage with me that may not be disposed to go, it were very advisable for every three Adventurers to send an Overseer with their Servants, which would well pay the Cost.

The Dividend may be thus; if the persons concerned please, a Tract of Land shall be surveyed; say Fifty thousand Acres to a hundred Adventurers; in which some of the best shall be set out for Towns or Cities; and there shall be so much Ground allotted to each in those Towns as may maintain some Cattle and produce some Corn; then the remainder of the Fifty thousand Acres shall be shared among the said Adventurers (casting up the Barrens for Commons, and allowing for the Same) whereby every Adventurer will have a considerable quantity of Land together; likewise everyone a proportion by a Navigable River, and then backward into the Country. The manner of Dividend I shall not be strict in; we can but speak roughly of the matter here; but let men skillful in Plantations be consulted, and I shall leave it to the majority of votes among the Adventurers when it shall please God we come there, how to fix it to their own content.

IV. These persons that providence seems to have most fitted for Plantations are,

1st. Industrious Husbandmen and Day Laborers, that are hardly able (with extreme Labor) to maintain their Families and portion their Children.

2nd. Laborious Handicrafts, especially Carpenters, Masons, Smiths, Weavers, Taylors, Shoemakers, Shipwrights, &c. where they may be spared or are low in the World: And as they shall want no encouragement, so their Labor is worth more there than here, and there provision cheaper.

3rd. A Plantation seems a fit place for those Ingenuous Spirits that being low in the World, are much clogged and oppressed about a Livelihood, for the means of subsisting being easy there, they may have time and opportunity to gratify their inclinations, and thereby improve Science and help Nurseries of people.



4th. A fourth sort of men to whom a Plantation would be proper, takes in those that are younger Brothers of Small Inheritances; yet because they would live in site of their Kindred in some proportion to their Quality, and can't do it without a labor that looks like Farming, their condition is too straight for them; and if they married, their Children are often too numerous for the Estate, and are frequently bred up to no Trades, but are a kind of Hangers on or Retainers to the elder Brothers Table and Charity: which is a mischief, as in itself to be lamented, so here to be remedied; For Land they have for next to nothing, which with moderate Labor produces plenty of all things necessary for Life, and such an increase as by Traffic may supply them with all conveniences.

Lastly, There are another sort of Persons, not only fit for, but necessary in plantations, and that is Men of universal Spirits, that have an eye to the Good of Posterity, and that both understand and delight to promote Good Discipline and just Government among a plain and well intending people; such persons may find Room in Colonies for their good Counsel and Contrivance, who are shut out from being of much use or service to the great Nations under settled Customs: These men deserve much esteem, and would be hearkened to. Doubtless twas this (as I observed before) that put some of the famous Greeks and Romans upon Transplanting and Regulating Colonies of People in diverse parts of the World; whole Names, for giving so great proof of their Wisdom, Virtue, Labor, and Constancy, are with Justice honorably delivered down by story to the praise of our own times; though the World, after all its higher pretences of Religion, barbarously errs from their excellent Example.

V. The Journey and its Appurtenances, and what is to be done there at first coming.

Next let us see, What is fit for the Journey and Place, when there, and also what may be the Charge of the Voyage, and what is to be expected and done there at first. That such as incline to go, may not be to seek here, or brought under any disappointments there. The Goods fit to take with them for use, or sell for profit; are all sorts of Apparel and Utensils for Husbandry and Building and Household Stuff. And because I know how much people are apt to fancy things beyond what they are, and that Imaginations are great flatterers of the minds of Men; To the end that none may delude themselves, with an expectation of Immediate Amendment of their conditions, so soon as it shall please God they Arrive there; I would have them understand, That they must look for a Winter before Summer comes, and they must be willing to be two or three years without some of the conveniences they enjoy at home; And yet I must needs say that America is another thing than it was at the first Plantation of Virginia and New England: For there is better Accomodation, and English Provisions are to be had at easier rates: However, I am inclined to set down particulars, as near as those inform me,



that know the Place, and have been Planters both in that and in Neighboring Colonies.

1st. The passage will come for Masters and Mistresses at most to 6 Pounds a Head, for Servants Five Pounds a Head, and for Children under Seven Years of Age Fifty Shillings, except they Suck, then nothing.

Next being by the mercy of God, safely arrived in September or October, two Men may clear as much Ground by Spring (when they set the Corn of that Country) as will bring in that time twelve month Forty Barrels, which amounts to Two Hundred bushels, which makes Twenty Five quarters of Corn, So that the first year they must buy Corn, which is usually very plentiful. They may so soon as they come, buy Cows, more or less, as they want, or are able, which are to be had at easy rates. For Swine, they are plentiful and cheap; these will quickly Increase to a Stock. So that after the first year, what with the Poorer sort, sometimes laboring to others, and the more able Fishing, Fowling, and sometime Buying; They may do very well, till their own Stocks are sufficient to supply them, and their Families, which will quickly be and to spare, if they follow the English Husbandry, as they do in New England, and New York; and get Winter Fodder for their Stock

VI. and Lastly, An Abstract of the

P A T E N T
GRANTED BY THE
K I N G
To William Penn, &c.
The Fourth of March, 1681

I. We do Give and Grant (upon diverse considerations) to William Penn his Heirs and assigns for ever all that Tract of Land in America with all Islands thereunto belonging That is to say from the beginning of the fortieth degree of North Latitude unto the forty third Degree of North Latitude whose Eastern bounds from twelve English miles above Newcastle (alias Delaware Town) runs all along upon the side of Delaware River.

II. Free and undisturbed use and passage into and out of all Harbors Bays Waters Rivers Isles and Inlets belonging to or leading to the same Together with the Soil Fields Woods Underwoods Mountains Hills Fenns Isles Lakes Rivers Waters Rivulets Bays and Inlets Situate in or belonging unto the Limits and Bounds aforesaid. Together with all sorts of Fish Mines Metals, &c. To have and to hold to only the behoof of the said William Penn his Heirs and Assigns for ever To be holden of us as of our Castle of Windsor in free and common soccage paying only two Beaver Skins yearly.



III. And of our further Grace we have thought it fit to erect and we do hereby erect the aforesaid Country and Islands into a Province and Seigniorie and do call it Pennsylvania and so from henceforth we will have it called.

IV. That reposing special confidence in the wisdom and justice of the said William Penn we do grant to him and his Heirs and their Deputies for the good and happy Government thereof to ordain and enact and under his and their Seals to publish any Laws whatever for the public uses of the said Province by and with the device and Approbation of the Freeholders of the said Country or their delegates so as they be not repugnant to the Law of this Realm and to the Faith and Allegiance due unto us by the legal Government thereof.

V. Full power to the said William Penn, &c. to appoint Judges Lieutenants Justices Magistrates and Officers for what causes soever and with what Power and in such Form as to him seems convenient Also to be able to Pardon and Abolish Crimes and Offenses and to do all and every other thing that to the complete Establishment of Justice unto Courts and Tribunals forms of Judicature and manner of proceedings do belong And our pleasure is and so we enjoin and require that such Laws and Proceedings be most Absolute and advisable in Law and that all the Liege People of us our Heirs and Successors inviolably keep the same in those parts saving to us final appeals.

VI. That the Laws for regulating Property as well as for the descent of Lands as enjoyment of Goods and Chattels and likewise as to Felonies shall be the same there as here in England until they shall be altered by the said William Penn his Heirs and Assigns and by the Freemen of the said Province or their Delegates or Deputies or the greater part of them.

VII. Furthermore that this new Colony may the more happily increase by the multitude of People resorting thither therefore we for us our Heirs and Successors do Hereby grant License to all the liege People present and future of us, &c. (excepting such as shall be especially forbidden) to Transport themselves and Families into the said Country there to Inhabit and Plant for the public and their private good.

VIII. Liberty to Transport what Goods or Commodities are not forbidden paying here the legal Customs due to us, &c.

IX. Power to divide the Country into Counties hundreds and towns to Incorporate Towns into Boroughs and Boroughs into Cities to make Fairs and Markets with convenient Privileges according to the merit of the Inhabitants or the fitness of the place and to do all other thing or things touching the premises which to the said William Penn his Heirs and Assigns shall seem Meet and requisite albeit they be such as of their nature might otherwise require a more special commandment and warrant then in these



presents is expressed.

X. Liberty to Import the Growth or Manufactures of that Province into England paying here the legal duty.

XI. Power to erect Ports Harbors Creeks Havens Keys and other places for Merchandise with such Jurisdictions and Privileges as to the said William Penn, &c. shall seem expedient.

XII. Not to break the Acts of Navigation neither Governor nor Inhabitants upon the penalties contained in the said Acts.

XIII. Not to be in League with any Prince or Country that is in War against us our Heirs and Successors.

XIV. Power of Safety and defense in such way and manner as to the said William Penn, &c. seems meet.

XV. Full power to Assign Alien Grant Demise or ENFEOFF (in fief) (of the premises so many and such parts and parcels to those that are willing to purchase the same as the said William Penn thinks fit to have and to hold to them the said Persons their Heirs or Successors in fee Simple or fee Tail or for Term of Life or Lives or years to be held of the law William Penn, &c. as of the said Seigniory of Windsor by such services Customs and Rents as shall seem fit to the said William Penn his Heirs and Assigns and not immediately of us our Heirs or Successors and that the said Persons may take the premises or any Parcel thereof of the said William Penn, &c. and the same hold to themselves their Heirs and Assigns the Statute OUIA EMPTORES TERRARUM in any wise notwithstanding.

XVI. We give and grant License to any of those Persons to whom the said William Penn, &c. has granted any Estate of Inheritance as aforesaid with the consent of the said William Penn to erect any parcel of Lands within the said Province into Mannors to hold Courts Baron and view of Frank, pledge, &c. by Themselves or Stewards.

XVII. Power to those Persons to Grant to others the same Tenures in fee Simple or otherwise to be held of the said Mannors respectively and upon all further Alienations the Land to be held of the Manner that it held of or before Alienation.

XVIII. We do covenant and Grant to and with the said William Penn his Heirs and Assigns that we will not set or make any Custom or other Taxation upon the Inhabitants of the said Province upon Lands Houses Goods Chattels or Merchandise except with the consent of the Inhabitants and the Governor.

XIX. A charge that no Officers nor Ministers of us our Heirs and Successors do presume at any time to attempt any thing to the contrary of the premises or in any sort withstand the same but



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that they be at all times aiding to the said William Penn and his Heirs and Assigns in the full use and benefit of this our Charter.

XX. And if any doubts or questions shall hereafter arise about the true sense or meaning of any Word Clause or Sentence contained in this our Charter We will ordain and Command that at all times and in all things such Interpretation be made thereof and allowed in any of our Courts whatsoever as shall be adjudged most advantageous and favorable unto the said William Penn his Heirs and Assigns so as it be not against the Faith and Allegiance due to us our Heir and Successors.

In witness whereof we have caused our Letters to be made Patents. Witness our self at Westminster, &c.

To conclude, I desire all my dear Country Folk, who may be inclined to go into those Parts, top consider seriously the premises, as well as the present inconveniences, as future ease and Plenty, that so none may move rashly or from a fickle but solid mind, having above all things, and Eye to the providence of God, in the disposal of themselves. And I would further advise all such at least, to have the permission, if not the good liking of their near relations, for that is both Natural and a Duty Incumbent upon all; and by this means will natural affection be preserved, and a friendly and profitable correspondence be maintained between them. In all which I beseech Almighty God to direct us, that his blessing may attend our honest endeavor, and then the Consequence of all our undertaking will turn to the Glory of his great Name, and the true happiness of us and our Posterity. Amen

WILLIAM PENN

POSTSCRIPT,

Whoever are desirous to be concerned with Me in this Province, they may be treated with and further Satisfied, at Philip Fords in Bow Lane in Cheapside, and at Thomas Rudyards or Benjamin Clarks in George Yard in Lumbard Street.

October 18: [Friend William Penn](#)'s "Letter to the Delaware Indians":

London, 18 October 1681

My Friends,

There is one great God and power that has made the world and all things therein, to whom you and I and all people owe their being and well-being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we do in this world. This great God has written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love and help and do good to one another, and not to do harm and mischief one unto another. Now this great God has been pleased to make me concerned in your parts of the world, and the king of the country where I live has given unto me a



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

great province therein, but I desire to enjoy it with your friends, else what would the great God say to us, who has made us not to devour and destroy one another, but live soberly and kindly together in the world.

Now I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice that has been too much exercised towards you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves, and to make great advantages by you, rather than be examples of justice and goodness unto you; which I hear has been matter of trouble to you and caused great grudgings and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood, which has made the great god angry. But I am not such man as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard toward you, and I desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind just, and peaceable life; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly. And if in anything any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same by an equal number of honest men on both sides, that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them.

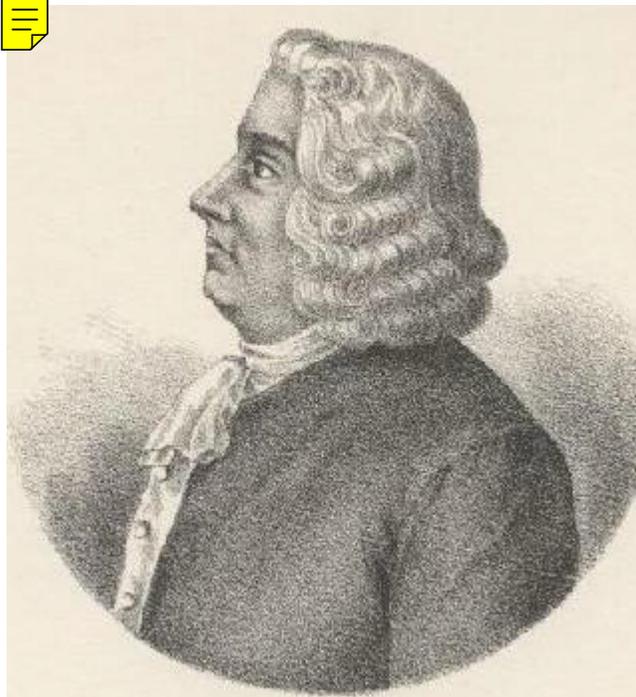
I shall shortly come to you myself, at what time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters. In the meantime, I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them and the people, and receive these presents and tokens which I have sent to you as a testimony of my good will to you and my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you. I am your friend.

Wm. Penn

1682

[Friend William Penn](#)'s "Fundamental Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania" provided for a public universal compulsory school system based upon [Quaker](#) values: "all persons having children shall cause such to be instructed in reading and writing, so that they may be able to read the Scriptures and to write by the time they attain to twelve years of age and that they then be taught some useful trade or skill."

QUAKER EDUCATION





Friend [George Fox](#), who had for some time been lobbying the Parliament for better treatment of the Quakers as “no plotters,” and Friend [William Penn](#), sought opportunities to demonstrate the political innocence of our worship meetings.

George Fox

Sufferings continuing severe upon Friends at London, I found my service lay mostly there; wherefore I went but little out of town, and not far; being frequent at the most public meetings, to encourage Friends, both by word and example, to stand fast in the testimony to which God had called them.

At other times I went about from house to house, visiting Friends that had their goods taken away for their testimony to Truth; because the wicked informers were grown very audacious, by reason that they had too much countenance and encouragement from some justices, who trusting wholly to their information, proceeded against Friends without hearing them; whereby many were made to suffer, not only contrary to right, but even contrary to law also.

Now I had some inclination to go into the country to a meeting, but hearing that there would be a bustle at our meetings, and feeling a great disquietness in people's spirits in the city about choosing sheriffs, it was upon me to stay in the city, and go to the meeting in Gracechurch street upon the first day of the week. William Penn went with me, and spoke; and while he was declaring the Truth to the people, a constable came in with his great staff, and bade him give over, and come down; but he continued, declaring Truth in the power of God.

After a while the constable drew back, and when William Penn had done, I stood up, and declared to the people the everlasting gospel, which was preached in the apostles' days, and to Abraham; and which the Church in the apostles' days received, and came to be heirs of.

** As I was thus speaking, two constables came in with their great staves, and bade me give over speaking, and come down; but, feeling the power of the Lord with me, I spoke on therein, both to the constables and to the people. To the constables I declared that we were a peaceable people, who meet to wait upon God, and worship Him in spirit and in truth; and therefore they needed not to come with their staves amongst us, who were met in a peaceable manner, desiring and seeking the good and salvation of all people.*

Then turning my speech to the people again, I declared what further was upon me to them; and while I was speaking, the constables drew out towards the door; and the soldiers stood with their muskets in the yard.

FOX'S JOURNAL:



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When I had done speaking, I kneeled down and prayed, desiring the Lord to open the eyes and hearts of all people, both high and low, that their minds might be turned to God by His Holy Spirit; that He might be glorified in all and over all. After prayer the meeting rose, and Friends passed away; the constables being come in again, but without the soldiers; and indeed, both they and the soldiers carried themselves civilly.

William Penn and I went into a room hard by, as we used to do, and many Friends went with us, and lest the constables should think we would shun them, a Friend went down and told them that if they would have anything with us, they might come where we were, if they pleased.

On First-day it was upon me to go to Devonshire-House meeting in the afternoon; and because I had heard Friends were kept out there that morning (as they were that day at most meetings about the city), I went sooner, and got into the yard before the soldiers came to guard the passages. But the constables were there before me, and stood in the doorway with their staves.

I asked them to let me go in. They said they could not, durst not; for they were commanded the contrary, and were sorry for it.

I told them I would not press upon them; so I stood by, and they were very civil.

I stood till I was weary, and then one gave me a stool to sit down on; and after a while the power of the Lord began to spring up among Friends, and one began to speak.

The constables soon forbade him, and said he should not speak; and he not stopping, they began to be wroth. But I gently laid my hand upon one of the constables, and wished him to let the Friend alone. The constable did so, and was quiet; and the man did not speak long. After he had done, I was moved to stand up and speak.

I then sat down; and after a while I was moved to pray. The power of the Lord was over all; and the people, the constables and soldiers put off their hats.

When the meeting was done, and Friends began to pass away, the constable put off his hat, and desired the Lord to bless us; for the power of the Lord was over him and the people, and kept them under.

FOX'S JOURNAL



COME-TO-GOOD

'Flowers are the little faces of God.'—(A saying of some little children.)

'To the soul that feeds on the bread of life the outward conventions of religion are no longer needful. Hid with Christ in God there is for him small place for outward rites, for all experience is a holy baptism, a perpetual supper with the Lord, and all life a sacrifice holy and acceptable unto God.'

'This hidden life, this inward vision, this immediate and intimate union between the soul and God, this, as revealed in Jesus Christ, is the basis of the Quaker faith.'—J.W. ROWNTREE.

'Here the pure mind is known, and the pure God is waited upon for wisdom from above; and the peace, which hath no end, is enjoyed.... And the Light of God that calls your minds out of the creatures, turns them to God, to an endless being, joy and peace: here is a seeing God always present.... So fare you well! And God Almighty bless, guide and keep you all in His wisdom.'—GEORGE FOX.



COME-TO-GOOD

One more Meeting-house to visit; the last and the smallest of all. A Meeting-house with no story, except the story in its name. "Come-to-Good!" boys and girls from other counties will exclaim perhaps, 'whoever heard of such a place? Why did people not call it "Come-to-Harm," or "Ne'er-do-Weel," while they were about it?'

Cornish boys and girls know better. They will explain that in their far Western corner of England there has always been an idea, and a very good idea it is, that a name should really describe the place to which it belongs, and should tell the hearer something about its character. Thus it comes to pass that on one tidal river a certain creek, covered with salt sea-water at high tide, but showing only an expanse of muddy flats at low water, is called 'Cockles' Peep Out.' Another creek, near by, is known as 'Frenchman's Pill,' because some French prisoners were sent there for safety during the Napoleonic Wars. Then, too, a busy sea-port was once called 'Penny Come Quick,' with good reason; and another out-of-the-way place 'Hard to Come By,' which explains itself. Most romantic of all, the valley where King Charles's army lost a battle long ago is still known as 'Fine and Brave.' There, the country people say, headless ghosts of defeated Cavaliers may still be seen on moonlight nights riding up and down, carrying their own plumed-hatted heads under their arms. All over the county these story places are to be found. The more odd a Cornish name sounds at the first hearing, the more apt it will often prove, when the reason for it is understood.

Thus it is not strange that a lonely, shut-in valley, folded away between two steep hills, should be known as 'Come-to-Good,' since, for more than two centuries, men and women, and little children also, have 'Come to Good' in that remote and hidden place. There, surrounded by sheltering trees, stands the little old Meeting-house. Its high thatched roof projects, like a bushy eyebrow, over the low white walls and thick white buttresses, shading the three narrow casement windows of pale-green glass with their diamond lattice panes. The windows are almost hidden by the roof; the roof is almost hidden by the trees; and the trees are almost hidden by the hills that rise above them. Therefore the pilgrim always comes upon the Meeting-house with a certain sense of surprise, so carefully is it concealed;—like a most secret and precious thought.

The bare Cornish uplands and wide moors have a trick of hiding away these rich, fertile valleys, that have given rise to the proverb: 'Cornwall is a lady, whose beauty is seen in her wrinkles.' Yet, hidden away as it is, 'Come-to-Good' has drawn people to it for centuries. In all the country round, for generations past, one Sunday in August has been known as 'Come-to-Good Sunday,' because, on that day, the Friends assemble from three or four distant towns to hold their meeting there. And not



the Friends only. No bell has ever broken the stillness of that peaceful valley, yet for miles round, on a 'Meeting Sunday,' the lanes are full of small groups of people: parents and children; farm lads and lasses; thoughtful-faced men, who admit that 'they never go anywhere else'; shy lovers lingering behind, or whole families walking together. All are to be seen on their way to refresh their souls with the hour of quiet worship in the snowy white Meeting-house under its thatched roof.

Many years ago, little Lois (whom you read about at the beginning of this book) was taken to Come-to-Good for the first time on such a Sunday, by her Grandmother. Even now, whenever she goes there, she still seems to see that dear Grandmother's tall, erect figure, in its flowing black silk mantle and Quaker bonnet, walking with stately steps up the path in front; or stooping for once—she who never stooped!—to enter the little low door. People who did not know her well, and even some who did, occasionally felt Lois' 'dear Grandmamma' rather a formidable old lady. They said she was 'severe' and 'alarmingly dignified,' and 'she says straight out just exactly what she thinks.' Certainly, she was not one of the spoiling, indulgent, eiderdown-silk-cushion kind of Grannies that some children have now; but Lois loved her with all her heart and was never really afraid of her. What stories she could tell! What wonderful stockings full of treasures Santa Claus brought down her chimneys on Christmas Eve to the happy grandchild staying with her! Lois loved to sit beside her 'dear Grandmamma,' and to watch her in her corner by the fire, upright as ever, knitting. Even on the long drive to Come-to-Good, the feeling of her smooth, calm hand had soothed the restless little fingers held in it so firmly and gently. The drive over, Lois wondered what would happen to her in the strange Meeting-house when she might not sit by that dear Grandmother's side any longer, since she, of course, would have to be up in the Ministers' gallery, with all the other 'Weighty Friends.' But, at Come-to-Good, things always turn out right. Lois found, to her delight, that she and the other boys and girls were to be allowed to creep, very quietly, up the twisty wooden stairs at the far end of the Meeting-house, and to make their way up into the 'loft' where four or five low forms had been specially placed for them. Lois loved to find herself sitting there. She felt like a little white pigeon, high up on a perch, able to see over the heads of all the people below, and able even to look down on the grave faces of the Ministers opposite. The row of broad-brimmed hats and coal-scuttle bonnets looked entirely different and much more attractive, seen from above, than when she looked up at them in Meeting at home. Then, when some one rose to speak, Lois liked to watch the ripple that passed over the heads beneath her, as all the faces turned towards the speaker. Or when everybody, moved by the same impulse, stood up during a prayer or sat down at its close, it was as fascinating to watch them gently rise and gently sit down again as it was to watch the wind sweep over the sea, curling it up into waves or wavelets, or the breeze rippling over a broad field of blue-green June barley. Lois



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never remembered the time when she was too small to enjoy those two sights. 'I do like watching something I can't see, moving something I can!' she used to think. To watch a Meeting, from the loft at Come-to-Good, was rather like that, she felt; though years had to pass before she found out the reason why.

Out of doors, when the quiet hour of worship was over, other delights were waiting. The small old white Meeting-house is surrounded by a yet older, small green burial-ground, where long grasses, and flowers innumerable, cover the gentle slopes. The soft mounds cluster closely around the walls; as if those who were laid there had wished that their bodies might rest as near as possible to the house of peace where their spirits had rested while on earth.

Further off the mounds are fewer; the grassy spaces between them grow wider; till it becomes difficult to tell which are graves and which are just grassy hillocks. Further still, the old burial-ground dips down, and loses itself entirely, and becomes first a wood, then frankly an orchard that fills up the bottom of the valley, through which a clear brown stream goes wandering.

Yet, midway on the hilly slope above, half hidden gravestones can still be discerned, among the grass and flowers; shining through them, like a smile that was once a sorrow. Small, grey, perfectly plain stones they are, all exactly alike, as is the custom in Friends' graveyards, where to be allowed a headstone at all, was, at one time, considered 'rather gay'! Each stone bears nothing but a name upon it and sometimes a date. 'Honor Magor' is the name carved on one of the oldest stooping stones, and under it a date nearly 100 years old. That is all. Lois used to wonder who Honor Magor was,—an old woman? a young one? or possibly even a little girl? Where did she live when she was alive? how did she come to be buried there? But there are no answers to any of these questions; and there is no need to know more than that the tired body of Honor Magor has been resting peacefully for nearly a century, hidden under the tangle of waving grasses and ever-changing flowers at Come-to-Good.

Ever-changing flowers? Yes; because the changing of the seasons is more marked there than at other places. For Come-to-Good lies so many miles from any town, the tide of life has ebbed away so far from this quiet pool, that, for a long time past, Meetings have only been held here four times in the year. Summer, Autumn, Winter, and Spring,—each season brings its own Sunday. Then, and for a week or two beforehand, the topmost bar of every wooden gate in the neighbourhood bears a modest piece of white paper announcing that 'a Friends' Meeting will be held at Come-to-Good on the following First Day morning, at eleven o'clock, when the company of any who are inclined to attend will be acceptable.' August Sunday brings deep, red roses tossing themselves up, like a crimson fountain, against the grey thatched roof. November Sunday has its own treasures: sweet, late blackberries, crimson and golden leaves, perhaps even a few late hazel nuts and acorns still hiding down in the wood. In February, the first gummy stars of the celandine are to be seen peeping out from under the hedge,



while a demure little procession of white and green snowdrops walks primly up the narrow path to Meeting. The 'Fair Maids of February' seem to have an especial love for this quiet spot. But in May—ah! May is the best Sunday of all. In May not only is the whole valley knee-deep in grass and ferns and flowers and bluebells. There is something still better! In May the burial-ground is all singing and tinkling silently with fairy spires of columbines. Garden flowers in most other places, they are quite wild here. Purple and deep-blue and pale-pink columbines are growing up everywhere; each flower with its own little pairs of twin turtle-doves hidden away inside. Even white columbine, rarest of all, has been found in that magic valley. I am afraid Lois thought longingly, all through the silence on a May Sunday, of the nosegay of columbines she meant to gather afterwards. Directly Meeting was over, the children pelted down very fast from the loft. Numbers of little feet flew across the sunlit grass, while the elder Friends were walking sedately down the path to the gate.

*'O Columbine, open your folded wrapper,
Where two twin turtle-doves dwell,'*

chanted the children as they frolicked about, forgetting that they had been stiff with sitting so long in Meeting, as they gathered handfuls of their treasures.

All too soon they would hear the call: 'Come, children! it is time to be going.' And then they would scamper back, their hands full of their dear dove flowers. No wonder they felt that in leaving this sunny spot they were leaving one of the happiest places on earth. If only they could stay there! If only some one could be enjoying it always! What a pity that on the forty-eight other Sundays of the year it should all be deserted, shut up and forsaken! There might be numbers of other wonderful flowers that nobody ever saw. There the old Meeting-house stays all by itself the whole year round, except on those four Sundays, even as a lonely pool of clear water remains high up on the rocks, showing that the great sea itself did come there once, long ago, flowing in mightily, filling up all the bare chinks and crannies.

Will such a high tide ever come back again to Come-to-Good? Is that tide perhaps beginning to flow in, noiselessly and steadily, even now?

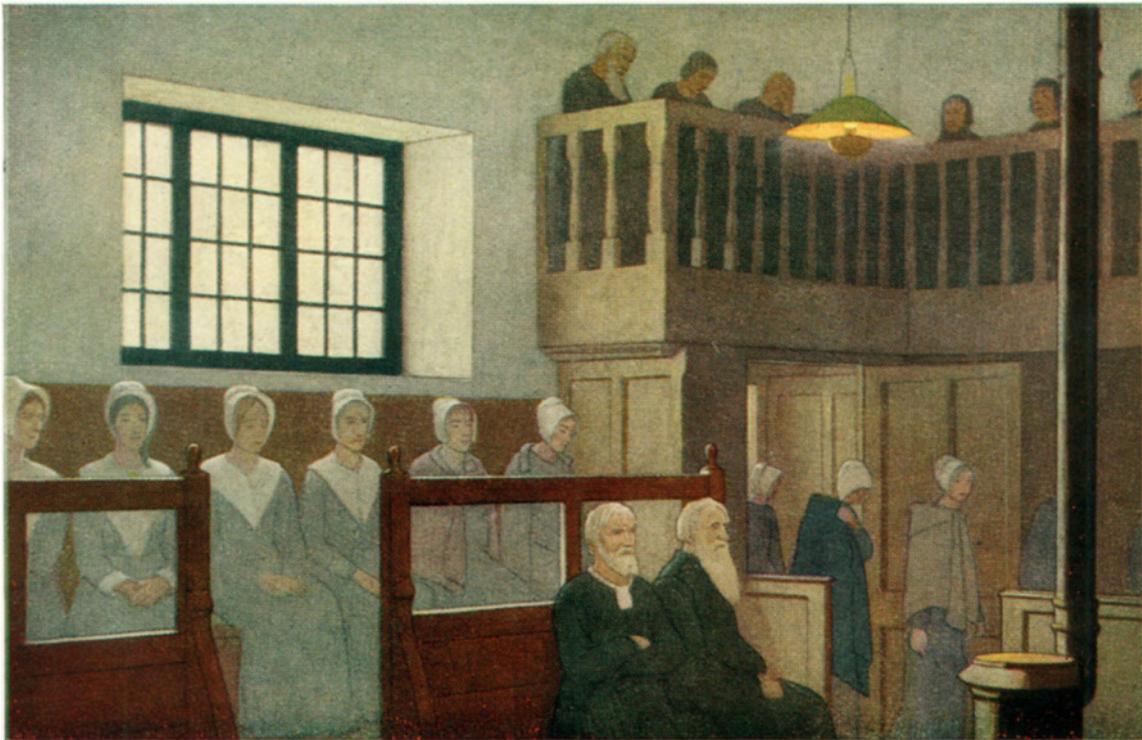
Some things look rather as if it might be; for new Friends' Meeting-houses are being built in crowded cities to-day where even the high tide of long ago never came. But then, in lonely country places like Come-to-Good, scattered up and down all over England, there are many of these deserted Meeting-houses, where hardly anybody comes now or only comes out of curiosity. Yet the high tide did fill them all once long ago, full to overflowing, when people met within their walls constantly, seeking and finding God.

The stories in this book about our 'Quaker Saints' show at what a cost these deserted places were won for us by our brave forefathers. They, with their health and their lives gladly given in those terrible prisons of long ago, gained for us our

liberty to meet together 'in numbers five or more,' to practise a 'form of worship not authorised by law'; that is to say, without any prayer-book or set form of service being used.

Is our simple Quaker way of worship really worth the price they paid for it? Or is it merely a quaint and interesting relic of a by-gone age, something like the 'Friend's bonnet' that Lois' Grandmother wore as a matter of course, which now is never used, but lies in a drawer, carefully covered with tissue paper and fragrant with lavender?

Is our Quaker faith like that? Is it something antiquated and interesting, but of no real use to us or to anybody to-day? Or did these 'Quaker Saints' of whom we have heard, did they, and many other brave men and women, whose stories are not written here, really and truly make a big discovery? Did they, by their living and by their dying, remind the world of a truth that it had been in danger of forgetting? a truth that may still be in danger of being forgotten if quite ordinary, everyday people are not faithful now in their turn?



A FRIENDS' MEETING

Is it really and truly true, that where two or three humble human souls are gathered together in His Name, in the simplest possible fashion, without any priest, or altar, or visible signs to help them, yet our Lord is there? Can He be indeed among them still to-day? and will He be forever, as He promised? feeding them Himself with the true Bread of Life, satisfying their



thirst with Living Water, baptizing their souls with Power and with Peace?—

Children dear, you must answer these questions for yourselves, fearlessly and honestly. No one else can answer them for you. The answers may seem long in coming, but do not be in a hurry. They will come in time, if you seek steadfastly and humbly. Only remember one thing, as you think over these questions. Even if this is our way, the right way for us, this very simple Quaker way that our forefathers won for us at such a cost, still that does not necessarily make it the right way for all other people too. God's world and God's plans are much bigger than that. He brings His children home by numbers of different paths, but for each child of His, God's straight way for that child is the very best.

The wise old Persians had a proverb, 'The ways unto God are as the number of the souls of the children of men.' Let us remember this, if we ever want to try to force other people to think about things exactly as we do. Let us remember, too, that rivalry and pride, that saying, or even thinking, 'My way is the only right way, and a much better way than your way,' is the only really antiquated kind of worship. The sooner we all learn to lay that aside, not in lavender and tissue paper, but to cast it away utterly and forget that it ever existed,—the better.

It is not a bit of an excuse for us when we are inclined to judge other people critically, to read in these stories that some of the early Friends did and said harsh and intolerant things. They lived in a much harsher, more intolerant age than ours. The seventeenth century, as we know, has been called 'a dreadfully ill-mannered century.' Let us do our very best not to give any one an excuse for saying the same of this twentieth century in which we live. Thus, in reading of these Quaker Saints, let us try to copy, not their harshness or their intolerance, but their unflinching courage, their firm steadfastness, their burning hope for every man; above all, their unconquerable love.

Remember the old lesson of the daisies. Each flower must open itself as wide as ever it can, in order to receive all that the Sun wants to give to it. But, while each daisy receives its own ray of sunshine thankfully and gladly, it must rejoice that other very different rays, at very different angles, can reach other flowers. Yet the Sun Heart from which they all come is One and the Same. All the different ways of worship are One too, when they meet in the Centre.

Therefore it is not strange that at little secluded Come-to-Good, where the blue doves of the columbines keep watch over the quiet graves, I should remember a message that came to me in another, very different, House of God—a magnificent Cathedral far away in South Italy. There, high up, above the lights and pictures and flowers and ornaments of the altar, half hidden at times by the clouds of ascending incense, I caught the shining of great golden letters. Gradually, as I watched, they formed themselves into these three words of old Latin:

DEUS ABSCONDITUS HEIC.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

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And the golden message meant:

‘GOD IS HIDDEN HERE.’

That is the secret all these different ways of worship are meant to teach us, if we will only learn. Let us not judge one another, not ever dream of judging one another any more. Only, wherever our own way of worship leads us, let us seek to follow it diligently, dutifully, humbly, and to the end. Then, not only when we are worshipping with our brothers and sisters around us, in church, chapel, great cathedral, or quiet meeting-house, but also (perhaps nearest and closest of all) in the silence of our own hearts, we shall surely find in truth and with thankfulness that

GOD IS HIDDEN HERE.

September: Friend [William Penn](#) arrived in Pennsylvania with what one might be willing to term a negative attitude toward Quaker participation in or enjoyment of the recreational arts, as found in his NO CROSS, NO CROWN: “How many plays did Jesus Christ and His Apostles recreate themselves at? What poets, romances, comedies, and the like did the Apostles and Saints make, or use to pass away their time withal? I know, they did redeem their time, to avoid foolish talking, vain jesting, profane babblings, and fabulous stories.”

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

This new Proprietor of Pennsylvania, who would be remaining in the New World until 1684, proposed that his colony rely primarily upon indentured labor, limiting slavery and beginning to treat any slaves already present on the scene as indentured servants who might anticipate being granted their freedom upon completion of their 14th year of faithful service.



Among the “Laws agreed upon in England” prior to the establishment of the Pennsylvania colony was an agreement that Quaker nonviolence would not extend to any refusal of the police function of government: “That all prisons shall be workhouses for felons, vagrants and loose and idle persons; whereof one shall be in every county.”

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Pennsylvania was the first colony to make sodomy a non-capital offense, limiting punishment to whipping, forfeiture of 1/3 of one’s estate, and six months of hard labor. (Such benevolence would only last for the first couple of decades. The law would be amended in 1700 to a punishment of life imprisonment or castration.) In this year John Fenwick “surrendered his lands to [William Penn](#).”

There is a rather unflattering reference to Friend [William Penn](#) in a 1975 book WEST JERSEY UNDER FOUR FLAGS by Ralph K. Turp, Ed. D., J.D. (Dorrance, 1975) Note that the dividing line between what was West Jersey and East Jersey has its southern point in Little Egg Harbor, which makes Atlantic City on the West Jersey side of the line! It’s often said that history is written by the victors. In this case the losers in the deal were not only the Indians but the Dutch who had explored the area in 1609, establishing Fort Nassau in 1624 (in Gloucester County, just south of present-day Camden), and the Swedes who had started the colony of New Sweden in the Delaware Valley in 1638 (Fort Nassau had been destroyed by the Indians the year before). Mr. Turp appears to be a descendant of the Swedes who settled in New Sweden so he has an “alternative” view of

the history of Quaker settlement in this area. Not necessarily the “real” story, but one can look between the extremes of the winners’ and the losers’ stories. The Lenape Indians apparently had three major settlements along the Delaware:

- the Minsi or Minisink up near the corner of present-day PA, NY, and NJ, a name which perhaps means “people of the mountain” (their totem was the panther)
- the Unami of Turtle Town just north of the present Trenton on the PA side
- the Unalachtigo of Turkey Town near the present Bridgeton

The rest of the land was used for hunting and gathering. In the summer the Lenape would come to the shore to gather and preserve shellfish, also making a kind of money out of the shells. They had agriculture in the settlements but the concept of buying marked-out parcels of land was probably pretty foreign to them.



When the Europeans came and gave the native people goods and assumed that the Europeans then owned exclusive-use rights to the land, it probably didn’t really mean the same thing to all sides. We don’t how many

such exchanges took place, but the scene under the tree is symbolic, as it incorrectly implies two parties and



one treaty. Over a 70-year period there would have been lots of occasions, lots of peoples, lots of languages, lots of concepts of ownership, differing surveys, some written, some by handshake, some friendly, some hostile. By the time Friend [William Penn](#) arrived he was getting deeds from other European settlers who had possibly before then made negotiations with the native people, and, in the case of the land Penn and Friends took over from John Fenwick, those prior negotiations included guns, gunpowder, and rum. New Sweden was the first substantial European settlement in the Delaware Valley, and it only lasted for about 17 years, being defeated in 1655 by the Dutch, under Peter Stuyvesant of New Amsterdam, New Netherlands. As a result of wars between the Dutch and the English, New Netherlands passed to English control in 1664. Charles II passed it along to his brother James (who was Catholic) and James sold the New Jersey parts on to George Carteret and John Berkeley (one of them had been a hero in a battle in **old** Jersey, and the province got its name from that — early New Jersey coins from the 1780s use the name Nova Caesaria, Caesaria having been the Roman name for the island of Jersey. Berkeley sold his proprietary rights over West Jersey to Friend Edward Byllynge via John Fenwick since Byllynge was in some legal difficulties. In 1674 a Quintipartite Deed passed the West Jersey lands to a number of Quakers including Penn. So Penn had this financial interest in West Jersey as early as 1674, as well as later getting Pennsylvania (1681) and a part interest even in East Jersey. Quakers started coming in great numbers in 1678, going further up the Delaware to New Beverly, later called Bridlington, later called Burlington (just south of present-day Trenton).

Friend [William Penn](#)'s Preface to the First Frame of Government for Pennsylvania:

There is hardly one frame of government in the world so ill-designed by its first founders that in good hands, [it] would



not do well enough.... Governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments. Let men be good and the government cannot be bad: if it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavor to warp it and spoil it to their turn.

Party politics also might have had to do with the 1674 mix-up: Fenwick had served the Puritan Oliver Cromwell, Byllynge was obviously well-connected to the Royalist/Catholic James, and that might be why according to Turp he was “barred by the English courts from holding title in, or dealing in, real estate.” King Charles’s leanings toward France and Catholicism led Parliament to pass laws limiting the rights of Catholics **and other** Dissenters (such as Diggers, Quakers, etc.).

William Penn’s Own Account of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Native Americans

The Natives I shall consider in their Persons, Language, Manners, Religion and Government, with my sense of their Original. For their Persons, they are generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular Proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty Chin: of Complexion, Black, but by design, as the Gypsies in England: They grease themselves with Bears-fat clarified, and using no defence against Sun or Weather, their skins must needs be swarthy; Their Eye is little and black, not unlike a straight-look’t Jew. The thick Lip and flat Nose, so frequent with the East-Indians and Blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them of both, as on your side of the Sea; and truly an Italian Complexion hath not much more of the White, and the Noses of several of them have as much as the Roman.

Their Language is lofty, yet narrow, but like the Hebrew; in Signification full, like Short-hand in writing; one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the Understanding of the Hearer: Imperfect in their Tenses, wanting in the Moods, Participles, Adverbs, Conjunctions, Interjections: I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an Interpreter on any occasion: And I must say, that I know not a Language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in Accent and Emphasis, than theirs; for Instance, Octorocken, Rancocas, Oricition, Shakamaxon, Poquessin, all of which are names of Places, and have Grandeur in them: Of words of Sweetness. Anna, is Mother, Issimlus, a Brother, Netap, Friend, usque oret, very good; pone, Bread, metse, eat, matta, no, hatta, to have, payo to come; Sepassen, Passion, the Names of Places; Tamany, Siccnae, Menanse, Secatareus, are the names of Persons. If one ask them for anything they have none, they will answer, matta ne hatta which to translate is, not I have, instead of I have not.

Of their Customs and Manners there is much to be said; I will begin with Children. So soon as they are born, they wash them in Water, and while very young, and in cold Weather to Chuse, they Plunge them in the Rivers to harden and embolden them. Having wrapt them in a Clout, they lay them on a straight thin Board, a little more than the length and breadth of the Child, and swaddle it fast upon the Board to make it straight; wherefore all Indians have flat Heads; and thus they carry them at their Backs. The Children will go very young, at nine Moneths commonly; they wear only a small Clout round their Waiste, till they are big; if Boys, they go a Fishing till ripe for the Woods, which is about Fifteen; then they hunt, and after given some Proofs of their Manhood, by a good return of Skins, they may Marry, else it is a shame to think of a Wife. The Girls stay with



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their Mothers, and help to hoe the Ground, plant Corn and carry Burthens; and they do well to use them to that Young, they must do when they are Old; for the Wives are the true Servants of their Husbands: otherwise the Men are very affectionate to them.

When the Young Women are fit for Marriage, they wear something upon their Heads for an Advertisement, but so as their Faces are hardly to be seen, but when they please: The Age they Marry at, if Women, is about thirteen and fourteen; if Men, seventeen and eighteen; they are rarely elder.

Their Houses are Mats, or Bark of Trees set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a Man; they lie on Reeds or Grass. In Travel they lodge in the Woods about a great Fire, with the Mantle of Duffels they wear by day, wrapt about them, and a few Boughs stuck round them.

Their Diet is Maze, or Indian Corn, divers ways prepared: sometimes Roasted in the Ashes, sometimes beaten and boyled with Water, which they call Homine; they also make Cakes, not unpleasant to eat: They likewise have several sorts of Beans and Pease that are good Nourishment; and the Woods and Rivers are their Larder.

If an European comes to see them, or calls for Lodging at their House or Wig-wam they give him the best place and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an Itah which is as much to say, Good be to you, and set them down, which is mostly on the Ground, close to their Heels, their Legs upright; maybe they speak not a word more, but observe all Passages: If you give them anything to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask; and be it little or much, if it be with Kindness, they are well pleased, else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

They are great Concealers of their own Resentments, brought to it, I believe, the Revenge that hath been practiced among them; in either of these, they are not exceeded by the Italians. A Tragical Instance fell out since I came into the country; A King's Daughter thinking her self slighted by her Husband, in suffering another Woman to like down between them, rose up, went out, pluck't a Root out of the Ground, and ate it, upon which she immediately dyed; and for which, last Week he made an Offering to her Kindred for Atonement and liberty of Marriage; as two others did to kindred of their Wives, that dyed a natural Death: For till Widowers have done so, they must not marry again. some of the young Women are said to take undue liberty before Marriage for a Portion; but when married, chaste; when with Child, they know their Husband no more, till delivered; and during their Moneth, they touch no Meat, the eat, but with a Stick, lest they should defile it; not do their Husbands frequent them, till that time be expired. But in Liberality the excel, nothing is too good for their friend; give them a fine Gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands, before it sticks; light of Heart, strong Affections, but soon spent; the most merry Creatures that live, Feast and Dance almost perpetually; they never have much, nor want much: Wealth circulateth like the Blood, all parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact Observers of Property.

Some Kings have sold, other presented me with several parcels of Land; the Pay or Presents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular Owners, but the neighboring Kings and their Clans being present when the Goods were brought out, the Parties chiefly concerned consulted, what and to whom they should give them? To every King then, but the hand of a Person for that work appointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that



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Gravity, that is admirable. Then the King sub-divideth it in like manner among his Dependents, they hardly leaving themselves an Equal share with one of their Subjects: and be it on such occasion, at Festivals, or at their common Meals, the Kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little, because they want but little; and the Reason is, a little contents them: In this they are sufficiently revenged on us; if they are ignorant of our Pleasures, they are also free from our Pains. They are not disquieted with Bills of Lading and Exchange, nor perplexed with Chancery-Suits and Exchequer-Reckonings. We sweat and toiled to live; their pleasure feeds them, I mean, their Hunting, Fishing, and Fowling, and this Table is spread every where; they eat twice a day, Morning and Evening; their Seats and Table are the Ground. Since the European came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong Liquors, Rum especially, and for it exchange the riches of their Skins and Furs: If they are heated with Liquors, they are restless till they have enough to sleep; that is their cry, Some more, and I will go to sleep; but when Drunk, one of the most wretchedest Spectacles in the World, {often Burning and sometimes killing one another, at which time the Christians are not without danger as well as fear.} {Bracketed words later edited out}

In sickness impatient to be cured, and for it give anything, especially for their Children, to whom they are extremely natural; they drink at those times a Terian or Decoction of some Roots in spring Water; and if they eat any flesh, it must be of the Female of any Creature; If they dye, they bury them with their Apparel, be they Men or Women, and the nearest of Kin fling in something with them, as a token of their Love; Their Mourning is blackening of their faces, which they continue for a year; They are choice of the Graves of their Dead; for least they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick up the Grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen Earth with great care and exactness.

These poor People are under a dark Night in things relating to Religion, to be sure, the Tradition of it; yet they believe in God and Immortality, without the help of Meaphysicks; for they say, There is a great King that made them, who dwells in a glorious Country to the Southward of the, and that the Souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again. Their Worship consists of two parts, Sacrifice and cantico. Their Sacrifice is their first Fruits; the first and fattest Buck they kill, goeth to the fire, where is all burnt with a Mournful Ditty of him that performeth the Ceremony, but with such marvelous Fervency and Labour of Body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their Cantico, performed by round-Dances, sometimes Words, sometimes Songs, then Shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by Singing and Drumming on a Board direct the Chorus: Their Postures in the Dance and very Antick and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal Earnestness and Labour, but great appearance of Joy.

In the Fall, when the Corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another; there have been two great Festivals already, to which all come that will: I was at one myself; their Entertainment was a green Seat by a Spring, under some shady Trees, and twenty Bucks, with hot Cakes of new Corn, both Wheat and Beans, which they make up in a square form, in the leaves of the Stem, and bake them in the Ashes: And after that they fell to Dance, But they that go, must carry a small Present in their Money, it may be six Pence, which is made if the Bone of a Fish; the black is with them as Gold, the white, Silver; they call it Wampum.



Their Government is by Kings, which they call Sachema, and those by Succession, but always on the Mothers side; for Instance, the Children of him that is now King, will not succeed, but his Brother by the Mother, or the Children of his Sister, whose Sons (and after them the Children of her Daughters) will reign; for no Woman inherits; the Reason they render for this way of Descent, is, that their Issue may not be spurious.

Every King hath his Council, and that consists of all the Old and Wise men of his Nation, which is perhaps two hundred People; nothing of Moment is undertaken, be it War, Peace, Selling of Land or Traffick, without advising from them; and which is more, with the Young Men too. 'Tis admirable to consider, how Powerful the Kings are, and yet how they move by the Breath of their People.

I have had occasion to be in council with them upon Treaties for Land, and to adjust the terms of Trade; their Order is thus: The King sits in the middle of an half Moon, and hath his Council, the Old and Wise on each hand; behind them, or at little distance, sit the younger Fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me; he stood up, came to me, and in the Name of his King saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me, That he was ordered by his King to speak to me, and that now it was not he, but the King that spoke, because what he should say, was the King's mind. He first pray'd me, To excuse them that they had not complied with me the last time; he feared, there might be some fault in the Interpreter, being neither Indian nor English; besides, it was the Indian Custom to deliberate, and take up much time in Council, before they resolve; and that if the Young People and Owners of the Land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay. Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the Bounds of the Land they had agreed to dispose of, and the Price, (which now is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty Miles, not buying now two.) During this time that this Person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the Old, Grave, the Young, Reverend in their Deportment; they do speak little, but fervently, and with Elegancy: I have never seen more natural Sagacity, considering them without the help, (I was agoing to say, the spoil) of Tradition; and he will deserve the Name of the Wise, that Outwits them in any Treaty about a thing they understand.

[this paragraph is a later addition] when the Purchase was agreed, great Promises past between us of Kindness and good Neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in Love, as long as the Sun gave light. Which done, another made a Speech to the Indians, in the Name of all of the Sachamakers or Kings, first to tell them what was done, next, to charge and command them, To Love the Christians, and particularly live in Peace with me, and the People under my Government: That many governors had been in the River, but that no Gouvernour had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such a one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong. At every sentence of which they should, and said, Amen, in their way.

The Justice they have is Pecuniary: In case of any Wrong or evil Face, be it Murther it self, they Attone by Feasts and Presents of their Wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the Offence or Person injured, or of the Sex they are of: for in case they kill a Woman, they pay double, and the Reason they render, is, That she breedeth Children, which men cannot do. 'Tis rare that they fall out, if Sober; and if Drunk, they forgive it, saying It was the Drink, and not the Man, that abused them.



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We have agreed, that in all Differences between us, Six of each side shall end the matter: Don't abuse them, but let them have Justice, and you win them: The worst is, that they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their Vices, and yielded them Tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an Ebb as they are at, and as glorious as their Condition looks, the Christians have not out-liv'd their sight with all their Pretensions to an higher Manifestation: What good then might not a good People graft, where there is so distinct a Knowledge left between Good and Evil? I beseech God to incline the Hearts of all that come into these parts, to out-live the Knowledge of the Natives, by a fixt Obedience to their greater Knowledge of the Will of God; for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian Conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

[this paragraph a later addition] For their Original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish Race, I mean, of the stock of the Ten Tribes, and that for the following Reasons; first, They were to go to a Land not planted or known, which to be sure Asia and Africa were, if not Europe; and he that intended that extraordinary Judgment upon them, might make the Passage uneasie to them, as it is not impossible in it self, from the Easter-most parts of Asia, to the Wester-most of America. In the next place, I find them of like Countenance and their Children of so lively Resemblance, that a man would think himself in Dukes place or Berry-street [the heart of the Jewish center] in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all, they agree in Rites, they reckon by Moons: they offer their first Fruits, they have a kind of Feast of Tabernacles; they are said to lay their Altar upon twelve Stones; their Mourning a year, Customs of Women, with many things they do not now occur. So much for the Natives.

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This is what would become of [Friend](#) William's meetinghouse in Chester, Pennsylvania:



November: The cartoon book of pietistic history, GREAT MOMENTS IN HISTORY: A GRAPHIC SURVEY OF 150 DECISIVE EVENTS IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY,¹⁵¹ alleges that in this month, “Beneath a spreading elm at Shackamaxon, on the northern edge of the city [of Philadelphia], he [William Penn] met the Lennilenape Indians Here, a treaty of peace was agreed upon, in witness whereof wampum belts of beads were exchanged The peace treaty, at which no documents were signed and no oaths taken, remained one of unbroken faith, [William] Penn's simple virtues and institutions earning for him the intense affection of the Quakers and Indians alike.”¹⁵² This by Brumidi allegedly sets the scene:



This might or might not be an accurate depiction of what the spreading elm looked like — more likely than

151. Nisenson, Samuel and Alfred Parker. GREAT MOMENTS IN HISTORY: A GRAPHIC SURVEY OF 150 DECISIVE EVENTS IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY. Grosset & Dunlap, 1932, page 73.

152. The Lennilenapes were representative of the confederation of tribes referred to ordinarily by European-Americans as “the Delaware Indians,” a collection of Algonquian-speaking lineages whose survivors now live mostly in Oklahoma, Wisconsin, and Ontario.

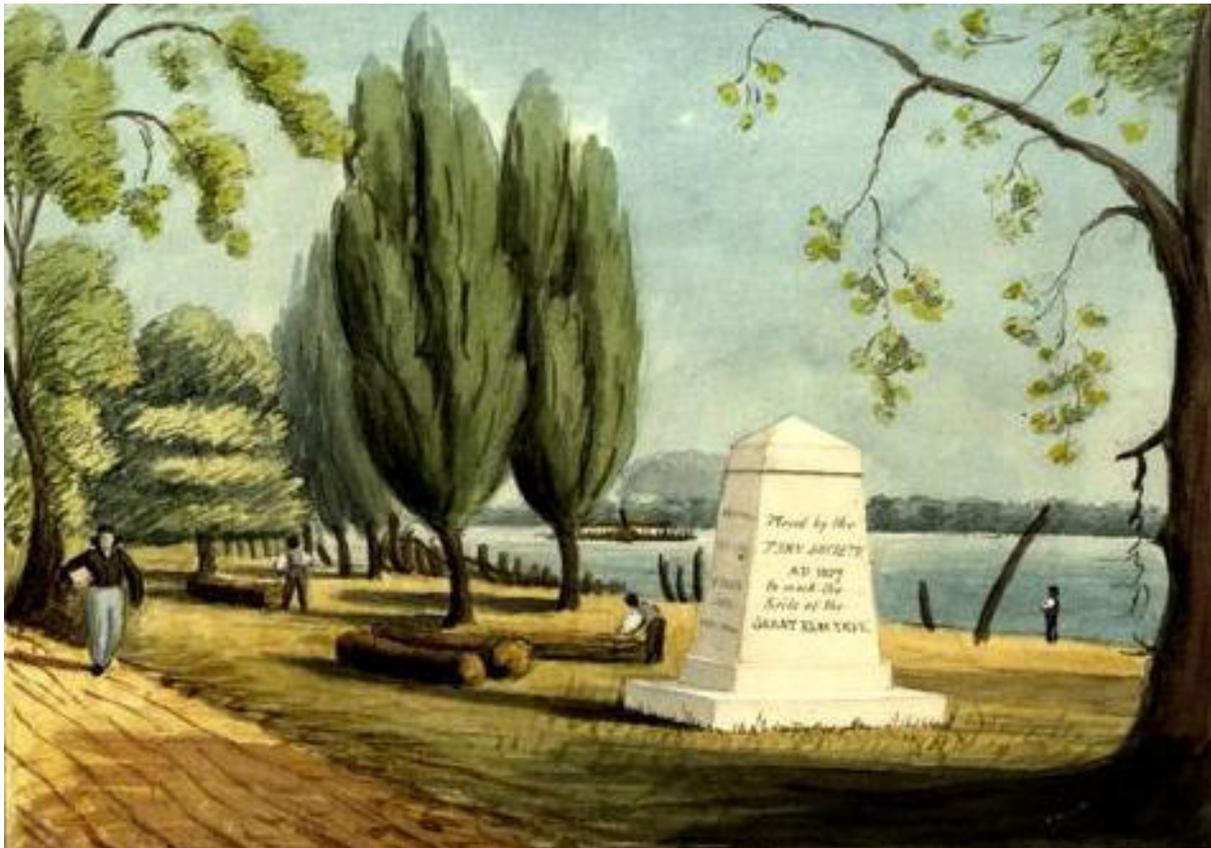
not, not:¹⁵³



This is a marvelously decisive story about a marvelously decisive event, and, were it the simple truth, it would fully deserve to take its place among the dozens of decisive battles elsewhere referred to in this collection of the ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MOST DECISIVE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THIS WORLD. Unfortunately, Friend William Penn was the sort of guy who had a habit of promising—for whatever reason and with whatever

153. Since this painting and engraving were not created until 1827, by George Lehman, whereas the branches and trunk of this tree had been entirely consumed as firewood not fewer than sixteen winters earlier than this painting and engraving, it having fallen during a storm, it is rather as unlikely that the famed tree on the bank looked like this before falling in not less than the 150th year of its life, as it is that the famed treaty-that-was-never-broken actually had been transacted.

justification— far more than he was ever in any position to deliver.



The stage was set, at this meeting with sachem Tamanend in 1682 (some history book insist on June 1683 ) , for the land swindle which would eventually be perpetrated by Wm. Penn’s inheritor Thomas some half a century later, on August 25, 1737, an occasion on which the white authorities would allege that there had been lost documents which had somehow reappeared, and confiscate some 1,200 square miles of tribal territory — relying for this land grab upon the threat of the use of savage force by their Iroquois allies. The dispossessed Lennilenape would be forced into an alliance with the French against Pennsylvania in what

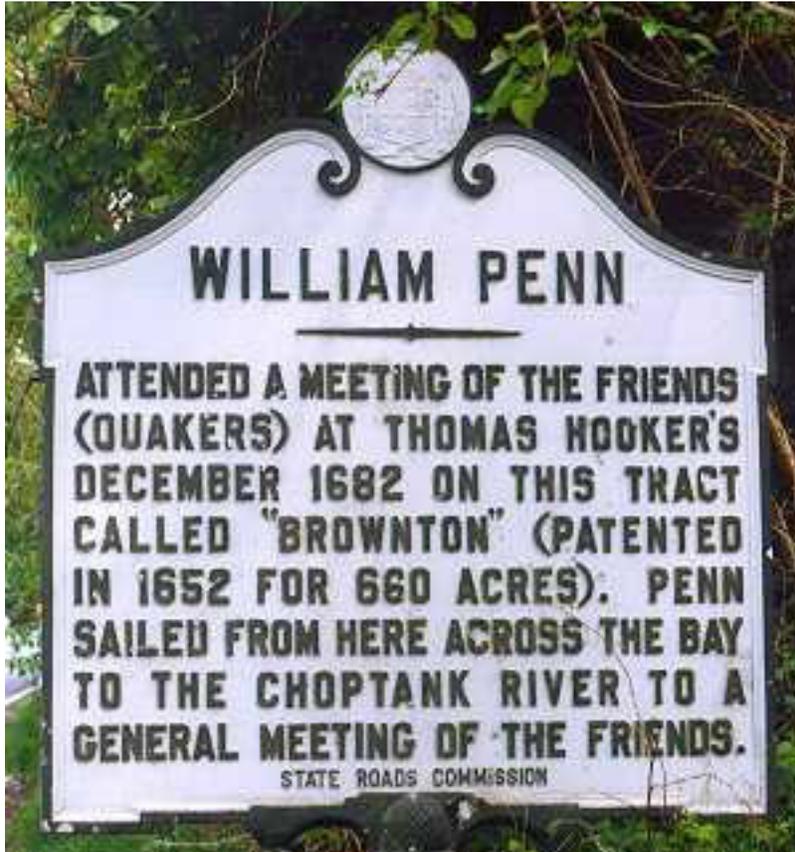
would become known as the “French and Indian” wars.



Our history books now discuss this historic white lie under the rubric “The Walking Purchase” because of the offensive and obviously cheating manner in which the 1,200 square miles of Lennilenape territory had been measured off by persons acting under the direction of Thomas Penn.

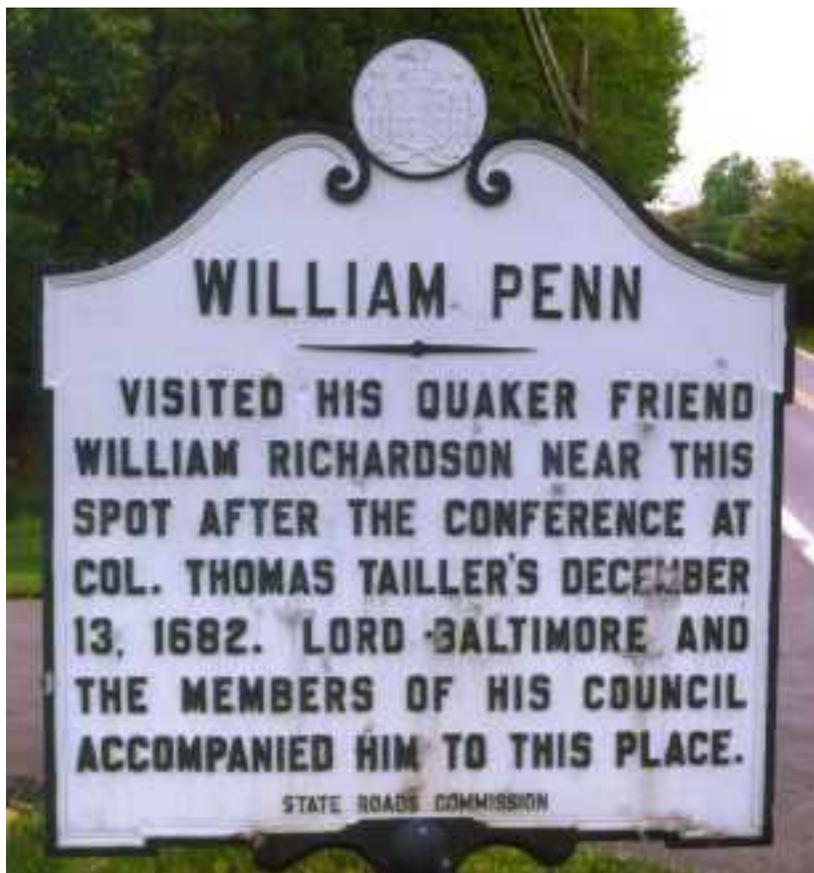
Between the spring and the end of this year, something like 23 ships had brought passengers to this new land. On one ship, an infant born during the passage over the Atlantic had been given the name “Sea-mercy.” Some of the passages had been as short as 28 days, but, unfortunately, two or three of these ships had had the small pox on board. The Welsh purchased 40,000 acres of Pennsylvania land and named their settlements, after their towns of origin, Merion, Haverfield, Radnor, Newtown, Goshen, and Uwechland. When these white intrusives arrived, they sometimes found clouds of the American passenger pigeon so thick, and so low, that they might hope to jump up with a stick and knock a bird or two out of the air for their breakfast. One of the wild turkeys they shot weighed an amazing 46 pounds, and it was sometimes possible to purchase a 30-pound turkey for a shilling. The natives were bringing in something like 7 or 8 deer per day, and a typical price for an entire deer carcass was two shillings. The native maize might be had at two shillings and sixpence (presumably, this was per peck). Peaches were available, by the cartload. Oysters were collected, that were six inches long.

December: [William Penn](#) attended a meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), held on Thomas Hooker's tract called "Brownton."



Afterward he sailed across the bay to the Choptank River, to a general meeting of the [Quakers](#).

December 13: [Friend William Penn](#) visited [Friend William Richardson](#).



1683

The Fundamental Constitutions for the Province of East New Jersey in America.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

The “Concessions and Agreements” portion of this, it is believed, could only have been created by [Friend William Penn](#), for a group of [Quaker](#) colonists, because its provisions include not only a right to trial by jury, freedom from arbitrary imprisonment for debt, and the prohibition of capital punishment, but also a principled insistence that “no Men ... hath Power or authority to rule over Men’s Consciences in Religious matters.” (It has been characterized as “the first clear statement in American history of the supremacy of the fundamental law over any statutes that might be enacted.”)



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Although the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) had been established in 1661, the first remaining account the [Quakers](#) have in their Yearly Meeting Record Book is in the year 1683, which is to say, we have no trace whatever of the first 21 years. The remaining record begins at the year 1683 the 11th of the 4th m^o, in the form of a minute that “the Meeting for Worship of God” would begin the 2nd 6th day (that is, the second Sunday of the month) of the then 4th now 6th M^o in every year (which is to say, June), “till friends see cause in the wisdom & Council of God to Alter it.”

There would be Yearly Meetings for Worship at “Rhode Island, Dux-bury Piscatua, Salem, & Dartmouth,” and then in 1690 a Yearly Meeting would be settled at Warwick, and in 1692 another at Providence, Rhode Island. (This was all prior to the “New England Yearly Meeting” being established as a Quaker organization.)

RHODE ISLAND RELIGION

[Friend](#) Enoch Flower was appointed by the Quaker-dominated Provincial Council of Pennsylvania to be “school master for the instruction and sober education of youth in the towne of Philadelphia.”

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
QUAKER EDUCATION

The Cliffs meeting house was built upon a tract near the Chesapeake Bay in Calvert County, Maryland, called “Gary’s Chance.” Among the Friends involved were the Sharpe family (Dr. Peter Sharpe was known as “the good Quaker physician of Calvert County”) and Richard Johns (whose descendents became the founders of Johns Hopkins Hospital; one of the Johns family was disowned by Baltimore [Yearly Meeting](#) on account of his selling of whiskey). Some of these early [Quakers](#) were buried in a cemetery close to Scientist’s Cliffs in Calvert County.

A hexagonal meetinghouse was constructed in Burlington, New Jersey:



June: Some sources have it that it was in this month, rather than in November 1682,  that beneath monstrous trees outside Philadelphia, the alleged treaty of Tamanend with Onas, or [Friend William Penn](#), by which this white lord was granted all lands “between Pennepecka and Nessianinechs creek and all along Nessianinechs creek” in consideration of as much wampum and goods as he might be pleased to supply.



Since this has subsequently been characterized as the only treaty the white man never dishonored, you should be aware that what we are dealing with in this Pennsylvania zingythingie may well be not only indefinite as to exact date, but also mere folklore, with no such treaty meeting as described having occurred, or with a get-together having occurred but not as what we would describe as any sort of formal treaty negotiation.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

June 28: In England, [Friend George Fox](#) participated in Quaker Yearly Meeting.

George Fox

I tarried in and near London, visiting Friends' meetings, and labouring in the service of the gospel, till the yearly meeting came on, which began on the 28th of the Third month. It was a time of great sufferings; and much concerned I was lest Friends that came up out of the country on the Church's service, should be taken and imprisoned at London. But the Lord was with us; His power preserved us, and gave us a sweet and blessed opportunity to wait upon Him, to be refreshed together in Him, and to perform His services for His truth and people for which we met. As it was a time of great persecution, and we understood that in most counties Friends were under great sufferings, either by imprisonments or spoiling of goods, or both, a concern was weightily upon me lest any Friends that were sufferers, especially such as were traders and dealers in the world, should hazard the losing of other men's goods or estates through their sufferings.

On the First-day following I went to the meeting at Gracechurch street. When I came there, I found three constables in the meeting-house, who kept Friends out; so we met in the court.

After I had been some time there, I stood up and spoke to the people, and continued speaking some time. Then one of the constables came, and took hold of my hand, and said, "You must come down." I desired him to be patient, and went on speaking to the people; but after a little time he pulled me down, and took me into the meeting-house.

I asked them if they were not weary of this work. One of them said, "Indeed we are." They let me go into the widow Foster's house, which joined the meeting-house, where I stayed, being hot.

When the meeting was ended, for one prayed after I was taken away, the constables asked some Friends which of them would pass their words that I should appear, if they should be questioned about me. But the Friends told them they need not require that, for I was a man well known in the city to be one that would neither fly nor shrink. So they went away, and I heard no further of it.

FOX'S JOURNAL:

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:

Was borne about 3 in the Afternoone, my Grand-Daughter at Says Court, & Christned by the name of Martha Maria, by her two Grand-mothers, the Lady Stonehouse & my Wife &c: our Viccar Officiating: After the Popish-plot &c there was now a new (& as they call'd it,) Protestant-Plot discover'd, that certaine Lords, & others should design the Assacination of his Majestie & the Duke, as they were to come from New-Market, with a general rising of several of the nation, and especialy the City of Lond[on] disaffected to the present Government &c: Upon which were committed to the Tower the Lord Russel, Eldest sonn of the Earle of Bedford: Earle of Essex, Mr. Algernon Sydnie, sonn to the old Earle of Licester; Mr. Trenchard, Hambden: Lord Howard of Eskrick & others; with Proclamation out against my Lord Grey, the Duke of Munmouth, Sir Tho[mas] Arme-Strong, and one Ferguson who had escaped beyond sea &c: of which some were said to be for the Killing of his Majestie, others for onely seasing on him, & perswading him to new Counsils, on pretence of the danger of Poperie, should the Duke live to succede &c: who was now admitted to the Councils, & Cabinet seacrets againe &c: Much deplor'd were my Lords Essex & Russell, few believing they had any evil Intention against his Majestie or the Church, & some that they were cunningly drawn in by their Enemies, for not approving some late Councils, & management of affaire[s], in relation to France, to Popery, to the prosecution of the Dissenters &c. They were discovered by the Lord Howard, & some false breathren of the Clubb, & the designe happily broken; since had all taken effect; it would in all appearance have indangered the Government to unknowne & dangerous Events: which God avert:





I continued yet at London, labouring in the work and service of the Lord, both in and out of meetings; sometimes visiting Friends in prison for the testimony of Jesus, encouraging them in their sufferings and exhorting them to stand faithful and steadfast in the testimony, which the Lord had committed to them to bear. Sometimes also I visited those that were sick and weak in body, or troubled in mind, helping to bear up their spirits from sinking under their infirmities. Sometimes our meetings were quiet and peaceable; sometimes they were disturbed and broken up by the officers.

As I was speaking in the power of the Lord [on First-day at the Savoy], and the people were greatly affected therewith, suddenly the constables, with the rude people, came in like a sea.

One of the constables said to me, "Come down"; and he laid hands on me. I asked him, "Art thou a Christian? We are Christians."

He had hold of my hand, and was very fierce to pluck me down; but I stood still, and spoke a few words to the people; desiring of the Lord that the blessings of God might rest upon them all.

The constable still called upon me to come down, and at length plucked me down, and bade another man with a staff take me and carry me to prison. That man led me to the house of another officer, who was more civil; and after a while they brought in four Friends more, whom they had taken.

I was very weary, and in a great perspiration; and several Friends, hearing where I was, came to me in the constable's house; but I bade them all go their ways, lest the constables and informers should stop them.

After a while the constables led us almost a mile to a justice, who was a fierce, passionate man. After he had asked me my name, and his clerk had taken it in writing, upon the constable's informing him that I had preached in the meeting, he said in an angry manner, "Do not you know that it is contrary to the King's laws to preach in such conventicles, contrary to the Liturgy of the Church of England?"

There was present one — Shad (a wicked informer, who was said to have broken jail at Coventry, and to have been burned in the hand at London), who, hearing the justice speak so to me, stepped up to him and told him that he had convicted them on the Act of the 22d of King Charles the Second.

"What! you convict them?" said the justice.

"Yes," said Shad, "I have convicted them, and you must convict them too upon that Act."

With that the justice was angry with him, and said, "You teach me! what are you? I'll convict them of a riot."

The informer hearing that and seeing the justice angry, went away in a fret; so he was disappointed of his purpose.



July 13 [Friday] (Old Style): July 13, as I was visiting Sir Tho[mas] Yarbrow & Lady in Covent Garden, that astonishing newes of the Earle of Essex having Cut his owne Throat was brought to us, having now ben but three dayes prisoner in the Tower, & this happning on the very day & instant that the Lord Russel was on his Trial, & had sentence of death: This accident exceedingly amaz'd me, my Lord of Essex being so well know[n] by me to be a person of so sober & religious a deportment, so well at his ease, so much obliged to the King. It is certaine the King & Duke were at the Tower & pass'd by his Window about the same time this morning, when My Lord asking for a razor, he shut himselfe into a closet, & perpetrated the horrid fact: It was wondred yet by some how it was possible he should do it, in the manner he was found; for the wound was so deepe & wide, as being cut through the Gullet, Wind-pipe, & both the jugulars, it reached to the very Vertebrae of the neck, so as the head held to it by a very little skin as it were, which tack'd it from being quite [off]; The gapping too of the razor, & cutting his owne fingers, was a little strange, but more, that having passed the Jugulars he should have strength to proceede so farr, as an Executioner could hardly have don more with an axe, and there were odd reflections upon it: This fatal newes coming to Hicks-hall upon the article of my L[ord] Russels Trial, was said to have no little influenc'd the Jury, & all the bench, to his prejudice: Others said, he had himselfe upon some occasions hinted, that in case he should [be] in danger of having his life taken from him, by any publique misfortune, those who thirsted for his Estate, should misse of their aime, & that he should long since speake favourably of that D[uke] of Northumberland & some others who made away themselves: But these are discourses so very unlike his sober & prudent Conversation, that I have no inclination to credit them: what might instigate him to this develish fact I am not able to conjecture; since (as my Lord Clarendon his bro[ther] in Law, who was with but the day before assur'd me) he was then so very cherefull, & declared it to be the Effect of his innocence & loyalty: & most believe his Majestie had no severe intentions against him; however he was altogether inexorable as to my Lord Russell & some of the rest: For my owne part I believe the crafty & ambitious Earle of Shaftsbury had brought them into some dislike of the present carriage of matters at Court, not with any designe of destroying the Monarchy (which Shaftsbury has in Confidence & for unanswerable reasons, told me, he would support, to his last breath, as having seene & felt the miserie of being under [a] Mechanic Tyrannie &c) but perhaps of setting up some other, whom he might govern, & frame to his owne Platonic fancie, without much regard to the Religion establish'd under the Hierarchie, for which he had no esteeme: But when he perceiv'd those whom he had engag'd to rise, faile of his expectations, & the day past, reproching his Complices, that a second day for an Exploit of this nature, was never successfull, he gave them the slip, & got into Holland, where the fox died, three moneths before these unhappy Lords & others were discovered or suspected: Every creature deplored Essex, & Russell, especialy the last, as being thought to be drawn in on pretence onely of endeavoring to rescue the King from his present Counselors, & secure Religion, from Popery, & the Nation from Arbitrary government, now so much apprended; whilst the rest of those who were fled, especialy Ferguson & his gang, had doubtless some bloody designe, set up a Commonwealth, & turne all things topsie turvy; of the same tragical principles is Sidney &c: The whole Nation was now in greate Consternation, upon the late Plot & Conspiracy; his Majestie very Melancholic, & not stirring without redoubled Guards, all the Avenues & private doers about White-hall & the Park shut up; few admitted to walke in it: The Papists in the meane while very jocond, & indeede they had reason, seeing their owne plot brought to nothing, & turn'd to ridicule & now a Conspiracy of Protestants, as they cald them: The Turk likewise in hostility against the German Emperour, almost Master of the upper Hungarie & drawing towards Vienna; on the other side the French (who tis believed brought in the Infidel) disturbing their Spanish, & Dutch Neighbours, & almost swallowed, all Flanders, pursuing his



ambition of a fift [& Universal] Monarchy; & all this blood, & disorder in Christendome had evidently its rise from our defections at home, in a Wanton peace, minding nothing but Luxurie, Ambition, & to procure Mony for our Vices: To this add our irreligion & Atheisme, greate ingratitude & selfe Interest: the Apostacie of some, & the Suffering the French to grow so Greate, and the Hollanders so Weake. In a word we were Wanton, madd, and surfeiting with prosperity, every moment unsettling the old foundations, & never constant to any thing. The Lord in mercy avert the sad Omen; & that we do not provoke him farther, 'til he beare it no longer:

This summer did we suffer 20 French-men of Warr to passe our Chanell towards the Sound, to help the Dane against the Swede, who had [abandoned] the [French] Interest; we having not ready sufficient to guard our Coasts, or take Cognizance of what they did; so as though the Nation never had more, or better Navy, the Sea never had so slender a Fleete:

July 19 (Old Style): *George Prince of Denmark, who landed this day, came to Mar[r]y the Lady Anne daughter to the Duke: so I return'd home; having seen the young Gallant at dinner at Whitehall.*

July 20 (Old Style): *Severall of the Conspirators, of the lower forme, were Executed at Tyburn-*

July 21 (Old Style): *And the next day was the Lord Russell decapitated in Lincolns in fields, the Executioner giving him 3 butcherly strokes: The Speech he made & Paper he gave the Sherif, declaring his Innocence, the noblenesse of the family, the piety & worthynesse of the unhappy Gent[leman] wrought effects of much pity, & various discourses on the plot &c:*

July 25 (Old Style): *I went to Lond[on] saw againe Prince George, he had the Danish Countenance, blound; a young gent of few words, spake French but ill, seemed somewhat heavy; but reported Valiant, & indeede had bravely rescued & brought off his brother the K[ing] of Denmarke in a battaile against the Swede, when both those Kings, were engaged very smartly:...*

July 28 (Old Style): *Prince Geo: was married to the Lady Ann at White-hall: Her Court & household to be moduled just as the Dukes her fathers &c: & to continue in England:*

August 1 (Old Style): *Came to see me Mr. Flamested the famous Astrologer from his Observatorie at Greenewich, to draw the Meridian for my Pendules &c:*

August 8 (Old Style): *A Woman, who came from Lond[on] to speake with my Wife, was Arested for debt in my Hall, by one who pretended to be a Porter, & to deliver her a letter; but I rescued her from the Insolence &c:*

August 28 (Old Style): *Died my sweete little Grand-child Martha Maria of Convulsion fitts, an extraordinary pretty & foreward child: Gods will be don:*

Came also this morning to take his leave of us his Grace the Archbishop of Yorke now preparing for his Journey: & reside in his Province.

August 29 (Old Style): *Was buried our Grand-child, amongst the rest of our sweete Infants in the Parish-Church:*



September 3 (Old Style): *I went (together with my Wife &c) to Chelsey, to see my Charge, the Daughters, and Children of my deare friends, the late V.Countesse Mordaunt: After dinner I walked to survey what had ben don as to repaires &c, by the Duke of Beaufort upon his late purchased house at [Chelsey], of which I had once the selling for the Countesse of Bristol: I found he had made greate alterations, but might have built a better house with the Materials & that cost: at my returne to our Company, I found the Countess of Monte Feltre, whose husband I had formerly known, & was a subject of the Popes, but Changing from his Religion, & become Protestant, resided here in England, & married into the familie of the Savells of York-shire: The Count (her late husband) was a very learned Gent[leman] a greate Polititian; a goodly man: she was accompanied with her Sister, exceedingly skild in painting; nor indeede did they seeme to spare for Colour on their owne faces: They had a greate deale of Wit, one of them especialy, who talked of a sparrow she had at home not inferior to Lesbias.*

September 9 (Old Style): *... My little Grand-Child was very ill all yesterday, so as we feared his life, 'til this day, that God was pleas'd to give us hopes:*

September 15 (Old Style): *Came to visite & dine'd with us Sir W:Godolphin and my sweete charge, little Francis: also his Unkle Henry & Aunt Boscawen: came also [to] visite me the learned Anatomist Dr. Tyson with some other fellows of our Society:*

September 18 (Old Style): *I went to Lond[on] to visite & waite on the Dutchesse of Grafton now greate with Child, a most vertuous & beautifull Lady, & dining with her at my Lord Chamberlains met my Lo[rd] of St. Albans, now growne so blind, that he could not see to the taking his meate: It is incredible how how easy a life this Gent[leman] has lived, & in what plenty even abroad, whilst his Majestie was a sufferer; nor lesse, the immense summs he has lost at play, which yet at about 80 yeares old he continues, having one that sets by him to name the spot in the Chards: He eate & dranke with extraordinary appetite. He is with all this a prudent old Courtier, & much inrich'd since his Majesties returne. After dinner I walked to survey the sad demolitions of Clarendon house that costly & onely sumptuous Palace of the late L[ord] Chancellor Hydes, where I have often ben so cherefull with him, & so sad; hapning to make him a visite but the day before he fled from the angry Parliament, accusing him of mal-administration, & envious at his grandure, who from a private lawyer, came to be fatherinlaw to the Duke of York; &, as some would suggest, designing his Majesties marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, not apt to breede: To this they imputed much of our unhapinesse, & that being sole Minister & favorite at his Majesties Restauration he neglected to gratifie his Majesties suffering party, for the rewards he received of his richer, & disloyal subjects, who were the cause of our troubles: But perhapps as many of these were injuriously laied to his charge; so he kept the Government far steadier than since it has proved: I could name some others who I thinke contributed greatly to his ruine, The bouffones, and the Misses to whom he was an Eye sore: 'Tis true he was of a jolly temper; after the old English fashion; but France had now the ascendant, & we become quite another nation. The C[h]ancellor gon, & dying in Exile, the Earle his successor sold that which cost 50000 pounds building to the Young Duke of Albemarle for 25000, to pay his debts, which how contracted remaines yet a Mysterie, his sonn being no way a prodigal; some imagine the*



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

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Dutchesse his daughter had ben chargeable to him; however it were, this stately Palace is decreede to ruine, to support the prodigious Wast the D[uke] of Albemarle had made of his Estate, since the old man died; so as selling it to the highest bidders, it fell to certaine inferior people, rich bankers & Mechanics, who gave for it & the ground about it 35000 pounds; who designing a new Towne as it were, & the most magnificent Piazza in Europ, 'tis said have already materials toward it, with what they sould of the house alone, more worth than what they paied for it: See the Vicissitude of earthly things: I was plainely astonish'd as at this demolition, so noe lesse, at the little armie of Labourers, & Artificers in levelling ground, laying foundations, & contriving greate buildings at an expense of 200000 pounds, if they perfect their designe:

September 19 (Old Style): *I din'd at Mrs. Boscawens, visited Sir St: Fox:*

September 20 (Old Style): *did some buisnesse among the Lawyers, having a troublesome suite of an Accompt, with Mr. Pretiman my Wifes Unkle, pretending bills of Ex-change not paied, during her Fathers Residence in France: This Controversie having now lasted for many Yeares, coming now to be defended by me, upon My Fa: in Laws decease, as executor in right of my Wife (whose land was engag'd, & Writings [kept] from us, on an imaginary debt) to put it to a final Issue, I was now to commence all a new; & for that end, did this day (among other Council) retaine Mr. North, brother to my L[ord] Keeper; & so referr the issue to the good providence of God, & return'd home to my house: Note, that by the way, I stepped in to a Gold-beaters work-house, who shewed me the wonderfull ductilitie of that spreading & oylie Metall: he said it must be finer than the standard; such as was old Angel gold: & that of such he had once to the value of 100 pounds, stamp'd with the Agnus Dei, & coyn'd at the time of the holy-War, which had ben found in a ruin'd Wall some where in the north, neere to Scotland: some of which he beate into leaves, & the rest sold to the Curiosi of Antiquities & Medails.*

27th of 12th month: A [witch](#) trial was held in Chester in Pennsylvania, before Friend [William Penn](#).



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

This woman was being charged with injuring children and bewitching cattle. She was found guilty, not of witchcraft, but “of having the common fame of a witch,” and was sent out of the court under the care of her friends. This is the manner in which the affair would later be ratiocinated by a Pennsylvania historian:

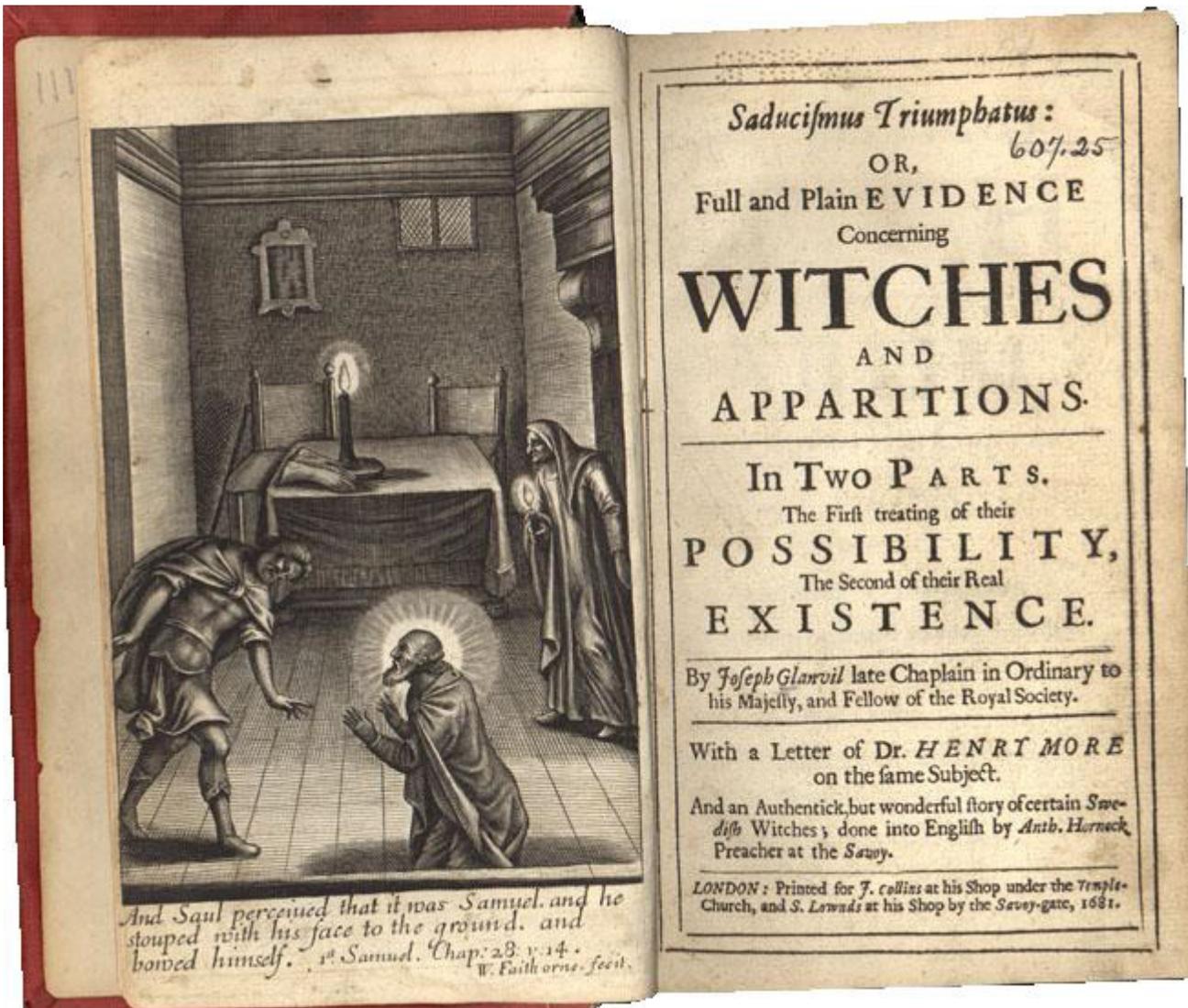
Margaret Mattson and Yeshro Hendrickson, (Swedish women) who had been accused as witches on the 7th inst. were cited to their trial; on which occasion there were present, as their judges, Governor William Penn and his council, James Harrison, William Biles, Lasse Cock, William Haigne, C. Taylor, William Clayton and Thomas Holmes. The Governor having given the Grand Jury their charge, they found the bill! The testimony of the witnesses before their Petit Jury is recorded. Such of the Jury



as were absent were fined forty shillings each. Margaret Mattson being arraigned, "she pleads not guilty, and will be tried by the country." Sundry witnesses were sworn, and many vague stories told—as that she bewitched calves, geese, &c., &c.,—that oxen were rather above her malignant powers, but which reached all other cattle. The daughter of Margaret Mattson was said to have expressed her convictions of her mother being a witch. And the reported say-so's of the daughter were given in evidence. The dame Mattson "denieth Charles Ashcom's attestation at her soul, and saith where is my daughter? let her come and say so," — "the prisoner denieth all things, and saith that the witness speaks only by hear say."

Governor Penn finally charged the Jury, who brought in a verdict sufficiently ambiguous and ineffective for such a dubious offence, saying they find her "guilty of having the common fame of a witch, but not guilty in the manner and form as she stands indicted." They, however, take care to defend the good people from their future malfaisance by exacting from each of them security for good behaviour for six months. A decision infinitely more wise than hanging or drowning! They had each of them husbands, and Lasse Cock served as interpreter for Mrs. Mattson. The whole of this trial may be seen in detail in my [John Watson's] MS ANNALS, page 506, in the Historical Society. By this judicious verdict we as Pennsylvanians have probably escaped the odium of Salem. It is not, however, to be concealed that we had a law standing against witches; and it may possibly exonerate us in part, and give some plea for the trial itself, to say it was from a precedent by statute of King James I. That act was held to be part of our law by an act of our provincial Assembly, entitled "an act against conjuration, witchcraft and dealing with evil and wicked spirits." It says therein, that the act of King James I, "shall be put in execution in this province, and be of like force and effect as if the same were here repeated and enacted!" So solemnly and gravely sanctioned as was that act of the king, what could we as colonists do! Our act as above was confirmed in all its parts, by the dignified council of George II., in the next year after its passage here, in the presence of eighteen peers, including the great duke of Marlborough himself!¹⁵⁴ The superstition, such as it was, may have been deemed the common sin of the day. The enlightened Judge Hale himself fell into its belief.

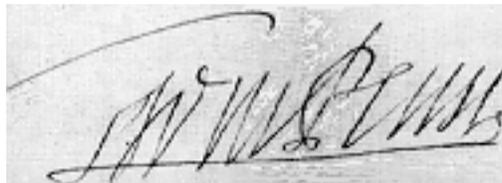
154. Nor was the dread of witchcraft an English failing only. We may find enough of it in France also; for six hundred persons were executed there for that alleged crime in 1609! In 1634, Grandiere, a priest of Loudun, was burnt for bewitching a whole convent of nuns! In 1654, twenty women were executed in Bretagne for their witcheries!





1684

Friend [William Penn](#) said something exceedingly Thoreauvian when he 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.”



The Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had asked other Friends throughout America to send delegations to this year’s meeting in Philadelphia, but the only delegations to arrive were from [Rhode Island](#) and from Maryland.

Allan Ramsay was born in Leadhills.

Friend [George Fox](#)’s epistle entitled “To The Suffering Friends Of Dantzic”:



Number CCCXCVI, Volume VIII, pages 254-255. Friends, with my love in the Lord Jesus Christ to you, who is your saviour and prophet, that God has raised up for you, to hear in all things; your shepherd, that has laid down his life for you, whose voice ye must hear, who will feed you in his living pastures of life, who is your priest, that offered himself for you, who sanctifies you, that he might present you to God: so is become your high priest, who is made higher than the heavens; so is a higher priest than the priesthood of Aaron, and all the priesthods upon the earth, that are made by men below: for he is a high priest, made higher than the heaven. Heb. vii. And so, is the chief shepherd and bishop of your souls, to oversee you, that you do not go astray from God, who is your sanctuary, in whom you are preserved from the destroyer; who destroys the devil, the great destroyer, and his works, and bruises his head, and breaks his power: he, namely, Christ, is your saviour; in him you have rest and peace, salvation, and life eternal. Now, dear friends, we do hear and understand, that the magistrates have cast you into prison again in Dantzic; and that they have proffered you you liberty, upon condition that you would go away, or forsake your common meeting place, or divide yourselves into several little meetings. Truly, friends, we have had many of these proffers made to us within these twenty or thirty years, but we never durst make such bargains or covenants, to forsake the assembling of ourselves together, as we sued to do; but did leave our suffering cause wholly to the Lord Christ Jesus, in whose name we were gathered, who has all power in heaven and



earth given unto him: and the Lord at last did and hath tendered the hearts of many of our persecutors both in England and in other places; and therefore in the spirit and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, it is good to be faithful; who is God all-sufficient to support and supply you all in whatever you do, and strengthen you in all conditions. For if that should get little advantage upon you, and get you into weakness, it would not rest so, but get more upon you. And therefore it is good to stand fast in the liberty in Christ Jesus, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, who hath made you free out of the snares, and bondage, and limitations of the wills of the sons of old Adam. And whereas the magistrates have alleged that Christ departed out of the coasts of Gadarenes upon their request, after he had cast the devils out of the possessed men (sic) and they entered into their swine, and run into the sea. this argument is of no weight, for you to go out of their coasts or city, who are settled citizens, and have wives and families; for Christ went up and down from place to place and preached; as he said, "The son of man hath not where to lay his head, though the subtle foxes had holes, and the high-flown fowls had their nests. "And would they take it kindly themselves, if the king of Poland, their protector, who is of a contrary profession, should use the same argument against to them, and say, begone, or else do not meet at your great public places of worship, but meet in small companies, or else to depart out of these coasts, as Christ did out of the coasts of the Gadarnees. And if you do not, then you are disobedient to Christ's example; as they do apply it upon you. and so, let them weight the matter and their argument with the just law of God, to do unto you as they would be done unto themselves. And now, dear friends, I desire, however, that you walk wisely, and gently, and lovingly, and meekly, and soberly to all the magistrates, and all people, that they may have no just occasion in any thing against you. for the good must overcome the bad, as the apostle says, "Overcome evil with good," and dwell in that love that can bear all things, and endure all things. And nothing can separate you from this love which you have in God through Jesus Christ. In this love build up and edify one another, that by it you may answer the good in all people, and spread his truth abroad, and be valiant for that upon earth. So in his holy, peaceable truth, and his seed Christ Jesus, in which all nations are blest, God almighty preserve and keep you to his glory. Amen. And now, dear friends, you that have stood such hard and cruel sufferings so long, for the Lord's name and truth, and could not be overcome by cruelty, take heed now lest you be overcome by fair words and flattery; for in that there is a greater danger.

G.F.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

March 6: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), [Friend Walter Clarke](#) got married with the widowed [Friend](#) Freeborn Hart Williams, age 47.

May 2: [Baron de Lahontan](#) reported from Beaupré in New France that “In truth, the peasants here live much more comfortably than do many gentlemen in France. When I say peasants, I am in error. One must say habitants, since here, the word peasant is no more welcome than it is in Spain.”

[Friend](#) Thomas Fish of [Portsmouth](#) [[Aquidneck Island](#), [Rhode Island](#)] designated, to his “Grandson Preserved Fish¹⁵⁵ the sonn and heire of my Sonn Thomas Fish Late of Portsmouth ... to be by him ... Possessed ... after the terme of Sixteen years ... which will be in the year one Thousand Seven hundred the Late Dwelling house of my ... Sonn Thomas Fish Deceased ... with ... all ... Lands Orchards, Gardens, and Out houses ... in Portsmouth ... containeing ... fiteene Acres ... Bounded on the North by Stephen Cornells Land on the East by the Land Lately belonging to Thomas Cooke Deceased on the South and West by the Highwayses or common of said Towne ... second day of may ... one Thousand six hundred Eighty and four

Wit.

Thomas fish

Thomas Ward

Ammy Ward

Mary Billing

Thomas Fish ... 2: day of may 1684 ... Did ... acknowledge this ... John Albro: Assistant”

November 8: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Mary Cogshall, the wife of John Cogshall and mother of [Friend](#) Joshua Cogshall of [Portsmouth](#), died.

155. This Friend Preserved (pronounced pre-SER-vedd) Fish (1679-1745) would when he would grow up become the father of Friend Preserved Fish (1713-1813) the centenarian blacksmith of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, and the grandfather of Preserved Fish (1766-1846), a whaling captain who became a merchant first in New Bedford, Massachusetts and then in New-York, and then make himself one of the 28 brokers who created what would eventually become known as the New York Stock Exchange. The family was Huguenot and Quaker. The Preserved of the 3d generation was a convert to Episcopalianism and his remains, as befit an extremely wealthy man, are in Vault 75 of the New York City Marble Cemetery on Manhattan Island.



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May 31: Friend [George Fox](#) went again across the channel to Holland.

George Fox

Now had I drawings in Spirit to go into Holland, to visit the Seed of God there. And as soon as the yearly meeting was over I prepared for my journey. There went with me from London Alexander Parker, George Watts, and Nathaniel Brassey, who also had drawings into that country.

We took coach the 31st of the Third month, 1684, and got to Colchester that night. Next day being First-day, we went to the meeting there; and though there was no notice given of my coming, yet our being there was presently spread over the town, and in several places in the country at seven and ten miles distance; so that abundance of Friends came in double-horsed, which made the meeting very large.

I had a concern and travail in my mind, lest this great gathering should stir up the town, and be more than the magistrates could well bear. But it was very quiet and peaceable, and a glorious meeting we had, to the settling and establishing of Friends both in town and country; for the Lord's power was over all; blessed be His name for ever!

Truly the Lord's power and presence was beyond words; for I was but weak to go into a meeting, and my face (by reason of a cold I had taken) was sore; but God manifested His strength in us and with us, and all was well. The Lord have the glory for evermore, for His supporting power!

It was the latter end of the summer when I came to London, where I stayed the winter following; saving that once or twice, my wife being in town with me, I went with her to her son Rous's at Kingston. And though my body was very weak, yet I was in continual service, either in public meetings, when I was able to bear them, or in particular business amongst Friends, and visiting those that were sufferers for Truth, either by imprisonment or loss of goods.

Many things also in this time I wrote, some for the press, and some for particular service; as letters to the King of Denmark and Duke of Holstein on behalf of Friends that were sufferers in their dominions.

FOX'S JOURNAL

At this point Friend Fox wrote the Duke of Holstein, ending his letter with: "I entreat the duke to consider these things. I entreat him to mind God's grace and truth in his heart that is come by Jesus; that by his Spirit of Grace and truth he may come to serve and worship God in his Spirit and truth; so that he may serve the living eternal God that made him, in his generation, and have his peace in Christ, that the world cannot take away. And I do desire his good, peace, and prosperity in this world, and his eternal comfort and happiness in the world that is



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

everlasting. Amen. G.F. London, 26th of the 8th Month, 1684.”

The yearly meeting coming on, I was much concerned for Friends that came up to it out of the country, lest they should meet with any trouble or disturbance in their passage up or down; and the rather because about that time a great bustle arose in the nation upon the Duke of Monmouth's landing in the West. [Charles II's bastard disembarked in Lyme in Devonshire in his attempt to secure the crown but would be defeated and captured at Sedgemoor on July 6, 1685.] But the Lord, according to His wonted goodness, was graciously pleased to preserve Friends in safety, and gave us a blessed opportunity to meet together in peace and quietness, and accompanied our meeting with His living, refreshing presence: blessed for ever be His holy name!

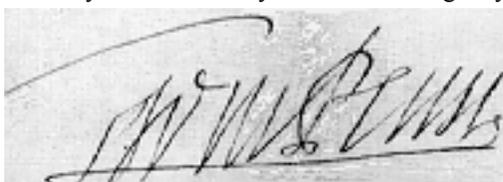
** Considering the hurries that were in the nation, it came upon me at the close of this meeting to write a few lines to Friends, to caution all to keep out of the spirit of the world, in which trouble is, and to dwell in the peaceable Truth.*

FOX'S JOURNAL

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

12th of 6th month (August): Proprietor [William Penn](#) left Philadelphia in the ketch *Endeavor*, on the initial leg of his journey to England to counter the influence of Lord Baltimore at court, which was such as to imperil his claim to Pennsylvania. He would be away from his colony for the following 15 years. He took back to England with



him a suspicion that maybe the tribes of the American forest were the Lost Tribes of Israel. On the basis of his contact with Jews in England, he had been noticing some similarities not only in facial conformation but also in language: “A man would think himself in Dukes Place or Bury Street in London, where he seeth them.” Their languages, which he did not understand, sounded a lot to him like Hebrew, which he did not understand. Does that mean that Penn became a self-entitling American Exceptionalist? –Well, not necessarily, as there’s no record that he took this line of thought in any reprehensible direction.

This was [Friend](#) William’s old Quaker meetinghouse in Chester, Pennsylvania:





1685

Friend [George Fox](#)'s epistle entitled "Concerning The Pure and undefiled Religion, That Was Set Up Above Sixteen Hundred Years Ago: Which All That do Own God And Christ Are To Walk In":



Dear Friends, you who profess the light, faith, grace, and spirit of Christ, and the pure undefiled religion before God the Father, are to keep yourselves unspotted from the world, and to bridle your tongues from evil words, which corrupt good manners; the light of Christ Jesus letteth you see the spots of the world; and the force of God will teach you to deny them; and the spirit of truth, if you be led by it, teacheth you to mortify and subdue them. And now friends, here is the pure and undefiled religion which the apostle in the primitive times did own, and which now we do own: this is pure religion, and is undefiled before God the Father, and to keep unspotted from the world. First. This religion is pure. Secondly. It is undefiled before God the Father. and that which is pure and undefiled before God the Father, if you live in it and obey it, it will keep you unspotted from the world, and so from the spots of the world: and that which keeps you from the spots of the world, will keep you from the body of death, and sins of the world; which you are made from, by the circumcision of Christ, by his spirit, and by the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, are made free from the law of sin and death. And all such that follow the lust of the eye, the pride of life, and the lust of the flesh, which is not of the Father, but of the God of the world, that abode not in the truth, such are spotted with the spots of the world, and are proud, vain, lofty, scornful, high, and spotted with the world spots, and are void of the pure undefiled religion before God the Father. And take heed of malice, hatred, envy, wrath, rage, and fury; these are the spots of the world, who bear such fruits, contrary to the spirit of meekness, gentleness, kindness, tenderness, sobriety, love and mercifulness, which are the fruits of the pure spirit of God, which leadeth to the pure undefiled religion before God the Father. which is to visit the fatherless, and widows in their affliction and to keep unspotted from the world. This pure and undefiled religion keepeth in the purity of life and conversation; and this is above all, and keeps from all vain religions in the world; which pure and undefiled religion, it is the duty of all true christians walk in, by which they may be kept from the spots of the world, and this is the religion that was set up above sixteen hundred years ago, in the church of Christ; and happy had all Christendom, been, if they had kept to this pure and undefiled religion to this day, and they would not have made so many religions as they have done. But to this pure undefiled religion they must come again, if ever they come to the true religion; for none can make a better, than the pure undefiled religion, which was set up in the church, (in the apostles' days,) above sixteen hundred years ago; unto which all that profess christianity should be comformable; even



to this pure undefiled religion which will keep them from the spots of the world, and then their religion will not be of the world. And this is the one pure undefiled religion that all christians should be of, which is from one God, the creator of all. so there is one God, the creator of all, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom all things were made and created, who is the one mediator betwixt God and man; even the man Christ Jesus; there is one body, and one spirit, even as you are called to one hope of your calling; and one God and Father of all, who is above you all, and in you all, and through you all; and there is one faith which Christ Jesus is the author and finisher of; and there is one baptism, and by one spirit we are all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, bond or free, must all drink into this one spirit of Christ, and so to keep the unity in the spirit, which is the bond of peace. For the apostle saith, "If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is non of his," Rom. viii. 9. for Christ saith in his prayer to his Father, "That they be all one, (meaning the true Christians,) as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that they may be one, even as we are one; I in the, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one;' to wit, the believers and followers of Christ. John xvii, 21,22,23. here you may see, God and Christ are one in them, so he prayeth, (that his people may be one,) in whom they have rest, life, peace, and salvation with God, through Jesus Christ. Amen. "Let your conversation or practice be without covetousness," etc. Heb. xiii. 5. "Only let your conversation be as becometh the gospel of Christ." Philip. i. 17.

G.F. The 4th of the 2nd month, 1685

His epistle entitled "To Friends In The Ministry In Pennsylvania and New Jersey" dates to this year:



Dear Friends, - With my love to you all, and all the rest of Friends; I was glad to hear from you; but you gave me no account of the increase of truth amongst you, nor what meetings you have had amongst the Indian kings and their people abroad in the countries, and of your visiting Friends in New England, Virginia, and Carolina, nor of your travels and labours in the gospel; who have in all those countries, liberty to serve and worship God, and preach the truth. And I understand many have a desire to live in it, especially in Carolina; and you who travel now from Friends, to Friends thither, it is thought strange that you do not visit them; therefore I desire that you may all improve your gifts and talents, and not hide them in a napkin, lest they be taken from you; and not to put your candle under a bushel, lest it go out; and not to be like the foolish virgins, which kept their name of virgins, but neglected having oil in their lamps. Such were not diligent in the work of God, nor in the concerns of the Lord, nor in their own particulars. And therefor my desires are, that you may all be diligent, serving



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

*the Lord and minding his glory, and the prosperity of his truth, this little time that you have left to live; and be not Adam in the earth, but use this world as thought you did not use it; for they that covet after this world, fall into divers snares and hurtful lusts. And therefore consider, that you are but sojourners here, that you may pass your time in the fear of God; and you being many, and having many of the Friends of the ministry, going over into those parts, you may be a hindrance one unto another, if you do not travel in the life of the universal truth, that would have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. And if you would have them come to the knowledge of the truth, let them know it, and where it is to be found. So I desire that you be valiant for it upon the earth, that you may give a good account unto God at the last with joy. So, I desire that all Friends in the ministry may see this in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. And so with my love to you all in the holy seed of life that reigns over all. Amen.
G.F. Enfield, the 30th of the 5th month, 1685*

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading 'George Fox' in a cursive script.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

James would be [King James II of England and VII of Scotland](#) until 1688, despite the fact that his coronation ceremony was being deferred until well into the following year — meanwhile, his forces would be putting down a rebellion by one of the illegitimate sons of King Charles II, the Duke of Monmouth (some [Quakers](#) were associated with this uprising).

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

A few months after the accession of [King James II](#), [John Evelyn](#) would be appointed one of three commissioners for the privy seal, an office he would hold for 15 months.

- 1660 Episcopacy restored in England and Scotland.
The people of Denmark, being oppressed by the nobles, surrender their privileges to Frederick III. who becomes absolute,
- 1662 The Royal Society established at London by Charles II.
- 1663 Carolina planted; 1728, divided into two separate governments.
- 1664 The New Netherlands, in North America, conquered from the Swedes and Dutch, by the English.
- 1665 The plague rages in London, and carries off 68,000 persons.
- 1666 The great fire of London began September 2, and continued three days, in which were destroyed 13,000 houses, and 400 streets.
Tea first used in England.
- 1667 The peace of Breda, which confirms to the English the New Netherlands, now known by the names of Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey.
St. James's Park planted, and made a thoroughfare for public use, by Charles II.
- 1670 The English Hudson's Bay company incorporated.
- 1672 Louis XIV. over-runs great part of Holland, when the Dutch open their sluices, being determined to drown their country, and retire to their settlements in the East Indies.
African company established.
- 1678 The peace of Nimeguen.
The habeas corpus act passed.
- 1680 A great comet appeared, and from its nearness to our earth, alarmed the inhabitants. It continued visible from November 3 to March 9.
William Penn, a Quaker, receives a charter for planting Pennsylvania.
- 1683 India stock sold from 360 to 500 per cent.
- 1685 Charles II. dies, aged 55, and is succeeded by his brother James II.
The duke of Monmouth, natural son to Charles II. raises a rebellion, but is defeated at the battle of Sedgmoor, and beheaded.
The edict of Nantes infamously revoked by Louis XIV. and the Protestants

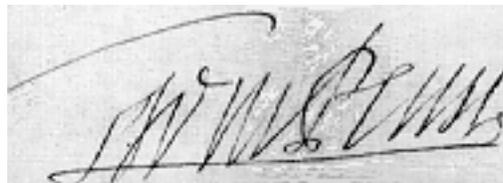
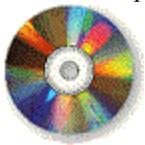
As a result of a new militia act, the persecution of Barbados Quakers intensified. Previously, when a Quaker would refuse to show up for militia training, the crown had seized quantities of sugar. At this point, when a Quaker failed to appear, the military authorities would seize and sell one or another of this Quaker slaveholder's blacks: "they levy their execution upon our most serviceable negroes, both men, women and children, taking away, parting and selling husbands, wives, and children one from another, to the great grief, lamentation and distraction of our negro families."

(Isn't that precious? — They needed to protect "our negro families." What, wasn't it going to constitute ample righteousness, for these Quakers to shun war the way they did? Were they also going to need to disentangle themselves from human slavery?)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

August 5: As Magistrate Samuel Sewall was riding from Boston to Dorchester Lecture, he noticed that a few feet of ground had been enclosed with boards,

which is done by the Quakers out of respect to some one or more hung and buried near the gallows though the governor forbade them when they asked leave.

This would have been the location of the hollow into which the bodies of Marmaduke Stevenson and William Robinson had been dumped on Boston Common, where in 1675 at night three Friends (one of them probably Friend Edward Wharton of Salem) had put up an illegal memorial. The marker that they had also put up had been immediately effaced by the citizenry, leaving only their little fence of boards:

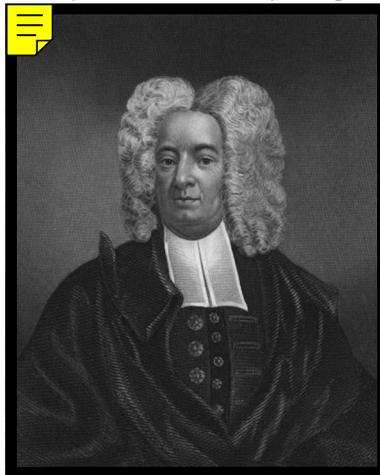
Although our Bodyes here
in silent Earth do lie,
Yet are our Righteous Souls at Rest.
Our Blood for Vengance cry.

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-handly 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^t Mather.

March: Friend [George Fox](#) returned to London.

George Fox

*I came back to London in the First month, 1686, and set myself with all diligence to look after Friends' sufferings, from which we had now some hopes of getting relief. The sessions came on in the Second month at Hicks's-Hall, where many Friends had appeals to be tried. I was with these from day to day, to advise them, and to see that no opportunity was slipped nor advantage lost; and they generally succeeded well.
* Soon after the King was pleased, upon our often laying our sufferings before him, to give order for the releasing of all prisoners for conscience' sake that were in his power to discharge. Thereby the prison-doors were opened, and many hundreds of Friends, some of whom had been long in prison, were set at liberty.*

FOX'S JOURNAL





March 15-May 16: [James](#), who had as yet not even undergone his coronation ceremony, rashly issued a warrant of Royal Pardon for all those of his subjects who were in prison under *præmunire* because of their unwillingness to attend the established church, or to swear the oath. More than 1,600 prisoners, about 1,500 of them [Quakers](#), would be venturing freely into the light of day — some for the first time in years. (It would be impulsive acts such as this one, entirely against the counsel of his powerful advisers, which eventually would bring about a “Bloodless Revolution” in which this James II would be deposed and would need to pass into exile overseas (tossing the Great Seal of England into the waters of the Thames as he departed).¹⁵⁶

George Fox

Some of those who had for many years been restrained in bonds, came now up to the yearly meeting, which was in the Third month this year. This caused great joy to Friends, to see our ancient, faithful brethren again at liberty in the Lord's work, after their long confinement. And indeed a precious meeting we had; the refreshing presence of the Lord appearing plentifully with us and amongst us.

GEORGE FOX

FOX'S JOURNAL

1687

Peter Dashwood, a Barbados [Quaker](#), refused to participate in the military and was twice obliged “to ride the wooden horse with a musket at each leg.”

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

As an example of an acknowledgement of [Quaker Disownment](#) in the American colonies, here is one that was duly received and placed on file in this year at the Upperside monthly meeting:

"Whereas I G.B. of Chesham, having for divers years made Profession of the holy Truth and way of God wch ye People called Quakers walk in, have of late, through my unfaithfulness to ye Principle I professed, joyned myself in Marriage (with) one who is not in the same Profession of Religion, & have gone to the Priest for the accomplishing therof, agt. the perswasion & conviction of my own Conscience; wherby I have greatly offended God, caused the way of Truth to be evil spoken off, grieved his People among whom I walked, broken my own peace, & drawn the displeasure of the Lord upon myself, to my great trouble & sorrow: In the sense wherof, I do freely acknowledge ye Evill I have done & do sincerely declare yt I am heartily sorry for it.

156. This “Order of Release” is presently in the Archives in Devonshire House in London. It is written on eleven skins of vellum, with a portrait of King James II at the top. We can see that the monarch included the Reverend John Bunyan in his warrant.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

*Nevertheless, I do hereby declare, yt I hold myself firmly bound, before God and men, to keep ye promise I made unto my husband in Marriage, & with full purpose of heart do intend to be unto him a loving and faithfull wife, according to the Covenant made between us.*¹⁵⁷

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

January: On the command of Royal Governor Sir Edmund Andros, [Friend Walter Clarke](#) accepted a place in the general council for New England and allowed the government of [Rhode Island](#) to be dissolved. He would continue his functions under the royal commissioner.

November: When Royal Governor Sir Edmund Andros returned from Connecticut to [Rhode Island](#), [Friend Walter Clarke](#) received him with courtesy and turned the seal of the colony over to him to be destroyed — but he had sent the colony's charter document to his brother asking that it be concealed in some place unknown to himself.

1688

In the colony of Pennsylvania, an informed citizenry, to wit the Dutch-speaking Mennonite [Quakers](#) of Germantown, as the first formal protest against [slavery](#) in the Western Hemisphere, registered their utter lack of union with Governor [William Penn](#) in his tolerance of slavetrading¹⁵⁸ — but the Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) took no action on their petition. It would not be until 1696 that Quakers importing slaves would be threatened with expulsion from the Society.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: One of the first American protests against the slave-trade came from certain German Friends, in 1688, at a Weekly Meeting held in Germantown, Pennsylvania. "These are the reasons," wrote "Garret henderich, derick up de graeff, Francis daniell Pastorius, and Abraham up Den graef," "why we are against the traffick of men-body, as followeth: Is there any that would be done or handled at this manner?... Now, tho they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men like as we will be done ourselves; making no difference of what generation, descent or colour they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike?"¹⁵⁹ This little

157. UPPERSIDE MINUTE BOOK, page 198, 1st of 11th month, 1687/8.

158. Friend [Penn](#) was of the attitude that black servants were preferable to white ones, because eventually an indentured person could free himself or herself while in the case of servants of African descent, "a man has them while they live."



leaven helped slowly to work a revolution in the attitude of this great sect toward slavery and the slave-trade. The Yearly Meeting at first postponed the matter, "It having so General a Relation to many other Parts."¹⁶⁰ Eventually, however, in 1696, the Yearly Meeting advised "That Friends be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more Negroes."¹⁶¹ This advice was repeated in stronger terms for a quarter-century,¹⁶² and by that time Sandiford, Benezet, Lay, and Woolman had begun their crusade. In 1754 the Friends took a step farther and made the purchase of slaves a matter of discipline.¹⁶³ Four years later the Yearly Meeting expressed itself clearly as "against every branch of this practice," and declared that if "any professing with us should persist to vindicate it, and be concerned in importing, selling or purchasing slaves, the respective Monthly Meetings to which they belong should manifest their disunion with such persons."¹⁶⁴ Further, manumission was recommended, and in 1776 made compulsory.¹⁶⁵ The effect of this attitude of the Friends was early manifested in the legislation of all the colonies where the sect was influential, and particularly in Pennsylvania.

One of the first duty acts (1710) laid a restrictive duty of 40s. on slaves, and was eventually disallowed.¹⁶⁶ In 1712 William Southeby petitioned the Assembly totally to abolish slavery. This the Assembly naturally refused to attempt; but the same year, in response to another petition "signed by many hands," they passed an "Act to prevent the Importation of Negroes and Indians,"¹⁶⁷ – the first enactment of its kind in America. This act was inspired largely by the general fear of insurrection which succeeded the "Negro-plot" of 1712 in New York. It declared: "Whereas, divers Plots and Insurrections have frequently happened, not only in the Islands but on the Main Land of *America*, by Negroes, which have been carried on so far that several of the inhabitants have been barbarously Murdered, an Instance whereof we have lately had in our Neighboring Colony of *New York*,"¹⁶⁸ etc. It then proceeded to lay a prohibitive duty of £20 on all slaves imported. These acts were quickly disposed of in England. Three duty acts affecting Negroes, including the prohibitory act, were in 1713 disallowed, and it was directed that "the Dep^{ty} Gov^r Council and Assembly of Pensilvania, be & they are hereby Strictly Enjoyed & required not to permit the said Laws ... to be from henceforward put in Execution."¹⁶⁹ The

159. From fac-simile copy, published at Germantown in 1880. Cf. Whittier's poem, "Pennsylvania Hall" (POETICAL WORKS, Riverside ed., III. 62); and Proud, HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA (1797), I. 219.

160. From fac-simile copy, published at Germantown in 1880.

161. Bettle, NOTICES OF NEGRO SLAVERY, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM. (1864), I. 383.

162. Cf. Bettle, NOTICES OF NEGRO SLAVERY, PASSIM.

163. Janney, HISTORY OF THE FRIENDS, III. 315-7.

164. HISTORY OF THE FRIENDS, III. 317.

165. Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 395.

166. PENN. COL. REC. (1852), II. 530; Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 415.

167. LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA, COLLECTED, etc., 1714, page 165; Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 387.

168. See preamble of the act.

169. The Pennsylvanians did not allow their laws to reach England until long after they were passed: PENN. ARCHIVES, I. 161-2; COL. REC., II. 572-3. These acts were disallowed Feb. 20, 1713. Another duty act was passed in 1712, supplementary to the Act of 1710 (COL. REC., II. 553). The contents are unknown.



Assembly repealed these laws, but in 1715 passed another laying a duty of £5, which was also eventually disallowed.¹⁷⁰ Other acts, the provisions of which are not clear, were passed in 1720 and 1722,¹⁷¹ and in 1725-1726 the duty on Negroes was raised to the restrictive figure of £10.¹⁷² This duty, for some reason not apparent, was lowered to £2 in 1729,¹⁷³ but restored again in 1761.¹⁷⁴ A struggle occurred over this last measure, the Friends petitioning for it, and the Philadelphia merchants against it, declaring that "We, the subscribers, ever desirous to extend the Trade of this Province, have seen, for some time past, the many inconveniencys the Inhabitants have suffer'd for want of Labourers and artificers, ... have for some time encouraged the importation of Negroes;" they prayed therefore at least for a delay in passing the measure.¹⁷⁵ The law, nevertheless, after much debate and altercation with the governor, finally passed. These repeated acts nearly stopped the trade, and the manumission or sale of Negroes by the Friends decreased the number of slaves in the province. The rising spirit of independence enabled the colony, in 1773, to restore the prohibitive duty of £20 and make it perpetual.¹⁷⁶ After the Revolution unpaid duties on slaves were collected and the slaves registered,¹⁷⁷ and in 1780 an "Act for the gradual Abolition of Slavery" was passed.¹⁷⁸ As there were probably at no time before the war more than 11,000 slaves in Pennsylvania,¹⁷⁹ the task thus accomplished was not so formidable as in many other States. As it was, participation in the slave-trade outside the colony was not prohibited until 1788.¹⁸⁰

It seems probable that in the original Swedish settlements along the Delaware slavery was prohibited.¹⁸¹ This measure had, however, little practical effect; for as soon as the Dutch got control the slave-trade was opened, although, as it appears, to no large extent. After the fall of the Dutch Delaware came into English hands. Not until 1775 do we find any legislation on the slave-trade. In that year the colony attempted to prohibit the

170. ACTS AND LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1715, page 270; Chalmers, OPINIONS, II. 118. Before the disallowance was known, the act had been continued by the Act of 1718: Carey and Bioren, LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1700-1802, I. 118; PENN. COL. REC., III. 38.

171. Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 165; PENN. COL. REC., III. 171; Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 389, note.

172. Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 214; Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 388. Possibly there were two acts this year.

173. LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA (ed. 1742), page 354, ch. 287. Possibly some change in the currency made this change appear greater than it was.

174. Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 371; ACTS OF ASSEMBLY (ed. 1782), page 149; Dallas, LAWS, I. 406, ch. 379. This act was renewed in 1768: Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 451; PENN. COL. REC., IX. 472, 637, 641.

175. PENN. COL. REC., VIII. 576.

176. A large petition called for this bill. Much altercation ensued with the governor: Dallas, LAWS, I. 671, ch. 692; PENN. COL. REC., X. 77; Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 388-9.

177. Dallas, LAWS, I. 782, ch. 810.

178. LAWS, I. 838, ch. 881.

179. There exist but few estimates of the number of slaves in this colony: —

In 1721, 2,500-5,000. DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, V. 604.

In 1754, 11,000. Bancroft, HIST. OF UNITED STATES (1883), II. 391.

In 1760, very few. Burnaby, TRAVELS THROUGH N. AMER. (2d ed.), page 81.

In 1775, 2,000. PENN. ARCHIVES, IV 597.

180. Dallas, LAWS, II. 586.

181. Cf. ARGONAUTICA GUSTAVIANA, pages 21-3; DEL. HIST. SOC. PAPERS, III. 10; HAZARD'S REGISTER, IV. 221, §§ 23, 24; HAZARD'S ANNALS, page 372; Armstrong, RECORD OF UPLAND COURT, pages 29-30, and notes.

importation of slaves, but the governor vetoed the bill.¹⁸² Finally, in 1776 by the Constitution, and in 1787 by law, importation and exportation were both prohibited.¹⁸³

Between this year and the end of King William’s War in 1697, Deerfield, as the most outlying settlement, would be raided some six times.



February 18: Four Mennonites of Germantown, Pennsylvania signed a declaration “against the traffic of menbody.”

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

READ THE FULL TEXT

February 30: The petition of four Mennonites of Germantown, Pennsylvania “against the traffic of menbody” was presented to the Dublin, Pennsylvania monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

182. Force, AMERICAN ARCHIVES, 4th Ser., II. 128-9.

183. AMERICAN ARCHIVES, 5th Ser., I. 1178; LAWS OF DELAWARE, 1797 (Newcastle ed.), page 884, ch. 145 b.



It is better to have hired Men to till your Land. Negroes cost from twenty to forty Pistoles, according as they are skilful or robust; there is no Danger that they will leave you, nor hired Help likewise, for the Moment one is missing from the Town, you have only to notify the Savages, who, provided you promise them Something, and describe the Man to them, he is right soon found. But it happens rarely that they quit you, for they would know not where to go, there being few trodden roads, and those which are trodden lead to English Towns or Villages, which, on your writing, will immediately send back your Men. There are Ship-captains who might take them off; but that is open Larceny and would be rigorously punished. Houses of Brick and Frame can be built cheaply, as regards Materials, but the Labor of Workmen is very dear; a Man cannot be got to work for less than twenty-four Pence a Day and found.

... Pasturage abounds here. You can raise every Kind of Cattle, which thrive well. An Ox costs from twelve to fifteen Crowns; a Cow, eight to ten; Horses, from ten to fifty Crowns, and in Plenty. There are even wild ones in the Woods, which are yours, if you can catch them. Foals are sometimes caught. Beef costs two Pence the Pound; Mutton, two Pence; Pork from two to three Pence, according to the Season; Flour fourteen Shillings the one hundred and twelve Pound, all bolted; Fish is very cheap, and Vegetables also; Cabbage, Turnips, Onions and Carrots abound here. Moreover, there are Quantities of Nuts, Chestnuts and Hazelnuts wild. These Nuts are small, but of wonderful Flavor. I have been told that there are other Sorts which we shall see in the Season. I am assured that the Woods are full of Strawberries in their Season. I have seen Quantities of wild Grapevine, and eaten Grapes of very good Flavor, kept by one of my Friends. There is no Doubt that the Vine will do very well; there is some little planted in the Country, which has grown. There is Difficulty in getting the European Vine. If some little could be had, much more would be planted. Those who mean to come over thence, should strive to bring with them of the best.

... The Rivers are full of Fish, and we have so great a Quantity of Sea and River Fish that no Account is made of them. There are here Craftsmen of every Kind, and particularly Carpenters for the building of Ships. The Day after my Arrival, I saw them put into the Water one of three hundred Tons, and since, they have launched two others somewhat smaller.



April 7: The Massachusetts churches sent the Reverend Increase Mather to England to petition for the renewal of the Massachusetts charter.

Sir Edmund Andros was given a new commission by [King James II](#), making him governor of a “Dominion of New England” consisting of the “United Colonies” of New England, New York and New Jersey.

READ THE FULL TEXT

Under this new arrangement, [Friend Walter Clarke](#) was appointed to the governor’s council to represent [Rhode Island](#). When this Royal Governor would be overthrown, this colony would resume its separate charter government, but Friend Walter, carefully not being to blatant about resuming his former post, would for the first ten months allow the deputy governor to fill in for him.

1688. Constables: Sam’l Whipple, Gideon Crawford, Ephraim Pierce, Providence.
Nicholas Cotterill, Joseph Stanton, Haversham.
James Carder, John Rhodes, Warwick.
Jeremiah Smith, Thomas Durfee, John Keas, Portsmouth.
William Gardiner, Rochester.
George Cook, James Towne.
William Rathbone, New Shoreham.
Nathaniel Coddington, Shubael Painter, Benjamin Sherman, Newport.
Sealer at Portsmouth: Robert Lawton.

April 30: A proposed minute was brought to the Germantown Monthly Meeting, a meeting often characterized as a joint [Quaker](#)-Mennonite meeting, on day 30, 2 month, 1688. The minute is justly famous as the very first formal protest against [slavery](#) by any Christian group anywhere, and as the very first formal protest against slavery made anywhere in the Western Hemisphere:

This is to ye Monthly Meeting held at Richard Worrell’s. These are the reasons we are against the traffick of men Body, as followeth: Is there any that would be done or handled in this manner? viz., to be sold or be made a slave of for all the time of his life? How fearfull & fainthearted are many at sea when they see a strange vessel, being afraid it should be a Turck, and they would be Tacken and sold for slaves into Turckey. Now what is this better done as Turcks doe? yea rather it is worse for them, wch say they are Christians; for we hear that ye most part of such Negers are brought heither against their will & consent; and that many of them are stollen. Now, tho’ they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men, licke as we will be done our selves; making no difference of what generation, descent, or Colour they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike? Here is liberty of Conscience, wch is right & reasonable; here ought to be lickewise liberty of ye body, except of evildoers, wch is another case. But to bring men hither, or to robb and sell them against their will, we stand against. In Europe there are many oppressed for Conscience sacke; and here there are those who are



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oppressed wch are of a black Colour. And we, who know that men must not comitt adultery, some doe comitt adultery in others; separating wives from their husbands and giving them to others; and some sell the children of these poor Creatures to other men. Oh! doe consider well this thinge, you who do it; if you would be done in this manner? and if it is done according Christianity? You surpass Holland and Germany in this thing. This mackes an ill report in all those Countries of Europe, where they hear off, that ye Quackers doe here handel men licke they handel there ye Cattel. And for this reason some have no mind or inclination to come hither, and who shall maintaine this your cause or plaid for it? Truely we can not do so, except you shall inform us better hereoff, viz: that christians have liberty to practice this thinge. Pray! What thing in the world can be done worse towards us, then if men should robb or steal us away, & sell us for slaves to strange Countries, separating housband from their wives & children. Being now that this is not done at that manner, we will be done at, therefore we contradict & are against this traffick of menbody. And we who profess that it is not lawful to steal, must lickewise avoid to purchase such things as are stollen, but rather to help stop this robbing and stealing is possible; and such men ought to be delivered out of ye hands of ye Robbers & and sett free as well as in Europe. Then is Pennsilvania to have a good report, instead it hath a bad one for this sacke in other Countries. Especially whereas ye Europeans are desirous to know in what manner ye Quackers does rule in their Province; & most of them doe loock upon us with an envious eye. But if this is well done, whal shall we say is done evil?

If once these slaves (:wch they say are so wicked and stubborn men:) should joint themselves, fight for their freedom and handel their masters and mastrisses as they did handel them before; will these masters and mastrisses tacke the sword at hand & warr against these poor slaves, licke we are able to believe, some will not refuse to doe? Or have these Negers not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?

Now consider well this thing, if it is good or bad? and in case you find it good to handel these blacks at that manner, we desire & require you hereby lovingly, that you may informe us here in, which at this time never was done, viz., that Christians have such a liberty to do so. to the end we shall be satisfied in this point, & satisfie lickewise our good friends & acquaintances in our natif Country, to whose it is a terrour or fearful thing that men should be handled so in Pennsilvania.

This is from our Meeting at Germantown held ye 18. of 2. month 1688. to be delivred to the Monthly Meeting at Richard Worrel's.

gerret hendricks

derick op de graeff

Francis Daniell Pastorious

Abraham op Den graef.

The Monthly meeting would respond with the following minute:



To come into this Country, you should embark at London, whence a Ship sails every alternate Month. The fittest Season to embark is the End of March; or, the End of August and Beginning of September are the true Seasons, more especially because it is neither too warm nor too cold, and you are then no longer in the Season of the Calms, which are frequent in Summer, and which cause Vessels to spend four Months passing thence. Beyond the Fact that the Heats often occasion Sickness on board, there are no Fatigues to undergo, when one has by him good Store of Refreshments and of all Kinds. It is well, too, to have a Surgeon on the Ship on which you take Passage, as we had on ours. In Regard to the Dangers, Care must be taken to embark on a good Vessel, equipped with an ample Crew and with Cannon, and well provided with Victual, above all, that Bread and Water are not lacking. As for the Route, I have said sufficient above; there is no Danger except in nearing the Land, and on the Banks of Sand off Cape Sable, which is near Port-Royal or Acadia, where we found ninety Fathoms. At that Time we were only twenty Leagues from Land; we stood off, and came upon St. George's Bank, which is eighty Leagues from Boston, and there found one hundred Fathoms. From that Point, we took no more Soundings, for three Days after we sighted Cape Coot, which is twenty Leagues from Boston towards the South, and on the Morrow we arrived at Boston, after having fallen in with a Number of very pretty Islands that lie in Front of Boston, most of them cultivated and inhabited by Peasants, which form a very fine View. Boston is situated at the Head of a Bay possibly three or four Leagues in Circumference, shut in by the Islands of which I have told you. Whatever may be the Weather, Vessels lie there in Safety. The Town is built on the Slope of a little Hill, and is as large as La Rochelle. The Town and the Land outside are not more than three Miles in Circuit, for it is almost an Island; it would only be necessary to cut through a Width of three hundred Paces, all Sand, which in less than twice twenty-four Hours would make Boston an Island washed on all Sides by the Sea. The Town is almost wholly built of wooden Houses; but since there have been some ravages by Fire, building of Wood is no longer allowed, so that at this present writing very handsome Houses of Brick are going up. I ought to have told you, at the Beginning of this Article, that you pay in London for Passage here twenty Crowns and twenty-four if you prefer to pay in Boston, so that it is better to pay here than in London; you have one Crown over, since one hundred Pounds at London, are equal to one hundred and twenty-five here, so that the twenty Crowns one must pay at London are twenty-five Crowns here, by reason of



There is here no Religion other than the Presbyterian, the Anglican, Anabaptist, and our own. We have not any Papists, at least that are known to us....

In Regard to acquiring Land, that which is taken up in the Noraganzet Country costs twenty Pounds sterling per hundred Acres Cash down, and twenty-five on Time, for three Years; but Payment is not made because it is not known whether that Country will remain in the Hands of the Proprietors, wrongly thus called, or belong to the King. Until this Matter be decided, no Payment will be made; in all Cases one cannot be obliged to pay more than the Price above mentioned, and in accordance with the Terms of Contract approved before the Town-mayors. We are even assured that if the King holds the Land, the Price will be Nothing, or at least very little, the Crown contenting itself with a small seignorial reservation, so that one can sell and let, the Property being one's own. The Nicmock Country is the private Property of the President, and Land there costs Nothing. I do not yet know the Quantity they give to each Family; some Persons have told me, from fifty to one hundred [Acres], according to Families.... It rests with those who wish to take up Land to take it in one of the two Countries on the Seashore, or in the Interior. The Nicmock Country is in the Interior, and twenty Leagues from Boston, and an equal Distance from the Sea, so that, when they wish to send or receive Anything from Boston, it must be carted. There are little Rivers and Ponds around this Settlement, fruitful in Fish, and Woods full of Game. M. Bondet is their Minister. The Inhabitants are as yet only fifty-two Persons. The Noraganzet Country is four Miles from the Sea, and consequently it has more Commerce with the Sea Islands, as Boston [two words illegible], and the Island of Rodislan, which is only ten Miles away. This Island, they tell me, is well-settled, and with a great Trade, which I know of my own Knowledge. There are at Noraganzet about one hundred Persons; M. Carré is their Minister.

... You can bring with you hired Help in any Vocation whatever; there is an absolute Need of them to till the Land. You may also own Negroes and Negresses; there is not a House in Boston, however small may be its Means, that has not one or two. There are those that have five or six, and all make a good Living. You employ Savages to work your Fields, in Consideration of one Shilling and a half a Day and Board, which is eighteen Pence; it being always understood that you must provide them with Beasts or Utensils for Labor.



ALERT
ALERT



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

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At our monthly meeting at Dublin ye 30-2mo-:1688 we having inspected ye matter above mentioned and considered of it, we finde it so weighty that we think it not Expedient for us to meddle with it here, but do Rather comit it to ye consideration of ye Quarterly meeting; ye tennor of it being nearly related to ye truth. On behalfe of ye monthly meeting. Signed, P[er] Jo:Hart.

It would be presented to the quarterly meeting, and forwarded to the [Yearly Meeting](#), which would adopt the following minute:

This above mentioned was read in our quarterly meeting at Philadelphia, the 4 of ye 4th mo 88 and was from thence recommended to the Yearly Metting and the above-said Derick and the other two mentioned therein to present the same to ye Abovesaid meetting it being a thing of too great A weight for this meeting to determine. Signed by ye order of ye meetting, Anthony Morris.

The minute that would be adopted by the Yearly Meeting would be as follows:

At a Yearly Meeting held at Burlington the 5th day of the 7th month, 1688. A Paper being here presented by some German Friends concerning the Lawfulness and Unlawfulness of Buying and keeping Negroes, It was adjudged not to be so proper for this Meeting to give a Positive Judgment in the Case, It having so General a Relation to many other Parts, and therefore at Present they forbear It.

Five years later, the Quaker followers of George Keith would publish “An Exhortation & Caution to Friends Concerning Buying or keeping of Negroes,” New York (William Bradford). On its last page is the statement, “Given forth by our Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia, the 13th day of the 8th Month, 1693, and recommended to all our Friends and Brethren who are one with us in our Testimony for the Lord Jesus Christ, and too all others professiong Christianity.” The text adds “In 1696, also, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting [of the [Religious Society of Friends](#)] received anti-slavery protests from some of its Pennsylvania members (prominent among whom was Cadwallader Morgan), and it advised its members against the importation of slaves.”

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

July 5: The petition “against the traffic of menbody” was presented to the Pennsylvania [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

September: Friend [George Fox](#) returned to London from recuperating in the country.

In the Seventh month I returned to London, having been near three months in the country for my health's sake, which was very much impaired; so that I was hardly able to stay in a meeting the whole time; and often after a meeting had to lie down on a bed. Yet did not my weakness of body take me off from the service of the Lord, but I continued to labour in and out of meetings, in His work, as He gave me opportunity and ability.

[FOX'S JOURNAL](#)

October 17 (7, Old Style): Friend [George Fox](#) wrote a general epistle to English Friends about the fraught domestic political situation.

I had not been long in London before a great weight came upon me, and the Lord gave me a sight of the great bustles and troubles, revolution and change, which soon after came to pass. In the sense thereof, and in the movings of the Spirit of the Lord, I wrote "A general epistle to Friends, to forewarn them of the approaching storm, that they might all retire to the Lord, in whom is safety." [The army of William III, Prince of Orange, would be disembarking in England during the following month.] About this time great exercises and weights came upon me (as they had usually done before the great revolutions and changes of government), and my strength departed from me; so that I reeled, and was ready to fall, as I went along the streets. At length I could not go abroad at all, I was so weak, for some time, till I felt the power of the Lord to spring over all, and had received an assurance from Him, that He would preserve His faithful people to Himself through all.

[FOX'S JOURNAL](#)

October 19 (9, Old Style): Per the diary of [John Evelyn](#):

*I return'd the 9th — A paper of what the Bishops advised his Majestie [was publish'd]
A [forme of] prayer, the Bishops were injoy[n]'d to prepare [an office] against the feared
Invasion.
A pardon published: Souldiers & Mariners daily pressed &c.*



1689

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), the [Quakers](#) agreed that “the Yearly Men and Womens Meeting which useth to be at William Coddinton’s shall be ye first part at ye Meeting House and later part for ye affayers of ye Church to be at Walter Newberry’s.” The meetinghouse referred to would presumably have been the repurposed residence that had been donated by the governor, Friend Nicholas Easton.



GREAT MEETINGHOUSE

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

April 11 (Old Style): The “Glorious Revolution” overthrew the English Catholics and [King James II](#), and [William, Prince of Orange](#) (and Mary, his wife), with much help from [Huguenot](#) exiles in Great Britain, took the throne as the Protestant sovereigns of England.



Whereupon, an Act of Toleration would close a chapter in [Quaker](#) history: the Convention Parliament would issue a Bill of Rights limiting the powers of the monarchy over Parliament.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

This act, ratifying the Revolution of 1688-1689, would incorporate the earlier “Declaration of Rights” offered to William upon his accession. This established a constitutional monarchy in Britain. It barred Roman Catholics from the throne. [William III and Mary II](#) became joint monarchs of England and Scotland (to 1694).



A Toleration Act granted freedom of worship to dissenters in England. This Toleration Act closed a chapter in Quaker history. Although the [Religious Society of Friends](#) would still be prosecuted for refusal to pay tithes,

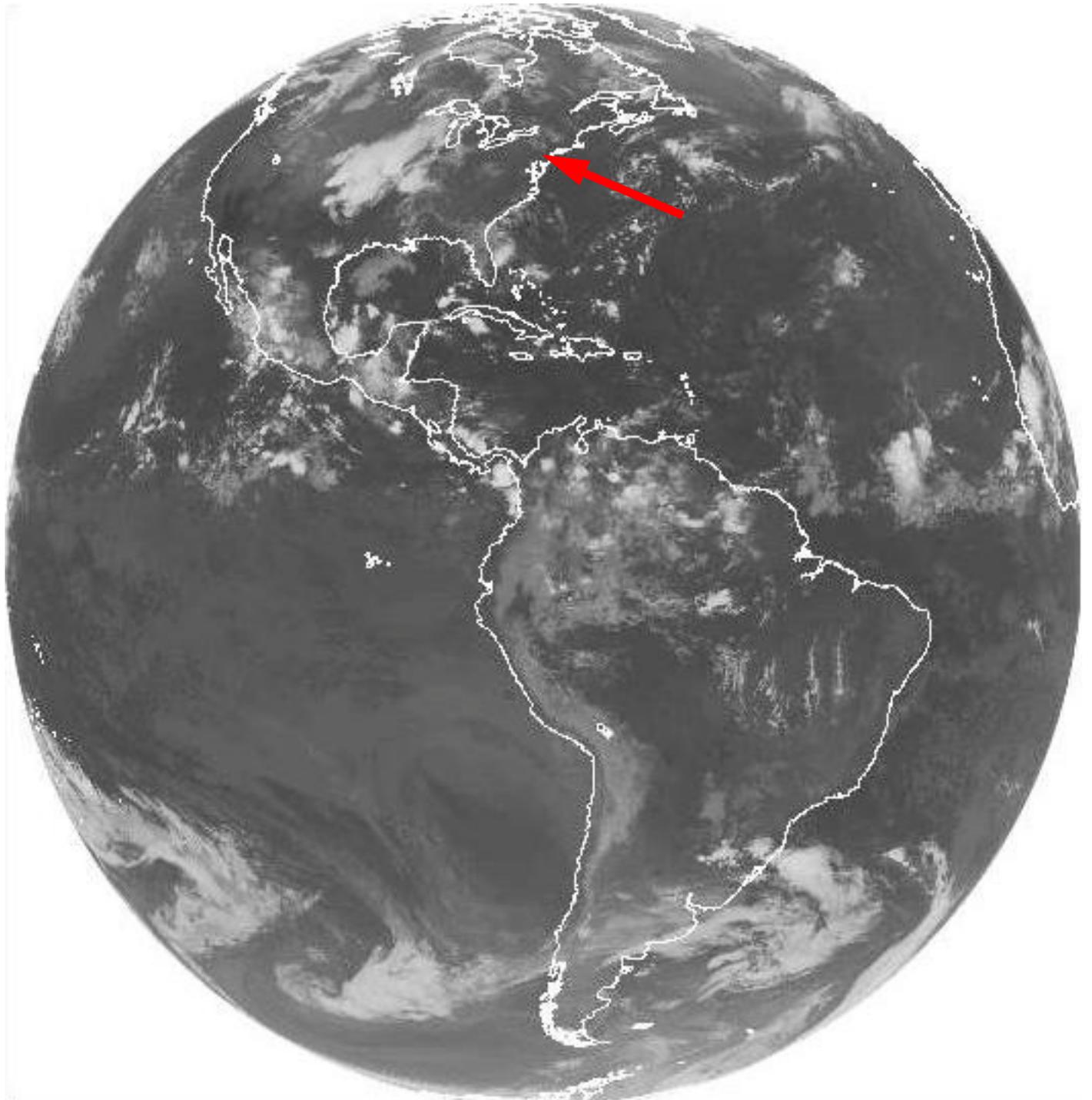


This Town carries on a great Trade with the Islands of America and with Spain. They carry to the Islands Flour, Salt Beef, Salt Pork, Cod, Staves, Salt Salmon, Salt Mackerel, Onions, and Oysters salted in Barrels, great Quantities of which are taken here; and for their Return they bring Sugar, Cotton Wool, Molasses, Indigo, Sago and Pieces of [illegible]. In the trade with Spain, they carry only dried Fish, which is to be had here at eight to twelve Shillings the Quintal, according to Quality; the Return Cargo is in Oils, Wine and Brandy, and other Merchandise which comes by Way of London, for Nothing can be imported here, coming from a foreign Port, unless it has first been to London and paid the half Duty, after which it can be transported here, where for all Duty one-half per cent is paid for Importation, since Merchandise for Exportation pays Nothing at all.

... You must disabuse yourself of the Impression that Advantages are here offered to Refugees. It is true that in the Beginning some Subsistence was furnished them, but at Present there is a Need of some for those who shall bring Nothing. At Nicmock, as I have before said, Land is given for Nothing, and at Noraganzet it must be bought at twenty to twenty-five Pounds Sterling the Hundred Acres, so that whoever brings Nothing here, finds Nothing. It is very true that Living is exceedingly cheap, and that with a little one can make a good Settlement. A family of three or four Persons can make with fifty Pistoles a fine Settlement; but it needs not less than that. Those who bring much, do well in Proportion.

... One can come to this Country, and return the same as in Europe. There is the greatest Liberty, and you may live without any Constraint. Those who desire to come into this Country, should get themselves naturalized (*fridanniser*) in London in order to be free to carry on Business in any sort of Merchandise, and to trade with the English Islands, without which they cannot do so.

[Subsequent letter report:] ... I forgot to tell you that there is here [Noraganzet] a Temple of Anabaptists, for as to the other Sects of which I spoke in my Report concerning Noraganzet, it is only for that Country and not for Boston, for we have here no religions other than the Anglican, the Presbyterian, the Anabaptists and our own [Huguenot]. As for Papists, I have discovered since being here eight or ten, three of whom are French and come to our Church, and the others are Irish; with the Exception of the Surgeon who has a Family, the others are here only in Passage.



Dumb. 2444

The London Gazette.

Published by Authority.

From Thursday April 11. to Monday April 15, 1689.

Whitehall, April 11.

THis Day the Coronation of their Sacred Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary* was performed at *Westminster* in manner following.

THeir Majesties being come from *Whitehall* to *Westminster*, and the Nobility, &c. being put in Order by the *Heralds*, They came down in State into *Westminster* hall, where the *Swords* and *Spurs* were presented to Them.

After which the *Dean* and *Prebendaries* of *Westminster*, having brought the *Crowns* and other *Regalia*, presented them severally to Their Majesties; which, with the *Swords* and *Spurs*, were thereupon delivered to the *Lords* appointed to carry them.

Thus Their Majesties in Their Robes of *Crimson Velvet*, King with a *Cap*, and the *Queen* a *Circlet* in her Head, the *Nobility* in *Crimson Velvet* Robes with their *Coronets* in their Hands, and the rest of the Proceeding in their proper Habits marched on foot upon *Blew Cloth* to *Westminster*-All the Way and Houses on each side being Crowded with Numbers of Spectators expressing their great Joy and Satisfaction by loud repeated Acclamations.

Being Entred the Church, and all duly seated, the *Bishop* of *London*, who performed this great Solemnity, began with the *Recognition*, which ended with a mighty *Shout*. Then Their Majesties Offered, and the *Lords* who bore the *Regalia*, presented them at the *Altar*. The *Litany* was sung by the *Bishops*, and after the *Epistle*, *Gospel*, and *Nicene Creed* the *Bishop* of *Salisbury* Preach'd on this Text, 2 Sam. 23. 3, 4

After Sermon Their Majesties took the *Oath*, and were conducted to their *Regal Chairs* placed on the *Theater* (they might be more Conspicuous to the Members of the *House of Commons*, who were seated in the *North Cross*) were Anointed.

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

the prosecution rate would fall off as and many Friends would connive in the payment of, and in some cases even the receiving of, tithes. By the turn of the century the [Quakers](#) would have adjusted to England, and England to them.

Although [Quakers](#) would still be prosecuted for refusal to pay tithes, the prosecution rate would fall off and many Friends would connive in the payment of, and in some cases, the receiving of tithes. By the turn of the century the Quakers would have adjusted to England, and England to them.

The [Huguenot](#) young scholar [Abel Boyer](#) ventured from the continent of Europe to England and would there suffer a period of great economic stress.

[“William and Mary”](#) would ally with Spain, Austria, and the Netherlands to engage in what were called in Europe “King William’s Wars,” to oppose the expansionism of the French under King Louis XIV. In North America these would be referred to as the French and Indian Wars and would be fought between the French and English and their respective Indian allies, the Algonquian and the Iroquois, for control of the colonial lands. These wars will continue off and on in America until 1763:





SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

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](#)



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Mid-March: Friend [George Fox](#) returned to London.

George Fox

About the middle of the First month, 1688-9, I went to London, the Parliament then sitting, and engaged about the bill for indulgence. Though I was weak in body, and not well able to stir about, yet so great a concern was upon my spirit on behalf of Truth and Friends, that I attended continually for many days, with other Friends, at the Parliament-House, labouring with the members, that the thing might be done comprehensively and effectually.

I remained at London till the beginning of the Ninth month [November 1690], being continually exercised in the work of the Lord, either in public meetings, opening the way of Truth to people, and building up and establishing Friends therein, or in other services relating to the Church of God. For the Parliament now sitting, and having a bill before them concerning oaths, and another concerning clandestine marriages, several Friends attended the House, to get those bills so worded that they might not be hurtful to Friends. In this service I also assisted, attending on the Parliament, and discoursing the matter with several of the members.

FOX'S JOURNAL:

1690

During this year [Friend William Penn](#) suggested that a [canal](#) ought to be dug, connecting the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers with the Susquehanna.

[William and Mary](#) had come to power in England through the expulsion of [Friend William Penn](#)'s friend, [King James II](#). Just as he was preparing to embark for Pennsylvania, therefore, with a great number of new settlers, Penn was detained on suspicion of disaffection. For the next couple of years he would be under what amounted to house arrest, while the affairs of his colony would be managed by Governor Fletcher of New-York

In England, new laws would encourage the distillation and sale of [spirits](#) for revenues to be used in support of the landed aristocracy. Excessive consumption of [beer](#) and [wine](#) would remain prevalent among the middle and upper classes while, increasingly, the poor would turn to [gin](#).

When Henry Bull was elected again as governor of [Rhode Island](#), [Friend Walter Clarke](#) refused, for motives of politics, to deliver up the colonial charter and state records.



Friend [George Fox](#)'s epistle "To Friends, Captives At Macqueness":



Dear Friends, with my love to you all in the Lord Jesus Christ, in whom you have life and salvation, and rest and peace with God; and the Lord God Almighty with his eternal arm and power uphold and preserve you in Christ, in whom you have rest and peace, though in the world troubles; and though you be in captivity, from your wives and children, and relations and friends, yet the Lord is present with you by his spirit of grace, light, and truth. And so feel him at all times, and stand in his will; do not murmur nor complain, but stand still in the faith and power of God, that you may see your salvation. for by faith the Lord delivered his people out of Egypt by his power; and by faith Enoch and Noah were preserved, and Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and by faith the prophets were delivered out of many



perils; and Daniel out of the Lion's mouth. And you see how the righteous were delivered by faith. Heb. xi. And it would be very well, if you that be captives and Friends, could have meetings as they had at Algiers, to the comforting and refreshing one another. And you may speak to your patrons of your meeting together to worship God that created heaven and earth, and made all mankind, and gives you breath, life, and spirit, to serve and worship him. And my desires are to the Lord, that you in his truth and power may answer the truth in all, both king, and prince, and Turks, and Moors, that you may be a good savour among them, and in them all; manifesting that you are the salt of the earth, and the light of the world: and a city set on hill, that cannot be hid: so that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father, who is in heaven. And what do you know, but the Lord hath set you there to preach in life, and word, and good conversation? Therefore, while you are there, mind your service for God, who hath all things in his hand, and a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his providence. And Christ is the mountain that filleth the whole earth; and so you will feel him there. And therefore keep in the word of power, and in the word of patience, and the word of wisdom, that will give your dominion over all. Amen. G.F. London, the 25th of the 8th month, 1690

Postscript You may petition the emperor, or king, and your patrons, whose captives you are, that you may have one day in the week to meet together to worship and serve the great God (that made you) in spirit and truth. For you worship no representation, image, or likeness, neither in heaven nor in the earth, but the great God, who is Lord over all, both in heaven and in earth, and is manifest by his spirit in his people. [And you may state in your petition, that it is] from you, poor captives, who desire their good here, and their eternal happiness hereafter. And you may draw up a paper to this effect, and get it translated into their language, and send it to the emperor and his council, and your patrons: and set your hands to it with all speed, after the receipt of this.

George Fox



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

Beginning of November: Friend [George Fox](#) again left London.

George Fox

I remained at London till the beginning of the Ninth month, being continually exercised in the work of the Lord, either in public meetings, opening the way of Truth to people, and building up and establishing Friends therein, or in other services relating to the Church of God. For the Parliament now sitting, and having a bill before them concerning oaths, and another concerning clandestine marriages, several Friends attended the House, to get those bills so worded that they might not be hurtful to Friends. In this service I also assisted, attending on the Parliament, and discoursing the matter with several of the members.

[FOX'S JOURNAL:](#)

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](#)

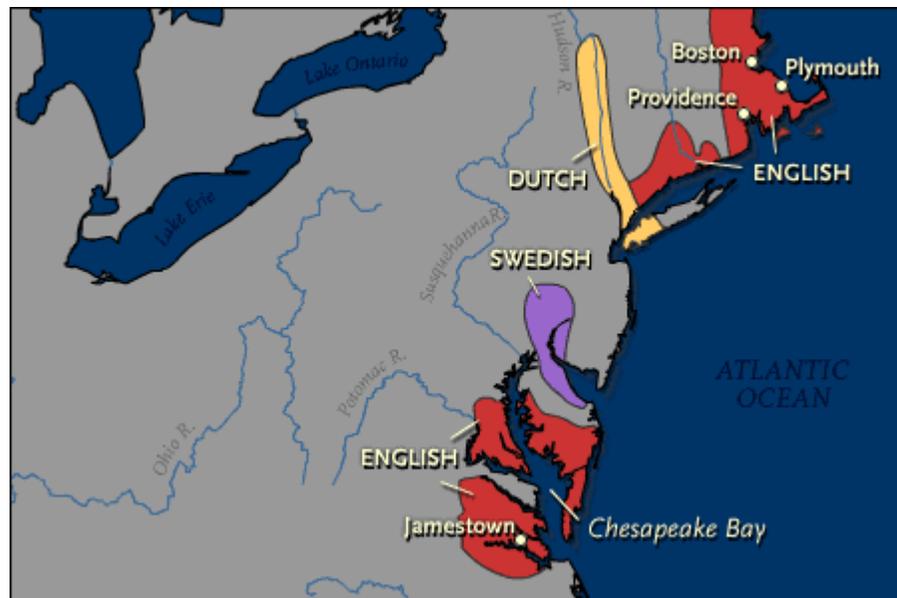
SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

The English Act of Toleration resulted, in the American colonies, in a new royal charter which united the Massachusetts and the Plymouth colonies under a new royal governor, Phipps, freeing the Quakers of most of the restrictions which had been placed upon them by the Puritans.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

However, from this point until like 1780, the Puritans would be running the established commonwealth church.



The Charter of Massachusetts Bay¹⁸⁴

WILLIAM & MARY by the grace of God King and Queene of England



*Scotland France and Ireland Defenders of the Faith &c To all to whome these presents shall come Greeting Whereas his late Majesty King James the First Our Royall Predecessor by his Letters Patents vnder the Greate Seale of England bearing date at Westminster the Third Day of November in the Eighteenth yeare of his Reigne did Give and Grant vnto the Councill established at Plymouth in the County of Devon for the Planting Ruleing Ordering and Governing of New England in America and to their Successors and Assignes all that part of America lying and being in Breadth from Forty Degrees of Northerly Latitude from the Equinoctiall Line to the Forty Eighth Degree of the said Northerly Latitude Inclusively, and in length of and within all the Breadth aforesaid throughout all the Main Lands from Sea to Sea together alsoe with all the firme Lands Soiles Grounds Havens Ports Rivers Waters Fishings Mines and Mineralls aswell Royall Mines of Gold and Silver as other Mines and Mineralls Pretious Stones Quarries and all and singular other Comodities Jurisdiccons Royalties Privileges Franchises and Prehenlinences both within the said Tract of Land vpon the Main and alsoe within the Islands and Seas adjoyning **Provided** alwayes that the said Lands Islands or any the premises by the said Letters Patents intended or meant to be Granted were not then actually possessed or Inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State or within the bounds Limitts or Territories of the Southern Collony then before granted by the said late King James the First [to be planted¹⁸⁵] by divers of his Subjects in the South parts **To Have** and to hold possesse and enjoy all and singular the aforesaid Continent Lands Territories Islands Hereditaments and Precincts Seas Waters Fishings with all and all manner of their Comodities Royalties Liberties Preheminences and Profitts that should from thenceforth arise from thence with all and singular their appurtenances and every part and parcell thereof vnto the said Councill and their Successors and Assignes for ever to the sole and proper vse and benefist of the said Councill and their Successors and Assignes for ever **To** be holden of his said late Majestie King James the First his Heires and Successors as of his Mannor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent in free and Comon Soccage and not in Capite or by Knights Service **Yielding** and paying therefore to the said late King his Heires and Successors the Fifth part of the Oar of Gold and Silver which should from time to time and at all times then after happen to be found gotten had and obteyned in att or within any of the said Lands Limitts Territories or Precincts or in or within any part or parcell thereof for or in respect of all and all manner of duties demands and services whatsoever to be done made or paid to the said late King James the first his Heires and Successors (as in and by the said Letters Patents amongst sundry other Clauses Powers Priviledges and Grants therein conteyned more at large appeareth And Whereas the said Councill established at Plymouth in the County of Devon for the Planting*

184. THE CHARTERS AND GENERAL LAWS OF THE COLONY AND PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY, PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE GENERAL COURT, Boston: T.B. Wait and Co., 1814, pages 18-37. The charter of 1629 had been cancelled by a judgment of the high court of chancery of England June 18, 1684.

185. These words occur in the printed copies, but are not in the original. See also colony charter.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

*Ruleing Ordering and Governing of New England in America Did by their Deed Indented vnder their Comon Seale bearing Date the Nineteenth Day of March in the Third yeare of the Reigne of Our Royall Grandfather King Charles the First of ever Blessed Memory Give Grant Bargaine Sell Enffeoffe Alien and Confirme to Sir Henry Roswell Sir John Young Knights Thomas Southcott John Humphreys John Endicot and Simond Whetcomb their Heires and Assines and their Associats for ever All that part of New England in America aforesd which lyes and extends betweene a great River there comonly called Monomack ats Merrimack and a certaine other River there called Charles River being in a Bottom of a certaine Bay there comonly called Massachusetts ats Mattachuseetts ats Massatusetts Bay And alsoe all and singular those Lands and Hereditaments whatsoever lying within the space of Three English Miles on the South part of the said Charles River or of any and every part thereof And alsoe all and singular the Lands and Hereditaments whatsoever lying and being within the space of three English Miles to the Southward of the Southermost part of the said Bay called the Massachusetts ats Mattachuseetts ats Massatusetts Bay And alsoe all those Lands and Hereditaments whatsoever which lye and be within the space of three English Miles to the Northward of the said River called Monomack ats Merrimack or to the Northward of any and every part thereof And all Lands and Hereditaments whatsoever lying within the Limitts aforesaid North and South in Latitude and in Breadth and in length and longitude of and within all the Breadth aforesaid throughout the Main Lands there from the Atlantick and Western Sea and Ocean on the East parse to the South Sea on the West part and all Lands and Grounds Place and Places Soile Woods and Wood Grounds Havens Ports Rivers Waters Fishings and Hereditaments whatsoever lying within the said Bounds and Limitts and every parse and parcell thereof and alsoe all Islands lying in America aforesaid in the said Seas or either of them on the Western or Eastern Coasts or Parts of the said Tracts of Land by the said Indenture menconed to be Given and Granted Bargained Sold Enffeoffed Aliened and Confirmed or any of them And alsoe all Mines and Mineralls aswell Royall Mines of Gold and Silver as other Mines and Mineralls whatsoever in the said Lands and Premisses or any parse thereof and all Jurisdiccons Rights Royalties Liberties Freedoms Imunities Priviledges Franchises Preheminences and Comodities whatsoever which they the said Councill established at Plymouth in the County of Devon for the planting Ruleing Ordering and Governing of New England in America then had or might vse exercise or enjoy in or within the said Lands and Premises by the same Indenture menconed to be given granted bargained sold enffeoffed and confirmed in or within any part or parcell thereof To Have and to hold the said parse of New England in America which lyes and extends and is abuted as aforesaid and every parse and parcell thereof And all the *aid Islands Rivers Ports Havens Waters Fishings Mines Mineralls Jurisdiccons Franchises Royalties Liberties Priviledges Comodities Hereditaments and premises whatsoever with the appurtenances vnto the said Sir Henry*



Roswell Sir John Young Thomas Southcott John Humphreys John Endicott and Simond Whetcomb their Heires and Assignes and their Associates for ever to the only proper and absolute vse and behoofe of the said Sir Henry Roswell Sir [John¹⁸⁶] Joung Thomas Southcott John Humphreys John Endicott and Simond Whetcomb their Heires and Assignes and their Associates for evermore To be holden of Our said Royall Grandfather Icing Charles the first his Heires and Successors as of his Mannor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent in free and Comon Soccage and not in Capite nor by Knights Service **Yielding and** paying therefore vnto Our said Royall Grandfather his Heires and Successors the fifth part of the Oar of Gold and Silver which should from time to time and at all times hereafter happen to be found gotten had & obteyned in any of the said Lands within the said Limitts or in or within any part thereof for and in satisfaccon of all manner of duties demands and services whatsoever to be done made or paid to Our said Royall Grandfather his Heires or Successors (as in and by the said recited Indenture may more at large appeare **And Whereas** Our said Royall Grandfather in and by his Letters Patents under the Greate Seale of England bearing date at Westminster the Fourth Day of March in the Fourth yeare of his Reigne for the consideracon therein menconed did grant and confirms vnto the said Sir Henry Roswell Sir John Young Thomas Southcott John Humphreys John Endicott and Simond Whetcomb and to their Associates after named (vizt) Sir Ralph Saltenstall Knt Isaac Johnson Samuell Aldersey John Ven Mathew Craddock George Harwood Increase Nowell Richard Berry Richard Bellingham Nathaniell Wright Samuell Vassall Theophilus Eaton Thomas Golfe Thomas Adams John Browne Samuell Browne Thomas Hutchins William Vassall William Pincheon and George Foxcroft their Heires and Assignes All the said part of New England in America lying and extending betweene the bounds and limitts in the said Indenture expressed and all Lands and Grounds Place and Places Soiles Woods and Wood Grounds Havens Ports Rivers Waters Mines Mineralls Jurisdiccions Rights Royalties Liberties Freedomes Imunities Priviledges Franchises Preheminences and Hereditaments whatsoever bargained sold enffeoffed and Confirmed or menconed or intended to be given granted bargained sold enfleoiled aliened and confirmed to the them the said Sir Henry Roswell Sir John Young Thomas Southcott John Humphreys John Endicott and Simond Whetcomb their Heires and Assignes and to their Associates for ever by the said recited Indentu[r]e **To Have** and to hold the said part of New England in America and other the Premisses thereby menconed to be granted and confirmed and every parse and parcell thereof with the appurtenances to the said Sir Henry Roswell Sir John Young Sir Richard Saltenstall Thomas Southcott John Humphreys John Endicott Simond Whetcomb Isaac Johnson Samuell Aldersey John Ven Mathew Craddock George Harwood Increase Nowell Richard Perry Richard Bellingham Nathaniel Wright Samuell Vassall Theophilus Eaton Thomas Golfe Thomas Adams John Browne Samuell Browne Thomas Hutchins William Vassall William Pincheon and George Foxcroft their Heires and Assignes for ever to their own

186. Omitted in the original.



*proper and absolute vse and behoofe for evermore **To** be holden of Our said Royall Grandfather his Heires and Successors as of his Mannor of East Greenwich aforesaid in free and comon Soccage and not in Capite nor by Knights Service and alsoe yielding and paying therefore to Our said Royall Grandfather his Heires and Successors the fifth part only of all the Oar of Gold and Silver which from time to time and at all times after should be there gotten had or obteyned for all Services Exaccons and Demands whatsoever according to the tenour and Reservacon in the said recited Indenture expressed **And further** Our said Royall Grandfather by the said Letters Patents did Give and Grant vnto the said Sir Henry Roswell Sir John Young Sir Richard Saltenstall Thomas Southcott John Humphreys John Endicott Simond Whetcomb Isaac Johnson Samuell Aldersey John Ven Mathew Craddock George Harwood Encrease Nowell Richard Perrey Richard Bellingham Nathaniel Wright Samuell Vassall Theophilus Eaton Thomas Golfe Thomas Adams John Browne Samuell Browne Thomas Hut[c]hins William Vassall William Pincheon and George Foxcroft their Heires and Assignes All that part of New England in America which lyes and extends betweene a Greate River called Monomack als Merrimack River and a certaine other River there called Charles River being in the Bottom of a certaine Bay there comonly called Massachusetts als Mattachusetts als Massatusetts Bay and alsoe all and singular those Lands and Hereditaments whatsoever lying within the space of Three English Miles on the South part of the said River called Charles River or of any or every part thereof and alsoe all and singuler the Lands and Hereditaments whatsoever lying and being within the space of Three English Miles to the Southward of the Southermost part of the said Bay called Massachusetts als Mattachusetts als Massatusetts Bay And alsoe all those Lands and Hereditaments whatsoever which lye and bee within the space of Three English Miles to the Northward of the said River called Monotnack ads Merrimack or to the Northward of any and every parse thereof And all Lands and Hereditaments whatsoever lyeing within the limitts aforesaid North and South in Latitude and in Breadth and in length and Longitude of and within all the Breadth aforesaid throughout the Main Lands there from the Atlantick or Western Sea and Ocean on the East parse to the South Sea on the West parse And all Lands Grounds Place and Places Soils Wood and Wood Lands Havens Ports Rivers Waters and Hereditaments whatsoever lying within the said bounds and limitts and every part and parcell thereof And alsoe all Islands in America aforesaid in the said Seas or either of them on the Western or Eastern Coasts or parses of the said Tracts of Lands thereby menconed to be given and granted or any of them And all Mines and Mineralls aswell Royall Mines of Gold and Silver as other Mines and Mineralls whatsoever in the said Lands and premisses or any parse thereof and free Libertie of Fishing in or within any of the Rivers and Waters within the bounds and limitts aforesaid and the Seas thereunto adjoining and of all Fishes Royall Fishes Whales Balene Sturgeon and other Fishes of what kind or nature soever that should at any time thereafter be taken in or within the said Seas or Waters or any*



*of them by the said Sir Henry Roswell Sir John Young Sir Richard Saltenstall Thomas Southcroft John Humphryes John Endicott Simond Whetcomb Isaac Johnson Samuell Aldersey John Ven Mathew Craddock George Harwood Increase Nowell Richard Perrey Richard Bellingham Nathaniel Wright Samuell Vassall Theophilus Eaton Thomas Golfe Thomas Adams John Browne Samuell Browne Thomas Hutchins William Vassall William Pincheon and George Foxcroft their Heires or Assignes or by any other person or persons whatsoever there Inhabiting by them or any of them to be appointed to Fish therein **Provided** alwayes that if the said Lands Islands or any the premisses before menconed and by the said Letters Patents last menconed intended and meant to be granted were at the time of granting of the said former Letters Patents dated the third day of November in the Eighteenth yeare of the Reigne of his late Majesty King James the First actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State or were within the bounds Limitts or Territories of the said Southern Colony then before granted by the said King to be planted by divers of his Loveing Subjects in the South parts of America That then the said Grant of Our said Royall Grandfather should not extend to any such parts or parcells thereof soe formerly inhabited or lying within the bounds of the Southern Plantacon as aforesaid but as to those parts or parcells soe possessed or inhabited by any such Christian Prince or State or being within the boundaries aforesaid should be utterly void **To Have** and to hold possasse and enjoy the said parts of New England in America which lye extend and are abutted as aforesaid and every part and parcell thereof and all the Islands Rivers Ports Havens Waters Fishings Fishes Mines Mineralls Jurisdicons Franchises Royalties Riverties¹⁸⁷ Priviledges Comodities and premisses whatsoever with the Appurtenances vnto the said Sir Henry Roswell Sir John Young Sir Richard Saltenstall Thomas Southcott John Humphreys John Endicott Simond Whetcomb Isaac Johnson Samuell Aldersey John Ven Mathew Craddock George Harwood Increase Nowell Richard Perrey Richard Bellingham Nathaniell Wright Samuell Vassall Theophilus Eaton Thomas Golfe Thomas Adams John Browne Samuell Browne Thomas Hutchins William Vassall William Pincheon and George Foxcroft their Heires and Assignes for ever To the only proper and absolute vse and behoofe of the said Sir Henry Roswell Sir John Young Sir Richard Saltenstall Thomas Southcott John Humphryes John Endicott Simond Whetcomb Isaac Johnson Samuell Aldersey John Ven Mathew Haddock George Harwood Increase Nowell Richard Perry Richard Bellingham Nathaniell Wright Samuell Vassall Theophilus Eaton Thomas Golfe Thomas Adams John Browne Samuell Browne Thomas Hutchins William Vassall William Pincheon and George Foxcroft their Heires and Assignes for evermore To be holden of Our said Royall Grandfather his Heires and Successors as of his Mannor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent within the Realme of England in free and Comon Soccage and not in Capite nor by Knights Service And alsoe yeilding and paying therefore to Our said Royall Grandfather his Heires and Successors the Fifth part only of all*

187. Liberties



*the Oar of Gold and Silver which from time to time and at all times thereafter should be gotten had and obeyed for all services Exacons and demands whatsoever **Provided**, alwayes and his Majesties expresse Will and meaning was that only one Fifth parse of all the Gold and Silver Oar above menconed in the whole and no more should be answered reserved and payable vnto Our said Royall Grandfather his Heires and Successors by colour or vertue of the said last menconed Letters Patents the double reservacons or recitalls aforesaid or any thing therein conteyned notwithstanding And to the end that the affaires and buisnesse which from time to time should happen and arise concerning the said Lands and the Plantacons of the same might be the better managed and ordered and for the good Government thereof Our said Royall Grandfather King Charles the First did by his said Letters Patents Create and make the said Sir Henry Roswell Sir John Young Sir Richard Saltenstall Thomas Southcott John Humphreys John Endicott Symond Whetcomb Isaac Johnson Samuell Aldersey John Ven Mathew Caddock George Harwood Increase Newell Richard Perry Richard Bellingham Nathaniell Wright Samuell Vassall and Theophilus Eaton Thomas Golfe Thomas Adams John Browne Samuell Browne Thomas Hutchins William Vassal William Pincheon and George Foxcroft and all such others as should thereafter be admitted and made free of the Company and Society therein after menconed one Body Politique and Corporate in fact and name by the Name of the Governour and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England and did grant onto them and their Successors divers powers Liberties and priviledges as in and by the said Letters Patents may more fully and at large appears **And whereas** the said Governour and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England by vertue of the said Letters Patents did settle a Collony of the English in the said parts of America and divers good Subjects of this Kingdome encouraged and invited by the said Letters Patents did Transport themselves and their Edects into the same whereby the said Plantacon did become very populous and divers Counties Townes and Places were created erected made set forth or designed within the said parts of America by the said Governour and Company for the time being **And Whereas** in the Terme of the holy Trinity in the Thirty Sixth yeare of the Reigne of Our dearest Vncle King Charles the Second a Judgment was given in Our Court of Chancery then sitting at Westminster¹⁸⁸ vpon a Writt of Scire Facias brought and prosecuted in the said Court against the Governour and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England that the said Letters Patents of Our said Royall Grandfather King Charles the First bearing date at Westminster the Fourth day of March in the Fourth yeare of his Reigne made and granted to the said Governour and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England and the Enrollment of the same should be cancelled vacated and annihilated and should be brought into the said Court to be cancelled (as in and by the said Judgment remaining vpon Record in the said Court doth more at large appease) **And whereas** severall persons employed as Agents in behalfe of Our said*

188. Winchester, in the CHARTERS AND GENERAL LAWS, Boston: 1814



Collony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England have made their humble application vnto Vs that Wee would be graciously pleased by Our Royall Charter to Incorporate Our Subjects in Our said Collony and to grant and confirms Into them such powers priviledges and Franchises as [in] Our Royall Wisdome should be thought most conducing to Our Interest and Service and to the Welfare and happy State of Our Subjects in New England and Wee being graciously pleased to gratifie Our said Subjects And alsoe to the end Our good Subjects within Our Collony of New Plymouth in New England aforesaid may be brought under such a forme of Government as may put them in a better Condicon of defence and considering aswell the granting vnto them as onto Our Subejcts in the said Collony of the Massachusetts Bay Our Royall Charter with reasonable Powers and Priviledges will much tend not only to the safety but to the Flourishing estate of Our Subjects in the said parts of New England and alsoe to the advanceing of the ends for which the said Plantancons were at first encouraged of Our especiall Grace certaine knowledge and meer Mocon have willed and ordeyned and Wee doe by these presents for Vs Our Heires and Successors Will and Ordeyne Chat the Territories and Collnyes camonly called or known by the Names of the Collony of the Massachusetts Bay and Collony of New Plymouth the Province of Main the Territorie called Accadia or Nova Scotia and all that Tract of Land lying betweene the said Territorities of Nova Scotia and the said Province of Main be Erected ignited and Incorporated And Wee doe by these presents Vnite Erect and Incorporate the same into one reall Province by the Name of Our Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England And of Our especiall Grace certaine knowledge and meer Mocon Wee have given and granted and by these presents for Vs Our Heires and Successors doe give and grant onto Our good Subjects the Inhabitants of Our said Province or Territory of the Massachusetts Bay and their Successors all that parse of New England in America lying and extending from the greate River comonly called Monomack als Merrimack on the North part and from three Miles Northward of the said River to the Atlantick or Western Sea or Ocean on the South part And all the Lands and Hereditaments whatsoever lying within the limits aforesaid and extending as fare as the Outermost Points or Promontories of Land called Cape Cod and Cape Mallabar North and South and in Latitude Breadth and in Length and Longitude of and within all the Breadth and Compass aforesaid throughout the Main Land there from the said Atlantick or Western Sea and Ocean on the East parse towards the South Sea or Westward as far as Our Collonyes of [Rhode Island](#) Connecticutt and the Marragansett¹⁸⁹ Countrey all¹⁹⁰ alsoe all that part or porcon of Main Land beginning at the Entrance of Pescata way Harbour and see to pass vpp the same into the River of Newickewannock and through the same into the furthest head thereof and from thence Northwestward till One Hundred and Twenty Miles be finished and from Piscataway Harbour mouth aforesaid NorthEastward along the Sea Coast to Sagadehock and from the Period of One Hundred and Twenty Miles aforesaid

189. Naragansett.

190. Gidney, in the CHARTERS AND GENERAL LAWS, Boston: 1814.



to crosse over Land to the One Hundred and Twenty Miles before reckoned vp into the Land from Piscataway Harbour through Newickawannock River and alsoe the North halfe of the Isles and Shoales together with the Isles of Cappawock and Nantukett near Cape Cod aforesaid and also [all¹⁹¹] Lands and Hereditaments lying and being in the Countrey and Territory comonly called Accadia or Nova Scotia And all those Lands and Hereditaments lying and extending betweene the said Countrey or Territory of Nova Scotia and the said River of Sagadahock or any port thereof And all Lands Grounds Places Soiles Woods and Wood grounds Havens Ports Rivers Waters and other Hereditaments and premisses whatsoever lying within the said bounds and limitts aforesaid and every part and parcell thereof and alsoe all Islands and Isletts lying within tenn Leagues directly opposite to the Main Land within the said bounds and all Mines and Mineralls aswell Royall Mines of Gold and Silver as other Mines and Mineralls whatsoever in the said Lands and premisses or any parse thereof **To Have** and to hold the said Territories Tracts Countreys Lands Hereditaments and all and singular other the premisses with their and every of their Appurtences to Our said Subjects the Inhabitants of Our said Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England and their Successors to their only proper vse and behoofe for evermore **To** be holden of Vs Our Heires and Successors as of Our Mannor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent by Fealty only in free and Comon Soccage **yielding** and paying therefore yearly to Vs Our Heires and Successors the Fifth part of all Gold and Silver Oar and pretious Stones which shall from time to time and at all times hereafter happen to be found gotten had and obteyned in any of the said Lands and premisses or within any part thereof **Provided** neverthelesse and Wee doe for Vs Our Heires and Successors Grant and ordeyne that all and every such Lands Tenements and Hereditaments and all other estates which any person or persons or Bodyes-Politique or Corporate Townes Villages Colledges or Schooles doe hold and enjoy or ought to hold and enjoy within the bounds aforesaid by or vnder any Grant or estate duely made or granted by any Generall Court formerly held or by vertue of the Letters Patents herein before recited or by any other lawfull Right or Title whatsoever shall be by such person and persons Bodyes Politique and Corporate Townes Villages Colledges or Schoolss their respective Heires Successors and Assignes for ever hereafter held and enjoyed according to the purport and Intent of such respective Grant vnder and Subject neverthelesse to the Rents and Services thereby reserved or made payable any matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding And **Provided** alsoe that nothing herein conteyned shall extend or be vnderstood or taken to impeach or prejudice any right title Interest or demand which Samuell Allen of London Merchant claiming from and vnder John Mason Esqr deceased or any other person or persons hath or have or claimeth to have hold or enjoy of in to or out of any part or parts of the premisses scituate within the limitts above menconed But that the said Samuel Allen and all and every such

191. In printed copies this is “the,” but the omission in the original seems better supplied as above.



person and persons may and shall have hold and enjoy the same in such manner (and no other then) as if these presents had not been had or made It being Our further Will and Pleasure that no Grants or Conveyances of any Lands Tenements or Hereditaments to any Townes Colledges Schooles of Learning or to any private person or persons shall be judged or taken to be avoided or prejudiced for or by reason of any want or defect of Form but that the same stand and remaine in force and be mainteyned adjudged and have effect in the same manner as the same should or ought before the time of the said recited Judgment according to the Laws and Rules then and there vsually practiced and allowed And Wee doe further for Vs Our Heires and Successors Will Establish and ordeyne that from henceforth for ever there shall be one Goverour One Leivtent or Deputy Governour and One Secretary of Our said Province or Territory to be from time to time appointed and Commissionated by Vs Our Heires and Successors and Eight and Twenty Assistants or Councillors to be advising and assisting to the Governour of Our said Province or Territory for the time being as by these presents is hereafter directed and appointed which said Councillors or Assistants are to be Constituted Elected and Chosen in such forme and manner as hereafter in these presents is expressed And for the better Execucon of Our Royall Pleasure and Grant in this behalfe Wee doe by these presents for Vs Our Heires and Successors Nominate Ordeyne make and Constitute Our Trusty and Welbeloved Simon Broadstreet John Richards Nathaniel Saltenstall Wait Winthrop John Phillipps James Russell Samuell Sewall Samuel Appleton Barthilomew Gedney¹⁹² John Hawthorn Elisha Hutchinson Robert Pike Jonathan Curwin John Jolliffe Adam Winthrop Richard Middlecot John Foster Peter Serjeant Joseph Lynd Samuell Hayman Stephen Mason Thomas Hinckley William Bradford John Walley Barnabas Lothrop Job Alcott Samuell Daniell and Silvanus Davis Esquires the first and present Councillors or Assistants of Our said Province to continue in their said respective Offices or Trusts of Councillors or Assistants vntill the last Wednesday in May which shall be in the yeare of Our Lord One Thousand Six Hundred Ninety and Three and vntill other Councillors or Assistants shall be chosen and appointed in their stead in such manner as in these presents is expressed And Wee doe further by these presents Constitute and appoint Our Trusty and welbeloved Isaac Addington Esquier to be Our first and present Secretary of Our said Province during Our Pleasure **And Our** Will and Pleasure is that the Governour of Our said Province from the time being shall have Authority from time to time at his discretion to assemble and call together the Councillors or Assistants of Our said Province for the time being and that the said Governour with the said Assistants or Councillors or Seaven of them at the least shall and may from time to time hold and keep a Council for the ordering and directing the Affairs of Our said Province **And further** Wee Will and by these presents for Vs Our Heires and Successors doe ordeyne and Grant that there shall and may be convened held and kept by the Governour for the

192. Profession.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

*time being vpon every last Wednesday in the Moneth of May every yeare for ever and at all such other times as the Governour of Our said Province shall think fitt and appoint a great and Generall Court of Assembly Which said Great and Generall Court of Assembly shall consist of the Governour and Councill or Assistants for the time being and of such-Freeholders of Our said Province or Territory as shall be from time to time elected or deputed by the Major parse of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the respective Townes or Places who shall be present at such Eleccons Each of the said Townes and Places being hereby impowered to Elect and Depute Two Persons and noe more to serve for and represent them respectively in the said Great and Generall Court or Assembly To which Great and Generall Court or Assembly to be held as aforesaid Wee doe hereby for Vs Our Heires and Successors give and grant full power and authority from time to time to direct appoint and declare what Number each County Towne and Place shall Elect and Depute to serve for and represent them respectively in the said Great and Generall Court or Assembly **Provided** alwayes that noe Freeholder or other Person shall have a Vote in the Eleccon of Members to serve in any Greate and Generall Court or Assembly to be held as aforesaid who at the time of such Eleccon shall not have an estate of Freehold in Land within Our said Province or Territory to the value of Forty Shillings per Annu at the least or other estate to the value of Forty pounds Sterl. And that every Person who shall be soe elected shall before he silt or Act in the said Great and Generall Court or Assembly take the Oaths menconed in an Act of Parliament made in the first yeare of Our Reigne Entituled an Act for abrogateing of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and appointing other Oaths and thereby appointed to be taken instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and shall make Repeat and Subscribe the Declaracon menconed in the said Act before the Governour and Lievtent or Deputy Governour or any two of the Assistants for the time being who shall be therevnto authorized and Appointed by Our said Governour and that the Governour for the time being shall have full power and Authority from time to time as he shall Judge necessary to adjourns Prorogue and dissolve all Great and Generall Courts or Assemblyes met and convened as aforesaid And Our Will and Pleasure is and Wee doe hereby for Vs Our Heires and Successors Grant Establish and Ordeyne that yearly once in every yeare for ever hereafter the aforesaid Number of Eight and Twenty Councillors or Assistants shall be by the Generall Court or Assembly newly chosen that is to say Eighteen at least of the Inhabitants of or Proprietors of Lands within the Territory formerly called the Collony of the Massachusetts Bay and four at the least of the Inhabitants of or Proprietors of Lands within the Territory formerly called New Plymouth and three at the least of the Inhabitants of or Proprietors of Land within the Territory formerly called the Province of Main and one at the least of the Inhabitants of or Proprietors of Land within the Territory lying between the River of Sagadahoc and Nova Scotia And that the said Councillors or Assistants or any of them shall*



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*or may at any time hereafter be removed or displaced from their respective Places or Trust of Councillors or Assistants by any Great or Generall Court or Assembly And that if any of the said Councillors or Assistants shall happen to dye or be removed as aforesaid before the Generall day of Eleccion That then and in every such Case the Great and Generall Court or Assembly at their first sitting may proceed to a New Eleccion of one or more Councillors or Assistants in the roome or place of such Councillors or Assistants soe dying or removed And Thee doe further Grant and Ordeyne that it shall and may be lawfull for the said Governour with the advice and consent of the Councill or Assistants from time to time to nominate and appoint Judges Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer Sheriffs Provosts Marshalls Justices of the Peace and other Officers to Our Councill and Courts of Justice belonging **Provided** alwayes that noe such Nominacion or Appointment of Officers be made without notice first given or summons Issued out seaven dayes before such Nominacion or Appointment onto such of the said Councillors or Assistants as shall be at that time resideing within Our said Province **And Our** Will and Pleasure is that the Governour and Leivtent or Deputy Governour and Councillors or Assistants for the time being and all other Officers to be appointed or Chosen as aforesaid shall before the Vndertaking the Execucon of their Offices and Places respectively take their severall and respective Oaths for the due and faithfull performance of their duties in their severall and respective Offices and Places and alsoe the Oaths appointed by the said Act of Parliament made in the first year of Our Reigne to be taken instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and shall make repeate and subscribe the Declaracon menconed in the said Act before such Person or Persons as are by these presents herein after appointed (that is to say) The Governour of Our said Province or Territory for the time being shall take the said Oaths and make repeate and subscribe the said Declaracon before the Leivtent or Deputy Governour or in his absence before any two or more of the said Persons hereby Nominated and appointed the present Councillors or Assistants of Our said Province or Territory to whom Wee doe by these presents give full power and Authority to give and administer the same to Our said Governour accordingly and after Our said Governour shall be sworn and shall have subscribed the said Declaracon that then Our Leivtent or Deputy Governour for the time being and the Councillors or Assistants before by these presents Nominated and appointed shall take the said Oaths and make repeat and subscribe the said Declaracon before Our said Governour and that every such person or persons as shall (at any time of the Annuall Eleccions or otherwise vpon death or removeall) be appointed to be the New Councillors or Assistants and all other Officers to bee hereafter chosen from time to time shall take the Oaths to their respective Offices and places belonging and alsoe the said Oaths appointed by the said Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and shall make repeate and subscribe the declaracon menconed in the said Act before the Governour or Leivtent or*



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*Deputy Governour or any two or more Councillors or Assistants or such other Person or Persons as shall be appointed thereunto by the Governour for the time being to whom Wee doe therefore by these presents give full power and authority from time to time to give and administer the same respectively according to Our true meaning herein before declared without any Comission or further Warrant to bee had and obteyned from vs Our Heires and Successors in that behalfe And Our Will and Pleasure is and Wee doe hereby require and Comand that all and every person and persons hereafter by Vs Our Heires and Successors nominated and appointed to the respective Offices of Governour or Leivt or Deputy Governour and Secretary of Our said Province or Territory (which said Governour or Leivt or Deputy Governour and Secretary of Our said Province or Territory for the time being Wee doe hereby reserve full power and Authority to Vs Our Heires and Successors to Nominate and appoint accordingly, shall before he or they be admitted to the Execucon of their respective Offices take aswell the Oath for the due and faithfull performance of the said Offices respectively as alsoe the Oaths appointed by the said Act of Parliament made in the said First yeare of Our Reigne to be taken instead of the said Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and shall alsoe make repeate and subscribe the Declaracon appointed by the said Act in such manner and before such persons as aforesaid **And further** Our Will and Pleasure is and Wee doe hereby for Vs Our Heires and Successors Grant Establish and Ordaine That all and every of the Subjects of Vs Our Heires and Successors which shall goe to and Inhabit within Our said Province and Territory and every of their Children which shall happen to be born there or on the Seas in goeing thither or returning from thence shall have and enjoy all Libertyes and Immunities of Free and naturall Subjects within any of the Dominions of Vs Our Heires and Successors to all Intents Construccons and purposes whatsoever as if they and every of them were borne within this **Our Realme** of England and for the greater Ease and Encouragement of Our Loveing Subjects Inhabiting our said Province or Territory of the Massachusetts Bay and of such as shall come to Inhabit there Wee doe by these presents for vs Our heires and Successors Grant Establish and Ordaine that for ever hereafter there shall be a liberty of Conscience allowed in the Worshipp of God to all Christians (Except Papists) Inhabiting or which shall Inhabit or be Resident within our said Province or Territory And Wee doe hereby Grant and Ordaine that the Gouvernor or leivtent or Deputy Gouvernor of our said Province or Territory for the time being or either of them or any two or more of the Councill or Assistants for the time being as shall be "hereunto appointed by the said Gouvernor shall and may at all times and from time to time hereafter have full Power and Authority to Administer and give the Oathes appointed by the said Act of Parliament made in the first yeare of Our Reigne to be taken instead of the Oathes of Allegiance and Supremacy to all and every person and persons which are now Inhabiting or resideing within our said Province or Territory or which shall at any time or times*



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hereafter goe or passe thither And wee doe of our further Grace certaine knowledge and meer mocon Grant Establish and Ordaine for Vs our heires and Successors that the great and Generall Court or Assembly of our said Province or Territory for the time being Convened as aforesaid shall for ever have full Power and Authority to Erect and, Constitute Judicatories and Courts of Record or other Courts to be held in the name of Vs Our heires and successors for the Hearing Trying and Determining of all manner of Crimes Odences Pleas Processes Plaints Accons Matters Causes and things whatsoever ariseing or happening within Our said Province or Territory or between persons Inhabiting or resideing there whether the same be Criminall or Civill and whether the said Crimes be Capitall or not Capitall and whether the said Pleas be Reall personall or mixt and for the awarding and makeing out of Execution thereupon To which Courts and Judicatories wee doe hereby for vs our heirs and Successors Give and Grant full power and Authority from time to time to Administer oathes for the better Discovery of Truth in any matter in Controversy or depending before them **And** wee doe for vs Our Heires and Successors Grant Establish and Ordaine that the Gouvernor of our said Province or Territory for the time being with the Councill or Assistants may doe execute or performe all that is necessary for the Probate of Wills and Granting of Administracons for touching or concerning any Interest or Estate which any person or persons shall have within our said Province or Territory **And whereas** Wee judge it necessary that all our Subjects should have liberty to Appeale to vs our heires and Successors in Cases that may deserve the same Wee doe by these presents Ordaine that incase either party shall not rest satisfied with the Judgement or Sentence of any Judicatories or Courts within our said Province or Territory in any Personall Accon wherein the matter in difference doth exceed the value of three hundred Pounds Sterling that then he or they may appeale to vs Our heires and Successors in our or their Privy Councill Provided such Appeale be made within Fourteen dayes after ye Sentence or Judgement given and that before such Appeale be allowed Security be given by the party or parties appealing in the value of the matter in Difference to pay or Answer the Debt or Damages for the which Judgement or Sentence is given With such Costs and Damages as shall be Awarded by vs Our Heires or Successors incase the Judgement or Sentence be affirmed **And Provided** alsoe that no Execution shall be stayd or suspended by reason of such Appeale vnto vs our Heires and Successors in our or their Privy Councill soe as the party Sueing or takeing out Execution doe in the like manner give Security to the value of the matter in difference to make Restitucion in Case the said Judgement or Sentence be reversed or annul'd upon the said Appeale **And** we doe further for vs our Heires and Successors Give and Grant to the said Governor and the great and Generall Court or Assembly of our said Province or Territory for the time being full power and Authority from time to time to make ordaine and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable Orders Laws Statutes and Ordinances Directions and Instructions either with



penalties or without (soe as the same be not repugnant or contrary to the Lawes of this our Realme of England) as they shall Judge to be for the-good and welfare of our said Province or Territory And for the Gouernment and Ordering thereof and of the People Inhabiting or who shall Inhabit the same and for the necessary support and Defence of the Government thereof **And** wee doe for vs our Heires and Successors Giue and grant that the said Generall Court or Assembly shall have full power and Authority to name and settle annually all Civill Officers within the said Province such Officers Excepted the Election and Constitution of whome wee have by these presents reserved to vs Our Heires and Successors or to the Governor of our said Province for the time being and to Sett forth the severall Duties Powers and Lymitts of every such Officer to be appointed by the said Generall Court or Assembly and the formes of such Oathes not repugnant to the Lawes and Statutes of this, our Realme of England as shall be respectiuey Administered vnto them for the Execution of their severall Offices and places And alsoe to impose Fines mulcts Imprisonments and other Punishments And to impose and leavy proportionable and reasonable Assessments Rates and Taxes vpon the Estates and Persons of all and every the Proprietors and Inhabitants of our said Province or Territory to be Issued and disposed of by Warrant vnder the hand of the Governor of our said Province for the time being with the advice and Consent of the Councill for Our service in the necessary defence and support of our Government of our said Province or Territory and the Protection and Preservation of the Inhabitants there according to such Acts as are or shall be in force within our said Province and to dispose of matters and things whereby our Subjects inhabitants of our said Province may be Religiously peaceably and Civilly Governed Protected and Defended soe as their good life and orderly Conversation may win the Indians Natives of the Country to the knowledge and obedience of the onely true God and Saviour of Mankinde and the Christian Faith which his Royall Majestie our Royall Grandfather king Charles the first in his said Letters Patents declared was his Royall Intentions And the Adventurers free Possession¹⁹³ to be the Princepall end of the said Plantation And for the better secureing and maintaining Liberty of Conscience hereby granted to all persons at any time being and resideing within our said Province or Territory as aforesaid **Willing** Comanding and Requireing and by these presents for vs Our heires and Successors Ordaining and appointing that all such Orders Lawes Statutes and Ordinances Instructions and Directions as shall be soe made and published vnder our Seale of our said Province or Territory shall be Carefully and duely observed kept and performed and put in Execution according to the true intent and meaning of these presents **Provided** alwaies and Wee doe by these presents for vs Our Heires and Successors Establish and Ordaine that in the frameing and passing of all such Orders Laws Statutes and Ordinances and in all Elections and Acts of Government whatsoever to be passed made or done by the said Generall Court



or Assembly or in Councill the Governor of our said Province or Territory of the Massachusetts Bay in New England for the time being shall have the Negative voice and that without his consent or Approbation signified and declared in Writeing no such Orders Laws Statutes Ordinances Elections or other Acts of Government whatsoever soe to be made passed or done by the said Generall Assembly or in Councill shall be of any Force effect or validity anything herein contained to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding **And** wee doe for vs Our Heires and Successors Establish and Ordaine that the said Orders Laws Statutes and Ordinances be by the first opportunity after the makeing thereof sent or Transmitted vnto vs Our Heires and Successors under the Publique Seale to be appointed by vs for Our or their approbation or Disallowance And that incase all or any of them shall at any time within the space of three years next after the same shall have presented to vs our Heires and Successors in Our or their Privy Councill be disallowed and rejected and soe signified by vs Our Heires and Successors under our or their Signe Manuall and Signett or by or in our or their Privy Councill vnto the Governor for the time being then such and soe many of them as shall be soe disallowed and ricted¹⁹⁴ shall thenceforth cease and determine and become vtterly void and of none effect **Provided** alwaies that incase Wee our Heires or Successors shall not within the Terme of Three Yeares after the presenting of such Orders Lawes Statutes or Ordinances as aforesaid signifie our or their Disallowance of the same Then the said orders Lawes Statutes or Ordinances shall be and continue in full force and effect according to the true Intent and meaneing of the same vntill the Expiracon thereof or that the same shall be Repealed by the Generall Assembly of our said Province for the time being **Provided** alsoe that it shall and may be Lawfull for the said Governor and Generall Assembly to make or passe any Grant of Lands lying within the Bounds of the Colonys formerly called the Collonys of the Massachusetts Bay and New Plymouth and province of Main in such manner as heretofore they might have done by vertue of any former Charter or Letters Patents which grants of lands within the Bounds aforesaid Wee doe hereby Will and ordaine to be and continue for ever of full force and effect without our further Approbation or Consent And soe as Neverthelesse and it is Our Royall Will and Pleasure That noe Grant or Grants of any Lands lying or extending from the River of Sagadehock to the Gulph of St. Lawrence and Canada Rivers and to the Main Sea Northward and Eastward to be made or past by the Governor and Generall Assembly of our said Province be of any force validity or Effect vntill Wee Our Heires and Successors shall have Signified Our or their Approbacon of the same **And** Wee doe by these presents for vs Our Heires and Successors Grant Establish and Ordaine that the Governor of our said Province or Territory for the time being shall have full Power by himselve or by any Cheif Comander or other Officer or Officers to be appointed by him from time to time to traine instruct Exercise and Gouverne the Militia there and for the speciall Denfence and

194. The words "or growing" are not found in the reprint.



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*Safety of Our said Province or Territory to assemble in Martiall Array and put in Warlike posture the Inhabitants of Our said Province or Territory and to lead and Conduct them and with them to Encounter Expulse Repell Resist and pursue by force of Armes aswell by Sea as by Land within or without the limitts of Our said Province or Territory and alsoe to kill slay destroy and Conquer by all fitting wayes Enterprises and meanes whatsoever all and every such Person and Persons as shall at any time hereafter Attempt or Enterprize the destruccon Invasion Detriment or Annoyance of Our said Province or Territory and to vse and exercise the Law Martiall in time of actuall Warr Invasion or Rebellion as occasion shall necessarily require and alsoe from time to time to Erect Forts and to fortifie any place or Places within Our said Province or Territory and the same to furnish with all necessary Amunicon Provisions and Stores of Warr for Odencc or Defence and to comitt from time to time the Custody and Government of the same to such Person or Persons as to him shall seem meet And the said Forts and Fortificacons to demolish at his Pleasure and to take and surprise by all waies and meanes whatsoever all and every such Person or Persons with their Shippes Arms Ammuncon and other goods as shall in a hostile manner Invade or attempt the Invading Conquering or Annoying of Our said Province or Territory **Provided** alwayes and Wee doe by these presents for Vs Our Heires and Successors Grant Establish and Ordeyne That the said Governour shall not at any time hereafter by vertue of any power hereby granted or hereafter to be granted to him Transport any of the Inhabitants of Our said Province or Territory or oblige them to march out of the Limitts of the same without their Free and voluntary consent or the Consent of the Great and Generall Court or Assembly or Our said Province or Territory nor grant Comissions for exerciseing the Law Martiall vpon any the Inhabitants of Our said Province or Territory without the Advice and Consent of the Councill or Assistants of the same **Provided** in like manner and Wee doe by these presents for Vs Our Heires and Successors Constitute and Ordeyne that when and as often as the Governour of Our said Province for the time being shall happen to dye or be displaced by Vs Our Heires or Successors or be absent from his Government That then and in any of the said Cases the Leivtenant or Deputy Governour of Our said Province for the time being shall have full power and authority to doe and excoute all and every such Acts Matters and things which Our Governour of Our said Province for the time being might or could by vertue of these Our Letter Patents lawfully doe or execute if he were personally present vntill the returne of the Governour soe absent or Arrivall or Constitucon of such other Governour as shall or may be appointed by Vs Our Heires or Sueueessors in his stead and that when and as often as the Governour and Leivtenant or Deputy Governour of Our said Province or Territory for the time being shall happen to dye or be displaced by Vs Our Heires or Successors or be absent from Our said Province and that there shall be no person within the said Province Comissionated by Vs Our Heires or Successors to be Governour within the same Then and in every of*



*the said cases the Councill or Assistants of Our said Province shall have full power and Authority and Wee doe hereby give and grant vnto the said Councill or Assistants of Our said Province for the time being or the Major parse of them full power and Authority to doe and execute all and every such Acts matters and things which the said Governour or Leivtenant of Deputy Governour of Our said Province or Territory for the time being might or could lawfully doe or exercise if they or either of them were personally present vntill the returne of the Governour Leivtenant or Deputy Governour soe absent or Arrivall or Constitucon of such other Governour or Leivtenant or Deputy Governour as shall or may be appointed by Vs Our Heires or Successors from time to time **Provided** alwaies and it is hereby declared that nothing herein shall extend or be taken to Erect or grant or allow the Exercise of any Admirall Court Jurisdicon Power or Authority but that the same shall be and is hereby reserved to Vs and Our Successors and shall from time to time be Erected Granted and exercised by vertue of Commissions to be yssued vnder the Great Seale of England or vnder the Seale of the High Admirall or the Comissioners for executing the Office of High Admirall of England **And further** Our expresse Will and Pleasure is And Wee doe by these present for Vs Our Heires and Successors Ordaine and appoint that these Our Letters Patents shall not in any manner Enure or be taken to abridge bar or hinder any of Our loveing Subjects whatsoever to vse and exercise the Trade of Fishing vpon the Coasts of New England but that they and every of them shall have full and free power and Libertie to continue and vse their said Trade of Fishing vpon the said Coasts in any of the seas therevnto adjoyning or any Arms of the said Seas or Salt Water Rivers where they have been wont to fish and to build and set vpon the Lands within Our said Province or Collony lying west and not then possesst by perticuler Proprietors such Wharfes Stages and Workhouses as shall be necessary for the salting drying keeping and packing of their Fish to be taken or gotten vpon that Coast And to Cutt down and take such Trees and other Materialls there growing or being or growing¹⁹⁵ vpon any parts or places lying west and not then in possession Of particuler proprietors as shall be needfull for that purpose and for all other necessary easments helps and advantages concerning the Trade of Fishing there in such manner and forme as they have been heretofore at any time accustomed to doe without makeing any Wilfull Wast or Spoile any thing in these presents conteyned to the contrary notwithstanding **And lastly** for the better provideing and furnishing of Masts for Our Royall Navy Wee doe hereby reserve to Vs Our Heires and Successors all Trees of the Diameter of Twenty Four Inches and upwards of Twelve Inches from the ground growing vpon any soyle or Tract of Land within Our said Province or Territory not heretofore granted to any private persons And Wee doe restrains and forbid all persons whatsoever from felling cutting or destroying any such Trees without the Royall Lycence of Vs Our Heires and Successors first had and obteyned vpon*

195. The words "or growing" not found in reprint.



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*penalty of Forfeiting One Hundred Pounds sterling vnto Ous Our Heires and Successors for every such Tree soe felled cult or destroyed without such Lycence had and¹⁹⁶ obteyned in that behalfe any thing in these presents conteyned to the contrary in any wise Notwithstanding **In Witnessse** whereof Wee-have caused these our Letters to be made Patents **Witnessse** Ourselves att Westminster the Seaventh Day of October in the Third yeare of Our Reigne*

By Writt of Privy Seale

PIGOTT

Pro Fine in Hanaperio quadragint Marcas

J. TREVOR C. S.

K. W. RAWLINSON C. S.

L. G. HUTCHNS C. S.¹⁹⁷

January 10: The last entry in the journal of Friend [George Fox](#), accompanied with a letter to Irish Friends in their suffering during Ireland's civil war.

Not long after I returned to London, and was almost daily with Friends at meetings. When I had been near two weeks in town, the sense of the great hardships and sore sufferings that Friends had been and were under in Ireland, coming with great weight upon me, I was moved to write an epistle, as a word of consolation unto them.

[FOX'S JOURNAL:](#)

January 11: Friend [George Fox](#) attended at Gracechurch Street Meeting and delivered a long sermon “opening many deep and weighty things,” after which he offered prayer. Later in the day, when some Friends came to his room in White-Hart-Court, he told them he had “felt the cold strike to his heart, as he came out of meeting”; “yet,” he added, “I am glad I was here (i.e., in the meeting). Now I am clear, I am fully clear!” Later, to other Friends who were visiting, he said: “All is well; the Seed of God reigns over all and over death itself. And though I am weak in body, yet the power of God is over all, and the Seed reigns over all disorderly spirits.”

[QUAKERS](#)

196. “or” in reprint, supra.

197. Sir John Trevor, Sir William Rawlinson, and Sir George Hutchins were appointed lords commissioners of the great seal May 15, 1690, and were succeeded by Lord Somers as chancellor May 3, 1693.

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January 13-14, night: On this night [George Fox](#) died during his sleep. His funeral would be well-attended, and the body would be interred near Bunhill Fields.



QUAKERS



Here is Friend [William Penn](#)'s retrospective:

The Testimony of William Penn concerning that Faithful Servant George Fox.

The blessed instrument of and in this day of God, and of whom I am now about to write, was George Fox, distinguished from another of that name, by that other's addition of younger to his name in all his writings; not that he was so in years, but that he was so in the truth; but he was also a worthy man, witness and servant of God in his time.

But this George Fox was born in Leicestershire, about the year 1624. He descended of honest and sufficient parents, who endeavoured to bring him up, as they did the rest of their children, in the way and worship of the nation; especially his mother, who was a woman accomplished above most of her degree in the place where she lived. But from a child he appeared of another frame of mind than the rest of his brethren; being more religious, inward, still, solid, and observing, beyond his years, as the answers he would give, and the questions he would put upon occasion manifested, to the astonishment of those that heard him, especially in divine things.

His mother taking notice of his singular temper, and the gravity, wisdom, and piety that very early shone through him, refusing childish and vain sports and company when very young, she was tender and indulgent over him, so that from her he met with little difficulty. As to his employment, he was brought up in country business; and as he took most delight in sheep, so he was very skilful in them; an employment that very well suited his mind in several respects, both for its innocency and solitude; and was a just figure of his after ministry and service.

I shall not break in upon his own account, which is by much the best that can be given; and therefore desire, what I can, to avoid saying anything of what is said already, as to the particular passages of his coming forth; but, in general, when he was somewhat above twenty, he left his friends, and visited the most retired and religious people, and some there were at that time in this nation, especially in those parts, who waited for the consolation of Israel night and day, as Zacharias, Anna, and good old Simeon did of old time. To these he was sent, and these he sought out in the neighboring countries, and among them he sojourned till his more ample ministry came upon him.

At this time he taught and was an example of silence, endeavouring to bring people from self-performances, testifying and turning to the light of Christ within them, and encouraging them to wait in patience to feel the power of it to stir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worship of God might stand in the power of an endless life, which was to be found in the Light, as it was obeyed in the manifestation of it in man. "For in the Word was life, and that life was the light of men." Life in the Word, light in men, and life too, as the light is obeyed; the children of the light living by the life of the Word, by which the Word begets them again to God, which is the regeneration and new birth, without which there is no coming unto the kingdom of God; and which, whoever comes to, is greater than John, that is, than John's ministry which was not that of the kingdom, but the consummation of the legal, and opening of the gospel-dispensation. Accordingly, several meetings were gathered in those parts; and thus his time was employed for some years.



In 1652, he being in his usual retirement to the Lord upon a very high mountain, in some of the hither parts of Yorkshire, as I take it, his mind exercised towards the Lord, he had a vision of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth to begin it. He saw people as thick as motes in the sun, that should in time be brought home to the Lord, that there might be but one Shepherd and one sheepfold in all the earth. There his eye was directed northward, beholding a great people that should receive him and his message in those parts. Upon this mountain he was moved of the Lord to sound out his great and notable day, as if he had been in a great auditory, and from thence went north, as the Lord had shewn him: and in every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular exercise and service shewn to him, so that the Lord was his leader indeed; for it was not in vain that he travelled, God in most places sealing his commission with the conviction of some of all sorts, as well publicans as sober professors of religion. Some of the first and most eminent of them, which are at rest, were Richard Farnsworth, James Nayler, William Dewsbury, Francis Howgil, Edward Burrough, John Camm, John Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, T. Taylor, John Aldam, T. Holmes, Alexander Parker, William Simpson, William Caton, John Stubbs, Robert Widders, John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, Thomas Salthouse, and many more worthies, that cannot be well here named, together with diverse yet living of the first and great conviction, who after the knowledge of God's purging judgments in themselves, and some time of waiting in silence upon him, to feel and receive power from on high to speak in his name (which none else rightly can, though they may use the same words), felt the divine motions, and were frequently drawn forth, especially to visit the publick assemblies, to reprove, inform and exhort them, sometimes in markets, fairs, streets, and by the highway side, calling people to repentance, and to turn to the Lord with their hearts as well as their mouths; directing them to the light of Christ within them, to see and examine and consider their ways by, and to eschew the evil and do the good and acceptable will of God. And they suffered great hardships for this their love and good-will, being often stocked, stoned, beaten, whipped and imprisoned, though honest men and of good report where they lived, that had left wives and children, and houses and lands, to visit them with a living call to repentance. And though the priests generally set themselves to oppose them, and write against them, and insinuated most false and scandalous stories to defame them, stirring up the magistrates to suppress them, especially in those northern parts, yet God was pleased so to fill them with his living power, and give them such an open door of utterance in his service, that there was a mighty conviction over those parts.

And through the tender and singular indulgence of Judge Bradshaw and Judge Fell, in the infancy of things, the priests were never able to gain the point they laboured for, which was to have proceeded to blood, and if possible, Herod-like, by a cruel exercise of the civil power, to have cut them off and rooted them out of the country. Especially Judge Fell, who was not only a check to their rage in the course of legal proceedings, but otherwise upon occasion, and finally countenanced this people; for his wife receiving the truth with the first, it had that influence upon his spirit, being a just and wise man, and seeing in his own wife and family a full confutation of all the popular clamours against the way of truth, that he covered them what he could, and freely opened his doors, and gave up his house to his wife and her friends, not valuing the reproach of ignorant or evilminded people, which I here mention to his and her honour, and which will be I believe an honour and a blessing to such of their name and family as shall be found in that tenderness, humility, love and zeal for the truth and people of the Lord.

That house was for some years at first, till the truth had opened its way in the southern parts of this island, an eminent receptacle of this people. Others of good note and substance in those northern countries had also opened their houses with their hearts to the many publishers, that in a short time the Lord had raised to declare his salvation to the people, and where meetings of the Lord's messengers were frequently held, to communicate their services and exercises, and comfort and edify one another in their blessed ministry.

But lest this may be thought a digression, having touched upon this before, I return to this excellent man: and for his personal qualities, both natural, moral, and divine, as they appeared in his converse with his brethren and in the church of God, take as follows.



And truly, I must say, that though God had visibly clothed him with a divine preference and authority, and indeed his very presence expressed a religious majesty, yet he never abused it, but held his place in the church of God with great meekness, and a most engaging humility and moderation. For upon all occasions like his blessed Master, he was a servant to all, holding and exercising his eldership in the invisible power that had gathered them, with reverence to the head and care over the body, and was received only in that spirit and power of Christ, as the first and chief elder in this age; who as he was therefore worthy of double honour, so for the same reason it was given by the faithful of this day; because his authority was inward and not outward, and that he got it and kept it by the love of God and power of an endless life. I write my knowledge and not report, and my witness is true, having been with him for weeks and months together on diverse occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature, and that by night and by day, by sea and by land, in this and in foreign countries: and I can say I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service or occasion.

For in all things he acquitted himself like a man, yea a strong man, a new and heavenly-minded man. A divine, and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been surprised at his questions and answers in natural things, that whilst he was ignorant of useless and sophistical science, he had in him the foundation of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it everywhere. Civil beyond all forms of breeding in his behaviour; very temperate, eating little and sleeping less, though a bulky person.

Thus he lived and sojourned among us, and as he lived so he died, feeling the same eternal power that had raised and preserved him in his last moments. So full of assurance was he that he triumphed over death; and so even to the last, as if death were hardly worth notice or a mention: recommending to some with him the dispatch and dispersion of an epistle, just before written to the churches of Christ, throughout the world, and his own books; but above all, friends, and of all friends those in Ireland and America, twice over: saying, Mind poor friends in Ireland and America.

And to some that came in and inquired how he found himself, he answered, "Never heed, the Lord's power is over all weakness and death, the Seed reigns, blessed be the Lord": which was about four or five hours before his departure out of this world. He was at the great meeting near Lombard Street on the first day of the week, and it was the third following about ten at night when he left us, being at the house of H. Goldney in the same court. In a good old age he went, after having lived to see his children's children to several generations in the truth. He had the comfort of a short illness, and the blessing of a clear sense to the last; and we may truly say with a man of God of old, that "being dead, he yet speaketh"; and though absent in body, he is present in Spirit; neither time nor place being able to interrupt the communion of saints, or dissolve the fellowship of the spirits of the just. His works praise him, because they are to the praise of Him that worked by him; for which his memorial is and shall be blessed. I have done, as to this part of my preface, when I have left this short epitaph to his name: "Many sons have done virtuously in this day, but, dear George, thou excellent them all."

I. He was a man that God endowed with a clear and wonderful depth, a discerner of others' spirits, and very much a master of his own. And though the side of his understanding which lay next to the world, and especially the expression of it, might sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound, and would not only bear to be often considered but the more it was so, the more weighty and instructing it appeared. And as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would fall from him about divine things, it is well known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations. And indeed it shewed beyond all contradiction that God sent him, that no arts or parts had any share in the matter or manner of his ministry, and that so many great, excellent, and necessary truths as he came forth to preach to mankind, had therefore nothing of man's wit or wisdom to recommend them. So that as to man he was an original, being no man's copy. And his ministry and writings shew they are from one that was not taught of man, nor had learned what he said by study. Nor were they notional or speculative, but sensible and practical truths, tending to conversion and regeneration, and the setting up the kingdom of God in the hearts of men, and the way of it was his work. So that I have many times been overcome in myself, and been made to say with my Lord and Master upon the like occasion, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent of this world, and revealed them to babes"; for many times hath my soul bowed in an humble thankfulness to the Lord, that he did not choose any of the wise and learned of this world to be the first messenger in our age of his blessed truth to men; but that he took one that was not of high degree, or elegant speech, or learned after the way of this world, that his message and work He sent him to do might come with less suspicion or jealousy of human wisdom and interest, and with more force and clearness upon the consciences of those that sincerely sought the way of truth in the love of it. I say, beholding with the eye of my mind, which the God of heaven had opened in me, the marks of God's finger and hand visibly in this testimony from the clearness of the principle, the power and efficacy of it in the exemplary sobriety, plainness, zeal, steadiness, humility, gravity, punctuality, charity, and circumspect care in the government of church affairs, which shined in his and their life and testimony that God employed in this work, it greatly confirmed me that it was of God, and engaged my soul in a deep love, fear, reverence, and thankfulness for his love and mercy therein to mankind; in which mind I remain, and shall, I hope, to the end of my days.

II. In his testimony or ministry he much laboured to open truth to the people's understandings, and to bottom them upon the principle and principal, Christ Jesus, the light of the world, that by bringing them to something that was of God in themselves, they might the better know and judge of him and themselves.

He had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures. He would go to the marrow of things, and shew the mind, harmony, and fulfilling of them with much plainness, and to great comfort and edification.

The mystery of the first and second Adam, of the fall and restoration, of the law and gospel, of shadows and substance, of the servant and son's state, and the fulfilling of the Scriptures in Christ, and by Christ the true light, in all that are His, through the obedience of faith, were much of the substance and drift of his testimonies. In all which he was witnessed to be of God, being sensibly felt to speak that which he had received of Christ, and was his own experience in that which never errs nor fails.

But above all he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour, and the fewness and fullness of his words, have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer. And truly it was a testimony he knew, and lived nearer to the Lord than other men; for they that know him most will see most reason to approach him with reverence and fear.

He was of an innocent life, no busy-body, nor self-seeker, neither touchy nor critical: what fell from him was very inoffensive, if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company. He exercised no authority but over evil, and that everywhere and in all; but with love, compassion, and long-suffering. A most merciful man, as ready to forgive as unapt to take or give offense. Thousands can truly say, he was of an excellent spirit and savour among them, and because thereof the most excellent spirits loved him with an unfeigned and unfading love.



He was an incessant labourer; for in his younger time, before his many great and deep sufferings and travels had enfeebled his body for itinerant services, he laboured much in the word and doctrine and discipline in England, Scotland, and Ireland, turning many to God, and confirming those that were convinced of the truth, and settling good order as to church affairs among them. And towards the conclusion of his travelling services, between the years seventy-one and seventy-seven, he visited the churches of Christ in the plantations in America, and in the United Provinces, and 'y, as his following Journal relates, to the convincement and consolation of many. After that time he chiefly resided in and about the city of London, and besides the services of his ministry, which were frequent, he wrote much both to them that are within and those that are without the communion. But the care he took of the affairs of the church in general was very great.

He was often where the records of the affairs of the church are kept, and the letters from the many meetings of God's people over all the world, where settled, come upon occasions; which letters he had read to him, and communicated them to the meeting that is weekly held there for such services; he would be sure to stir them up to discharge them, especially in suffering cases: showing great sympathy and compassion upon all such occasions, carefully looking into the respective cases, and endeavouring speedy relief according to the nature of them; so that the churches and any of the suffering members thereof were sure not to be forgotten or delayed in their desires if he were there.

As he was unwearied, so he was undaunted in his services for God and his people; he was no more to be moved to fear than to wrath. His behaviour at Derby, Litchfield, Appleby, before Oliver Cromwell at Launceston, Scarborough, Worcester, and Westminster-hall, with many other places and exercises, did abundantly evidence it to his enemies as well as his friends.

But as in the primitive times some rose up against the blessed apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, even from among those that they had turned to the hope of the gospel, and who became their greatest trouble, so this man of God had his share of suffering from some that were convinced by him, who through prejudice or mistake ran against him as one that sought dominion over conscience; because he pressed, by his presence or epistles, a ready and zealous compliance with such good and wholesome things as tended to an orderly conversation about the affairs of the church, and in their walking before men. That which contributed much to this ill work, was in some a begrudging of this meek man the love and esteem he had and deserved in the hearts of the people, and weakness in others that were taken with their groundless suggestions of imposition and blind obedience.

They would have had every man independent, that as he had the principle in himself, he should only stand and fall to that and nobody else; not considering that the principle is one in all, and though the measure of light or grace might differ, yet the nature of it was the same, and being so they struck at the spiritual unity, which a people guided by the same principle are naturally led into: so that what is evil to one is so to all, and what is virtuous, honest, and of good report to one, is so to all, from the sense and savour of the one universal principle which is common to all, and (which the disaffected profess to be) the root of all true Christian fellowship, and that spirit into which the people of God drink, and come to be spiritually minded, and of one heart and one soul.

Some weakly mistook good order in the government of church affairs for discipline in worship, and that it was so pressed or recommended by him and other brethren; and they were ready to reflect the same things that dissenters had very reasonably objected upon the national churches, that have coercively pressed conformity to their respective creeds and worships: whereas these things related wholly to conversation, and the outward and (as I may say) civil part of the church, that men should walk up to the principles of their belief, and not be wanting in care and charity. But though some have stumbled and fallen through mistakes and an unreasonable obstinacy, even to a prejudice, yet blessed be God, the generality have returned to their first love, and seen the work of the enemy, that loses no opportunity or advantage by which he may check or hinder the work of God, and disquiet the peace of His church, and chill the love of His people to the truth, and one to another; and there is hope of diverse that are yet at a distance.

In all these occasions, though there was no person the discontented struck so sharply at as this good man, he bore all their weakness and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection; but forgave them their weak and bitter speeches, praying for them that they might have a sense of their hurt, and see the subtlety of the enemy to rend and divide, and return into their first love that thought no ill.



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To Friend Penn's retrospective as reprinted above, and to the general history published by Friend Sewal, we should add the observation that those who are the most closely associated with us in a movement may not be the best situated to observe our warts and blemishes, out of political affiliation. In that light, here is H. Larry Ingle, the most recent biographer of Friend George Fox, in regard to Gerard Croese's *The General History of the Quakers*, published in Latin in 1695 and in English in 1696:

“Croese had access to documents and people long since lost and did an extensive amount of research. The result, while erroneous in some places, is still better than Sewal's because he was not writing as an insider with a goal of defending the establishment. Sewal claimed that Croese got much of his information from him, but if he did, he certainly gave it a different twist. The Meeting for Sufferings was not please with Croese's book and tried to stop its publication, but they were unsuccessful. Both histories are useful, and neither should be overlooked, for both contain valuable information. My experience has been that, usually, those who write history from the inside tend to reflect the values and ‘take’ of those about whom they write. There's nothing wrong with this — in fact, that they write that way is understandably and often useful. But what they write must be balanced with the views of others. Croese did write as someone who did not accept the ‘truth’ of Quakerism. That fact made him neither right nor wrong, but it did give him a perspective that those who want to get at the total picture need to look at and consider. Let me cite one passage about Fox that I found quite perceptive, from Book II, p. 116:

‘[Fox] was moreover couragious. tenacious of his Opinion, and morose, so much confiding in his Person, Pain and Advice, that the thought nothing could be done rightly, or perfected without him, being desious every where to be present, and preside; and what happened to be done well, he laid claim to the glory of it, pretending Title to the Reward of the Praise of it all; and yet all this under colour of Simplicity and Humility. Pleasant and Bountiful to those that lov'd him, but bitter against others that were not of his Society, not only hurting 'em verbally, but really as fer as he could, and that sometimes not imprudently, but even immodestly and impudently too.’

Can anyone imagine Sewal writing candidly, and, I might add, so insightfully? Indeed, such balanced assessments were few and far between until more recent days. The point is that one should use both Sewal and Croese if one wants to get as close to the actual early Quakerism — the former for the view of those who wanted to defend the movement, the latter for those who wanted an outsider's comments. Sewal writes erroneously as well — indeed, given the state of histories of the day, one can reasonably expect that errors will appear in practically every writer, even the most careful. That does not mean that we should assume that one among so few writers is completely correct.”

4th of “4th mo.”: On the 4th of June, in the records of the [Rhode-Island](#) quarterly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), a notation was made that “it was proposed that some have a mind to buy Sucklin’s lot of land at [Providence](#)” for a meetinghouse. (Apparently this deal went through, but “Sucklin’s lot of land” was tiny and objectionably close to the road. Most likely, it was one of the smaller warehouse lots on the west side of the main town thoroughfare rather than one of the adequately sized house lots on the east side of this street. A decision would eventually be reached that this lot could not accommodate a structure that was 30 feet square, and so it would be exchanged for another larger lot farther out, near the new 2-story stone-end dwelling house that Eleazer Arnold had just erected, located at 487 Great Road in [Lincoln](#).)



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



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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 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



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"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 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



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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.

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.

Friend John Bowne and John Rodman bought three acres of land from John Ware adjoining the [Quaker](#) burial ground on Northern Boulevard in Flushing on Paumanok Long Island, to be used for a meetinghouse site.



1693

In this year [Friend WILLIAM PENN](#) prepared his SOME FRUITS OF SOLITUDE:

318. If we are but sure the End is Right, we are too apt to gallop over all Bounds to compass it; not considering that lawful Ends may be very unlawfully attained.

...

537. A good End cannot sanctifie evil Means; nor must we ever do Evil, that Good may come of it.

538. Some Folks think they may Scold, Rail, Hate, Rob and Kill too; so it be but for God's sake.

539. But nothing in us unlike him, can please him.

540. It is as great Presumption to send our Passions upon God's Errands, as it is to palliate them with God's Name.

541. Zeal dropped in Charity, is good, without it good for nothing: For it devours all it comes near.

542. They must first judge themselves, that presume to censure others: And such will not be apt to overshoot the Mark.

543. We are too ready to retaliate, rather than forgive, or gain by Love and Information.

544. And yet we could hurt no Man that we believe loves us.

545. Let us then try what Love will do: For if Men did once see we Love them, we should soon find they would not harm us.

546. Force may subdue, but Love gains: And he that forgives first, wins the Lawrel.

In SOME FRUITS OF SOLITUDE, [Friend WILLIAM PENN](#) laid out his philosophy in regard to the educational development of the young:

We are in pain to make them scholars but not men; to talk rather than to know, which is true canting. The first thing obvious to children is what is sensible; and that we make no part of their rudiments. We press their memory too soon, and puzzle, strain and load them with words and rules to know grammar and rhetoric; and a strange tongue or two that, it is ten to one, may never be useful to them, leaving their natural knowledge uncultivated and neglected; which would be of exceeding use and pleasure to them through the whole course of their lives. To be sure, languages are not to be despised or neglected, but things are still to be preserved.

Children had rather be making tools and instruments of play; shaping, drawing framing and building than getting some rules of propriety and speech by heart.... It were happy if we studied nature more and in natural things, and acting according to



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nature; whose rules are few, plain and most reasonable.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

[QUAKER EDUCATION](#)

[Friend George Keith](#)'s THE CHRISTIAN QUAKER: OR, GEORGE KEITH'S EYES OPENED. GOOD NEWS FROM PENNSILVANIA. 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 PENNSILVANIA, &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](#)



**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 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 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 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.

The Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) held in London, this year, needed to deal with the touchy issue, that there were some [Quaker](#) ship-masters who were known to have been carrying guns on board their vessels. Could such practice be compliant with the Quaker Peace Testimony?

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

A complaint being made about some ship-masters, who profess the Truth and are esteemed Quakers, carrying guns in their ships, supposing thereby to defend and secure themselves and their ships, contrary to our principle and practice, and to the endangering of their own and others' lives thereby; also giving occasion of more severe hardships and sufferings to be inflicted on such Friends as are pressed into ships of war, who, for conscience sake, cannot fight or destroy men's lives; it is therefore recommended to the monthly and quarterly meetings whereunto such ship-masters belong, to deal with them in God's wisdom, and tender love, to stir them up and awaken their consciences; that they may seriously consider how they injure their own souls in so doing, and what occasion they give to make the Truth and Friends to suffer by their declension, and acting contrary thereunto through disobedience and unbelief, placing their security in that which is altogether insecure and dangerous: which we are really sorry for, and sincerely desire their recovery, and safety from destruction, that their faith and confidence may be in the arm and power of God.



1694

In Boston, the owner of Brattle's pasturage was allowed to sell a slice of it—22-foot by 128-foot on what is now Brattle Street in what is now Government Center— for ready cash, despite the fact that the purchasers were Quakers whose intent was to construct a meetinghouse for worship. Between 1694 and 1697, the 1st [Quaker](#) meetinghouse in Boston would be being constructed by Friend William Mumford on this lot near the present-day city hall. It was a 20-foot by 24-foot structure and is said to have been the first church building in Boston to have been constructed out of brick. However, this Boston "preparatory" meeting would never achieve the size or influence of the nearby Salem meeting, and would never be granted its independence but would be kept permanently under the oversight of Salem Monthly Meeting. Most Friends chose to reside in Salem, Lynn, or Maine, where the atmosphere was better, for Bostonians were still hostile and Friends risked being identified by their garb on the street and accosted with remarks such as:

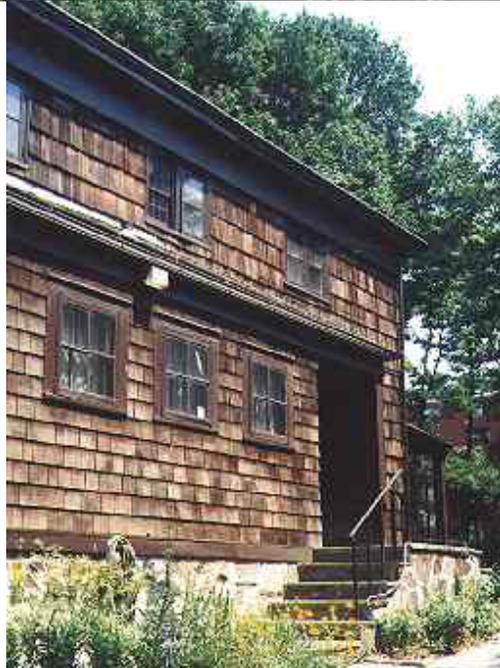
Oh! what a pity it was that all your Society were not [hanged](#) with the other four!

(This situation would not improve until the Boston Quakers had fallen away from their faith to the point at which they were Quakers more or less in name only — and at that point, strange to recount, they became quite acceptable Bostonians.)

SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

A [Quaker](#) meetinghouse was constructed in Flushing on *Paumanok* Long Island, and the 1st recorded meeting was held.





[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 ABETTORS 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.



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.

1695

Friend [William Penn](#)'s account of the history of his [Quakers](#):

**A BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE PEOPLE
CALLED QUAKERS,**



IN WHICH THEIR
FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE,
DOCTRINES, WORSHIP, MINISTRY,
AND DISCIPLINE, ARE PLAINLY DECLARED.

Friend Thomas Maule, a [Quaker](#) of Salem, one of the richest men in town, proclaimed, in TRUTH HELD FORTH, that there were indeed [witches](#) loose in New England, and that the reason why this was so was that God was displeased that his people the Quakers were being persecuted. God had unleashed witches and Indians to devastate the persecutors of his people. This pamphlet was not anonymous — he would be imprisoned for slander. (In 1701 he would become more personal about his message, in NEW ENGLAND PERSECUTORS MAULED, by asserting flat out that “the evil one abideth in *Cotton Mather*.”)

The New England [Yearly Meeting](#) was established as a [Quaker](#) organization.

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.

1696

The widower [Friend William Penn](#) remarried, with Friend Hannah Callowhill.

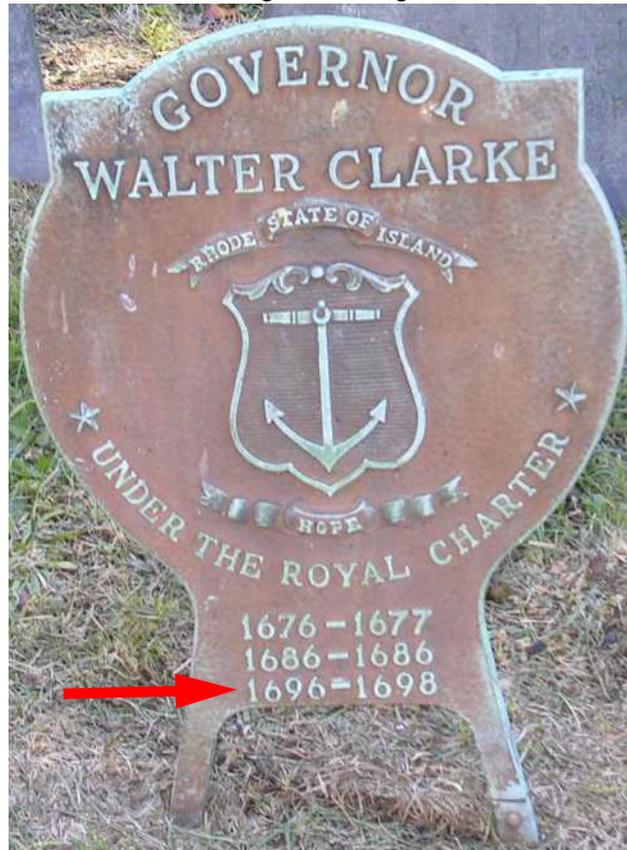


William Markham, Friend William Penn's secretary who had gone on to become governor of the Delaware colony, replaced the "Frame" that Penn had created (when Penn would in 1701 return to the New World, he would revise this "Frame").

A [Quaker](#) meetinghouse was erected on Green Street in New-York, at Liberty Place.

The 1st New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was held in Flushing on Paumanok Long Island. (During that period the Friends' meetings on Manhattan Island, on Long Island, and in Westchester were part of Flushing Monthly Meeting.) An army captain and a justice of the peace were called before the governor of New-York because they were refusing to swear and refusing to "fight any longer." "[H]aving received the truth in the love of it," they laid down their commissions before the governor.

In [Rhode Island](#), [Friend Walter Clarke](#) was again elected governor.



The brigantine *Seaflower*, which had been exporting native American [slaves](#) to the Bahamas, was brought from Africa with a cargo of 47 black slaves and stopped off in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) with 19 of them as yet unpurchased, and after being able to dispose of 14 of them locally, marched the remaining 5 overland to Boston to turn them over to the owners of the vessel.

Meanwhile, in Pennsylvania, Friends Cadwalader Morgan and William Southeby were persuading the Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) to advise Quakers to “be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more negroes.”

THE TRAFFIC IN MAN-BODY

“That Friends be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more negroes.” Bettle, “Notices of Negro Slavery,” in Penn. Hist. Soc. Mem. (1864), I. 383.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: One of the first American protests against the slave-trade came from certain German Friends, in 1688, at a Weekly Meeting held in Germantown, Pennsylvania. “These are the reasons,” wrote “Garret henderich, derick up de graeff, Francis daniell Pastorius, and Abraham up Den graef,” “why we are against the traffick of men-body, as followeth: Is there any that would be done or handled at this manner?... Now,



tho they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men like as we will be done ourselves; making no difference of what generation, descent or colour they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike?"¹⁹⁸ This little leaven helped slowly to work a revolution in the attitude of this great sect toward slavery and the slave-trade. The Yearly Meeting at first postponed the matter, "It having so General a Relation to many other Parts."¹⁹⁹ Eventually, however, in 1696, the Yearly Meeting advised "That Friends be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more Negroes."²⁰⁰ This advice was repeated in stronger terms for a quarter-century,²⁰¹ and by that time Sandiford, Benezet, Lay, and Woolman had begun their crusade. In 1754 the Friends took a step farther and made the purchase of slaves a matter of discipline.²⁰² Four years later the Yearly Meeting expressed itself clearly as "against every branch of this practice," and declared that if "any professing with us should persist to vindicate it, and be concerned in importing, selling or purchasing slaves, the respective Monthly Meetings to which they belong should manifest their disunion with such persons."²⁰³ Further, manumission was recommended, and in 1776 made compulsory.²⁰⁴ The effect of this attitude of the Friends was early manifested in the legislation of all the colonies where the sect was influential, and particularly in Pennsylvania.

One of the first duty acts (1710) laid a restrictive duty of 40s. on slaves, and was eventually disallowed.²⁰⁵ In 1712 William Southeby petitioned the Assembly totally to abolish slavery. This the Assembly naturally refused to attempt; but the same year, in response to another petition "signed by many hands," they passed an "Act to prevent the Importation of Negroes and Indians,"²⁰⁶ – the first enactment of its kind in America. This act was inspired largely by the general fear of insurrection which succeeded the "Negro-plot" of 1712 in New York. It declared: "Whereas, divers Plots and Insurrections have frequently happened, not only in the Islands but on the Main Land of *America*, by Negroes, which have been carried on so far that several of the inhabitants have been barbarously Murthered, an Instance whereof we have lately had in our Neighboring Colony of *New York*,"²⁰⁷ etc. It then proceeded to lay a prohibitive duty of £20 on all slaves imported. These acts were quickly disposed of in England. Three duty acts affecting Negroes, including the prohibitory act, were in 1713 disallowed, and it was directed

198. From fac-simile copy, published at Germantown in 1880. Cf. Whittier's poem, "Pennsylvania Hall" (POETICAL WORKS, Riverside ed., III. 62); and Proud, HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA (1797), I. 219.

199. From fac-simile copy, published at Germantown in 1880.

200. Bettle, NOTICES OF NEGRO SLAVERY, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM. (1864), I. 383.

201. Cf. Bettle, NOTICES OF NEGRO SLAVERY, PASSIM.

202. Janney, HISTORY OF THE FRIENDS, III. 315-7.

203. HISTORY OF THE FRIENDS, III. 317.

204. Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 395.

205. PENN. COL. REC. (1852), II. 530; Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 415.

206. LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA, COLLECTED, etc., 1714, page 165; Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 387.

207. See preamble of the act.



that "the Dep^{ty} Gov^r Council and Assembly of Pensilvania, be & they are hereby Strictly Enjoyed & required not to permit the said Laws ... to be from henceforward put in Execution."²⁰⁸ The Assembly repealed these laws, but in 1715 passed another laying a duty of £5, which was also eventually disallowed.²⁰⁹ Other acts, the provisions of which are not clear, were passed in 1720 and 1722,²¹⁰ and in 1725-1726 the duty on Negroes was raised to the restrictive figure of £10.²¹¹ This duty, for some reason not apparent, was lowered to £2 in 1729,²¹² but restored again in 1761.²¹³ A struggle occurred over this last measure, the Friends petitioning for it, and the Philadelphia merchants against it, declaring that "We, the subscribers, ever desirous to extend the Trade of this Province, have seen, for some time past, the many inconveniencys the Inhabitants have suffer'd for want of Labourers and artificers, ... have for some time encouraged the importation of Negroes;" they prayed therefore at least for a delay in passing the measure.²¹⁴ The law, nevertheless, after much debate and altercation with the governor, finally passed. These repeated acts nearly stopped the trade, and the manumission or sale of Negroes by the Friends decreased the number of slaves in the province. The rising spirit of independence enabled the colony, in 1773, to restore the prohibitive duty of £20 and make it perpetual.²¹⁵ After the Revolution unpaid duties on slaves were collected and the slaves registered,²¹⁶ and in 1780 an "Act for the gradual Abolition of Slavery" was passed.²¹⁷ As there were probably at no time before the war more than 11,000 slaves in Pennsylvania,²¹⁸ the task thus accomplished was not so formidable as in many other States. As it was, participation in the slave-trade outside the colony was not prohibited until 1788.²¹⁹

It seems probable that in the original Swedish settlements along the Delaware slavery was prohibited.²²⁰ This measure had,

208. The Pennsylvanians did not allow their laws to reach England until long after they were passed: PENN. ARCHIVES, I. 161-2; COL. REC., II. 572-3. These acts were disallowed Feb. 20, 1713. Another duty act was passed in 1712, supplementary to the Act of 1710 (COL. REC., II. 553). The contents are unknown.

209. ACTS AND LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1715, page 270; Chalmers, OPINIONS, II. 118. Before the disallowance was known, the act had been continued by the Act of 1718: Carey and Bioren, LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1700-1802, I. 118; PENN. COL. REC., III. 38.

210. Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 165; PENN. COL. REC., III. 171; Bettie, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 389, note.

211. Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 214; Bettie, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 388. Possibly there were two acts this year.

212. LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA (ed. 1742), page 354, ch. 287. Possibly some change in the currency made this change appear greater than it was.

213. Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 371; ACTS OF ASSEMBLY (ed. 1782), page 149; Dallas, LAWS, I. 406, ch. 379. This act was renewed in 1768: Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 451; PENN. COL. REC., IX. 472, 637, 641.

214. PENN. COL. REC., VIII. 576.

215. A large petition called for this bill. Much altercation ensued with the governor: Dallas, LAWS, I. 671, ch. 692; PENN. COL. REC., X. 77; Bettie, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 388-9.

216. Dallas, LAWS, I. 782, ch. 810.

217. LAWS, I. 838, ch. 881.

218. There exist but few estimates of the number of slaves in this colony: —

In 1721, 2,500-5,000. DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, V. 604.

In 1754, 11,000. Bancroft, HIST. OF UNITED STATES (1883), II. 391.

In 1760, very few. Burnaby, TRAVELS THROUGH N. AMER. (2d ed.), page 81.

In 1775, 2,000. PENN. ARCHIVES, IV 597.

219. Dallas, LAWS, II. 586.

220. Cf. ARGONAUTICA GUSTAVIANA, pages 21-3; DEL. HIST. SOC. PAPERS, III. 10; HAZARD'S REGISTER, IV. 221, §§ 23, 24; HAZARD'S ANNALS, page 372; Armstrong, RECORD OF UPLAND COURT, pages 29-30, and notes.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

however, little practical effect; for as soon as the Dutch got control the slave-trade was opened, although, as it appears, to no large extent. After the fall of the Dutch Delaware came into English hands. Not until 1775 do we find any legislation on the slave-trade. In that year the colony attempted to prohibit the importation of slaves, but the governor vetoed the bill.²²¹ Finally, in 1776 by the Constitution, and in 1787 by law, importation and exportation were both prohibited.²²²

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.

From a very early date, the General Court of Massachusetts had been requiring that each town sustain a Puritan minister, by means of a poll tax. Those of other faiths were never exempted from the requirement to support the orthodox minister. In this year the [Quaker](#) Richard Estes of Boston, for refusing to pay this poll tax, would have a heifer confiscated by the government “valued at 30 shillings.”

April: The Board of Trade considered a letter from Captain Benjamin Davis of Boston informing them of “such a bloody crew of privateers at [Rhode Island](#) that the Government cannot rule them, and the sober men are in fear of their lives.” The governor, [Friend Walter Clarke](#), made no response.

PIRATE

Another letter of complaint was therefore sent out, this one in regard to [Rhode Island](#)’s persistent neglect to prosecute those who were evading payment of duties and customs. Although the colony had enacted during July 1696 that no vessel owner could procure a commission unless he provided a bond of a thousand pounds that he would “not proceed upon any unlawful act,” the letter noted that for some reason this measure had been ineffectual. This letter went on, to warn the colony that it might well lose its charter unless it promptly cleaned up its act.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

221. Force, AMERICAN ARCHIVES, 4th Ser., II. 128-9.

222. AMERICAN ARCHIVES, 5th Ser., I. 1178; LAWS OF DELAWARE, 1797 (Newcastle ed.), page 884, ch. 145 b.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

1698

Required to take an oath of allegiance to the King of England in order to continue as governor, which as a Quaker he was unable to do, [Friend Walter Clarke](#) resigned in favor of his nephew Samuel Cranston,²²³ whose father John Cranston had once been governor, who became the new governor of [Rhode Island](#). His long administration, until 1727, would establish internal unity and bring the colony into a working relationship with the government in London.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

A court of admiralty had been created in [Rhode Island](#), contrary to the wishes of [Friend Walter Clarke](#), and he withheld the commission of the judge and was threatened with impeachment.

223. Samuel Cranston had been born on August 16, 1659. He married Mary Hart during 1680 in [Newport](#). Mary was born during 1663 in Newport. She died on September 17, 1710 in Newport and was buried in Newport's Clifton Burial Ground. Samuel would be 30 times successively chosen by the voters, holding this office until his death on April 26, 1727 in Newport — probably longer than any other American politician ever required to seek annual re-election. The town of [Cranston, Rhode Island](#) would be named for Governor Samuel Cranston. (The Quaker meetinghouse erected in 1729 there still stands.) (The blue flag of Cranston bears a shield is red with a white border, with on the shield a representation of three white cranes; under the shield there is a white ribbon with a red border, and the words DUM VIGILO CURO imposed in yellow and gold. This design was taken from the coat of arms of Governor Samuel Cranston. The motto is said to render into English as “While I watch, I care.”)

[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.²²⁴



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](#).²²⁵

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

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

225. 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](#).



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

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....

[Friend](#) Joanna Slocomb Mott came to [Nantucket Island](#) to preach.²²⁶

1699

The 1st ecclesiastical body in old [Dartmouth](#) was organized by the Society of [Friends](#) (the Quakers).

Proprietor [William Penn](#) had been away from his colony of Pennsylvania for all of 15 years, but in this year, at the age of 55, he was able to return. (His wife, and his daughter Laetitia, had been attempting to intercept such a return from the courts of Europe into the hostile wilderness. He had, however, the intention of settling there for the rest of his life.) The family's ocean voyage required all of three months, and when they arrived, the yellow fever, which had been raging in the West Indies, was raging also in Philadelphia. Public Friend (traveling [Quaker](#) minister) Thomas Story described this as a time when "Great was the fear that fell on all flesh. I saw no lofty or airy countenance, — nor heard any vain jesting: — but every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled."

226. She would be the ancestor of Friend [James Mott](#).

[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

The completion of the [Great Meetinghouse](#) of the [Friends](#) at [Newport, Rhode Island](#) on the land donated in 1676 by Friend Nicholas Easton made this the largest structure of any kind in the colonies between Boston and New-York. They set the new building back from the existing house that they had inherited from Friend Nicholas Easton, on Farewell Street. One thousand worshippers could be seated.²²⁷



[Rhode Island](#) had become the only New England colony to make extensive use of black [slaves](#) both for labor and as a commodity in trade. The major [international slave trade](#) markets in the American colonies were located (now hear this) at [Newport](#) and at [Bristol](#). This factoid has been so heavily papered over by the revisionist-history industry that we don’t now have any idea where they had positioned their slave barracoons. At least a few of the slave importers (now hear this) and at least a few of the [privateers](#) were [Quakers](#).

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The rigorous climate of New England, the character of her settlers, and their pronounced political views gave slavery an even slighter basis here than in the Middle colonies. The significance of New England in the African slave-

227. Although this view of the meetinghouse is from a lithograph made in 1865, it dates to approximately 1740 since the lithograph was based upon an over-mantle oil painting that is at the Newport Historical Society. The image depicts the meetinghouse still in its original square configuration, and still with its steeple. Notice that after there weren’t enough Quakers in Rhode Island anymore, to justify such a large structure, it would be repurposed in 1905  as a black amusement center, hosting dances and that sort of thing — but that after it had been restored as a Quaker meetinghouse for purposes of the [Newport](#) tourist industry and carriage trade, no mention would be made in the tourist literature that the structure had also served as a black dancehall! –Gee, I wonder why it might be that the irony of it all so escapes people....



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

trade does not therefore lie in the fact that she early discountenanced the system of slavery and stopped importation; but rather in the fact that her citizens, being the traders of the New World, early took part in the carrying slave-trade and furnished slaves to the other colonies. An inquiry, therefore, into the efforts of the New England colonies to suppress the slave-trade would fall naturally into two parts: first, and chiefly, an investigation of the efforts to stop the participation of citizens in the carrying slave-trade; secondly, an examination of the efforts made to banish the slave-trade from New England soil.

In this year the Narragansett Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) began. (In the following year it would change its name to the [East Greenwich](#) Monthly Meeting.)

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

May 23 Friend [John Bartram](#), America's first white botanist, was born in Darby, Pennsylvania.

[BOTANIZING](#)

On the following screens is how John F. Watson's ANNALS OF PHILADELPHIA AND PENNSYLVANIA²²⁸ would sum up this Friend's life:

228. Watson, John Fanning. 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. Written between 1830 and 1850, published 1857



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

John Bartram was a most accurate observer of nature, and one of the first botanists this country ever produced, a self-taught genius, whom Linnæus called "the greatest natural botanist in the world." He seated himself on the bank of the Schuylkill, below Gray's Ferry, where he built a comfortable stone house and formed his botanic garden, in which there still remain some of the most rare and curious specimens of our plants and trees, collected by him in Florida, Canada, &c. The garden is still kept up with much skill by Colonel Carr, who married his granddaughter, and is always worthy of a visit. He enjoyed, for many years preceding the Revolution, a salary as botanist to the royal family in England. In the year 1741, a subscription was made, to enable him to travel through Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, to observe and collect plants and fossils. In 1729, James Logan, in a letter to his friend in England, thus writes respecting him, saying, "Please to procure me Parkinson's Herbal; I shall make it a present to a worthy person, worthy of a heavier purse than fortune has yet allowed him. John Bartram has a genius perfectly well turned for botany; no man in these parts is so capable of serving you, but none can worse bear the loss of his time without a due consideration." Hector St. John, of Carlisle, has left a picturesque description of things seen and observed of John Bartram and his garden, &c., as they appeared on a visit made to him before the Revolution. There Mr. Bartram, with his visiter, his family and slaves, all sat down to one large table, well stored with wholesome fare. The blacks were placed at the foot – the guest near the host; there was kindness from the master to them, and in return they gave him affection and fidelity. The whole group and manner reminds one of the patriarchal manner of the Old Testament. Some whom he freed still chose to remain with him until their death. Bartram described his low grounds as at first a putrid swampy soil, which he succeeded to reclaim by draining and ditching. {This was then deemed a novel experiment, the first then made in our country. He also led waters from higher grounds through his higher lands which were before worthless; and in both cases succeeded to form artificial grass pastures, by means now common enough – but then deemed wonderful.} Although he was a Friend he had a picture of family arms, which he preserved as a memorial of his forefather's having been French. In this visit he particularly speaks of noticing the abundance of red clover sowed in his upland fields – an improvement in agriculture, since thought to have not been so early cultivated among us. He spoke of his first passion for the study of botany, as excited by his contemplating a simple daisy, as he rested from his ploughing under a tree; then it was he first thought it much his shame to have been so long the means of destroying many flowers and plants, without ever before stopping to consider their nature and uses. This thought, thus originated, often revived, until at last it inspired real efforts to study their character, &c., both from observation and reading.



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

John Bartram was born in the year 1701, in Chester county, in Pennsylvania, being of the second line of descent from his grandfather, John Bartram, who, with his family, came from Derbyshire, England, with the adherents of the justly famed William Penn, proprietor, when he established the colony, and founded the city of Philadelphia, Anno Domini 1682. Thus being born in a newly settled country, at so vast a distance from the old world, the seat of arts and sciences, it cannot be supposed that he could have acquired great advantage from the aids of literature; having acquired, however, the best instruction that country schools at that early time could afford, and at every possible opportunity, by associating with the most learned and respectable characters. With difficulty he obtained the rudiments of the learned languages which he studied with extraordinary application and success. He had a very early inclination and relish for the study of the Materis Medica and Surgery, and acquired so much knowledge in these sciences as to administer great relief to the indigent and distressed. And as the vegetable kingdom afforded him most of his medicines, it seems extremely probable this might have excited a desire and pointed out to him the necessity of the study of botany. Although bred a husbandman and cultivator, as the principal means of providing subsistence for supporting a large family, yet he pursued his studies as a philosopher, being attentive to the economy of nature and observant of her most minute operations. When ploughing and sowing his fields, or mowing the meadows, his inquisitive mind was exercised in contemplating the vegetable system, and of animated nature. He was perhaps the first Anglo-American who imagined the design, or at least carried into operation a botanic garden for the reception of American vegetables as well as exotics, and for travelling for the discovery and acquisition of them. He purchased a convenient place on the banks of the Schuylkill, near Philadelphia, where, after building a house of hewn stone with his own hands, he laid out a large garden, containing six or seven acres of ground, that comprehended a variety of soils and situations, and soon replenished it with a variety of curious and beautiful vegetables, the fruits of his distant excursions; but though highly gratified and delighted with beholding the success of his labours, yet his benevolent mind contemplated more extensive plans, which was to communicate his discoveries and collections to Europe and other parts of the earth, that the whole world might participate in his enjoyments. Fortunate in the society and friendship of many literary and eminent characters of America, namely, Dr. B. Franklin, Dr. Colden, J. Logan, Esq., and several others, who observing his genius and industry, liberally assisted him in establishing a correspondence with the great men of science in England, particularly P. Collinson, whose intimate friendship and correspondence continued unabated nearly fifty years, and terminated only with life, through whose patronage and philosophy his collections, relating to Natural History, Physiological and Philosophical investigations, were communicated to men of science in Europe, and annually laid before their Societies, of which he was in fellowship.



He employed much of his time in travelling abroad through the provinces then subject to England, during the autumn, when his agricultural avocations least required his presence at home; the object of the peregrination was collecting curious and nondescript vegetables, fossils, and the investigation and economy of nature. His ardour in these pursuits was so vigorous and lively that few obstacles opposed or confined his progress. The summits of our highest mountains are monuments of his indefatigable labours and inquisitive mind. The shores of Lake Ontario and Cayuga contributed through his hands to embellish the gardens and enrich the forests of Europe with elegant flowering shrubs, plants, and useful ornamental trees. The banks and sources of the rivers Delaware, Schuylkill, Susquehanna, and Alleghenny, received his visits at a very early date, when it was difficult and truly perilous travelling in the territories of the aborigines. He travelled many thousand miles into Virginia, Carolina, East and West Florida, in search of materials for natural history, and to enrich the funds of human economy. At the advanced age of near seventy years he performed an arduous and dangerous task – a tour into East Florida. Arriving at St. Augustine, he embarked on board a sail boat, with a hunter to provide flesh meats. From Picolata he proceeded up the east bank to its source – originating from immense inundated marsh meadows, the great nursery of the nations of fish and reptiles, the winter asylum of the northern fowl, ducks and the Anser tribes, in their annual festive visits to their southern friends, but held in awe by the thunder of the devouring alligator; and returning down the west bank to the capes, noting the width, depth and courses of its winding flood, the vast dilatations of the river with its tributary streams, at the same time remarking the soil and situation of the country and natural productions. His stature was rather above the middle size, erect and slender, visage long, his countenance cheerful and gay, regulated with a due degree of solemnity. His manners modest and gentle, yet his disposition active and of the greatest good nature. A lover and practiser of justice and equity. Such a lover of philanthropy, charity and social order, that he was never known to enter into litigious contest with his neighbours, or any one, but would rather relinquish his rights than distress his neighbours. He was through life a rare example of temperance, particularly in the use of vinous and spirituous liquors, as well as other gratifications; not from a passion of parsimony but in a respect to morality; nevertheless he always maintained a generous and plentiful table – annually on a New Year's day he made liberal entertainment at his own house, consecrated to friendship and philosophy. He was industrious and active, indulging repose only when nature required it, observing that he could never find more time than he could with pleasure employ, either intellectually or in some useful manual exercise, and was astonished when people complained that they were tired of time, not knowing how to employ it, or what they should do. In observing the characters of illustrious men, it is generally an object of inquiry of what religion they were.



He was born and educated in the Society of Friends, (called Quakers) devoutly worshipped the Supreme Deity, the Creator and Soul of all existence, all goodness and perfection. His religious creed may be seen by any one, sculptured by himself in large characters on a stone in the wall over the front window of his apartment where he usually slept, and which was dedicated to study and philosophical retirement. This pious distich [verse of two lines] runs thus: –

“Tis God alone, the Almighty Lord,
The Holy One by me adored.”
John Bartram — 1770.

He was an early and firm advocate for maintaining the natural and equal rights of man, particularly for the abolition of negro slavery, and confirmed his zeal in these great virtues by giving freedom to a very excellent young man of the African race, at the age of between 20 and 30, whom he had reared in his house from a young child; and affection, for he continued constantly in the family to the end of his life, receiving full wages as long as he was able to perform a day's work. William Bartram, his son, another distinguished florist and botanist, who succeeded in the same place, died in July 1823, at his garden, at the advanced age of 85 years. His travels, in search of botanical subjects, in the Floridas, &c., were published in 1791 – he preceded Wilson as an ornithologist, and gave his assistance to that gentleman in his celebrated work.

26, 4th mo.: The New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the Religious Society of [Friends](#) dissociated itself from the wealthy [Quaker](#) of Salem, Friend Thomas Maule, who had in 1695 issued a pamphlet TRUTH HELD FORTH in which he had suggested that God was so displeased at the Puritan persecution of his people the Quakers that He was unleashing [witches](#) and Indians to punish New England.

The New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the Religious Society of [Friends](#) established a [Rhode Island](#) Quarterly Meeting, headquartered in [East Greenwich](#) and consisting of three Monthly Meetings:

- Dartmouth Monthly Meeting.
- [Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting.
- Narragansett (which became [Greenwich](#)), held for a time at Kingston and hence sometimes referred to as “Kingston Meeting,” but in 1700 relocated to “the New Meeting in East Greenwich,” where it remained until in 1707 the Quarterly Meeting directed that it should be held at [Providence](#), Greenwich, [Kingstown](#), and East Greenwich alternately, which was the case until in the 4th mo. of 1718 Providence Monthly Meeting was set off and established by Quarterly Meeting. In 3d. mo. 1743 it was again divided, and the new grouping was named “Kingston Monthly Meeting” — this became South Kingstown Monthly Meeting, headquartered at Hopkinton.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

5th mo.: A “monthly meeting for business” was established by the advice of the yearly meeting for New-England, to be known as “[Greenwich](#) monthly meeting.” This meeting embraced all the members of the society living west of Narraganset Bay. Soon after the organization of this monthly meeting, the [Friends](#) of [Providence](#) sent representatives to that meeting.

RHODE ISLAND

12 month 6th: An item of olden time extracted from the minutes of the Pennsylvania assembly by John Fanning Watson: Adjourned to Isaac Norris’ house, by reason of the extreme cold, for an hour. Thomas Makin, voted to be clerk for this Assembly, at 4s. per day.²²⁹ £21 was voted as a provincial charge for damage done by [privateers](#) plundering the town of Lewes.

CONTINUE TO READ CHRONOLOGICALLY

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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: August 19, 2012

229. He was Latin teacher at [Friends’](#) Academy.

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SEEKING THE LIGHT:

EARLY QUAKERISM

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Commonly, the first output of the program has obvious deficiencies and so we need to go back into the data modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and do a recompile of the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process which 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.

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