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THE
YORKSHIREMAN,

A

RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY JOURNAL

BY A FRIEND.

PRO PATRIÂ.



VOLUME THIRD.

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At the close of my last Volume, I gave the Reader to understand that, in publishing the remainder of the matter intended for the work, I should, instead of confining its issue to Monthly periods, despatch it in two Half-volumes, as expeditiously as my time and means would admit. Several reasons have determined me to this line of conduct. The *Testimonies* of our Religious Society have been advocated in the former volumes to such an extent, that what might follow, *as towards the Public*, would be liable to involve much of repetition. On the other hand, the circumstances of the Society, and its position in reference to these, are of late considerably changed: and it becomes us to consider, not only how we may best avail ourselves of newly acquired advantages, but also, and especially, by what sort of conduct we ought to justify to the world the increased confidence which our Fellow-citizens, *in their Civil capacity*, appear to be placing in us.

We are now received on our Affirmation wherever an Oath was formerly required; and the Legislature, indeed the Government, seems determined, if not to release us from the yoke of the Clergy (in compliance with our repeated request) at least to prevent future collision between our interests and theirs; and between our members, as Rate-payers, and the vestries and officers of the parishes to which they

VOL. III.

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belong. Too happy, if in thus taking on themselves the whole responsibility of a Religious Establishment, connected with the State, (but not found in the New Testament) they shall be justified before God, and accepted of the people at large!

In this, as in the case of Taxes for the general purposes of the State, it seems likely that Friends would not decline the payment of that to Cæsar, *the application* of which should be so clearly made out to be *Cæsar's*: but our Testimony to the free ministry of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ will remain upon *our* shoulders still; to be supported as heretofore—would that I could also say, *as of old!* Friends have needed on this subject, of late, even to be reminded of the character given beforehand to passive *Issachar*; that he was a strong ass, couching down between two burdens; and seeing rest was good [though under the panniers] and the pasture pleasant, he bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant to tribute:—to an ignominious tribute indeed, in the present case, bringing no return of protection, but stripes and curses in its stead! We hear little among us now, of courage and constancy, in holding *this* standard upright in view of the enemy: all seems to centre in advices to Christian meekness, and a quiet bearing of all that comes upon us. Well; meekness is a virtue becoming Christ's disciples, above all men—but where and how are we to exhibit it? Formerly this was done under the sabre of the trooper, and amidst the rude and brutal treatment of the court-room and the gaol: now, we are content to view the danger of the testimony at a distance; and this virtue is grown so near to worldly prudence, as that it can scarce bring itself to look the Justices in the face at the Petit Sessions, or the Constable when he comes to distrain. To be sure, *that Moses was* the meekest man on earth, of his time: he but once offended in anger, and that by little more than a word—but what did he (with Divine help and direction) to Pharaoh and his host? He led them upon a shoal and drowned them in the depths of the sea! We may disclaim political motives as long as we please; but no one will be able to persuade me, that here is nothing of that feeling mixed in with the Testimony, which leads a man *to care for his own*: and why should this be attempted to be excluded, when we oppose so manifest injustice, such enormous spoil and wrong?

The Yearly Epistle, now in course of reading in our Meetings for

worship throughout the Society, says on the subject of WAR, ' We are comforted in the belief that our Christian principles, as regards all war, are spreading in the world.' Indeed there is cause of satisfaction for us, and an incentive to thankfulness and praise to God, in that peace has continued so long ; that the veteran has had time to lay his bones in his native land, and the young soldier space to forget his sanguinary lesson, and betake himself to other pursuits. The advice therefore is good with which the Epistle proceeds, ' May we, as opportunities present themselves, promote by every means in our power *the brotherhood of the nations of the earth.*'

Yes, that heavenly attribute of the Gospel of Christ, in the first sentence that was ever preached of it, ' Peace on earth,' is becoming more and more conspicuous in the view of its professors. It is agreed, now, that if possible we shall remain at peace : the conviction of men's judgments, and their improved affections towards each other nationally, furnish a daily increasing security for this ; and it must be no ordinary pretext now (certainly not chagrin at a window out of plumb, or the demand of a white elephant) that shall set potentate against potentate and the world in flames.

Let us the people called Quakers, then, thank God and take courage : but let us rejoice with trembling, and ask ourselves, Are we worthy of the blessings and benefits thus conferred upon us ? Is our character for honesty as safe now, by indubitable proof, as for piety ? Are we grown more charitable, as well as more knowing ? Nay, are we even less credulous and superstitious, than in the age of stayed hats and drab suits, of few words and no compliments at all ? We are of late years so changed in habit and deportment, that superficial observers, losing us from view in the streets, have imagined us quite gone down as a people, or reduced at best to an inconsiderable remnant. Our entrance into a counting-house or a Justice-room no longer provokes the grin of the little, and the affable pity of the great : we are treated with civility in all companies, and expected to become like the rest of the world (for all is genteel now that can afford it) and in due time to rub off the rust altogether ! Wo unto us, though, if with an antiquated external we put off also the simplicity of our minds, the integrity of our wills, the moral elevation of our spirits ! It will avail us little to have gained, in place of them, a more complete and modish

Christian profession, and the facility of uttering (with *Naphali*, that 'hind let loose') a heap of goodly words.—Let us take care, I repeat it, that the new 'Friend' be not such a character, as that competent judges of mankind may be led to regret the loss of the old quaker in him. Let it be our concern, if yet we feel that our predecessors have bequeathed us moral honours, to keep these unblench'd: let us strive to be yet a people who know by good training, both how to hold our tongues, and how to say a few words in season and to the purpose—a people, in whose integrity, at least, and goodness of intention the fullest confidence may be placed.

With these cautions duly observed, we may go on (while there is the occasion and the liberty) taking care of each other, while we mix more with others than heretofore; and losing some few things not worthy of being kept, learn many more that may serve to make us useful to our country. *Ed.*

ART. II.—*Extracts elucidatory of some passages in Barclay's Apology.*

Composed by *John Eliot* of London, lately deceased; printed in 1833 by order of his nearest relation, and distributed among his acquaintance and friends: now reprinted, on the same authority, for publication in the *YORKSHIREMAN*. *Ed.*

[The Author's preface.] Having in earlier life, when reading the *APOLOGY* of *ROBERT BARCLAY*, met with a few terms or expressions that to me wanted explanation, I took some pains to seek for it in the rest of his valuable writings, as well as in the works of others. The result I noted down in a sort of Common-place Book, from which I am now induced to write out, for the perusal of one or more of my particular friends, the substance of what I then put together; and which will be arranged under the heads specified in the page next succeeding this. *JOHN ELIOT*. London, 11th Mo. 1829.

[Contents.] §. I. Preliminary Observations, stating the reasons for quoting the Writings of *George Keith*. §. II. On the terms "Objective and Subjective Revelation." §. III. On the term "Immediate." §. IV. On the terms "formal" and "formally." §. V. On the "Seed and Birth of God;" in which a view, comprised in a small number of subdivisions or articles, is attempted to be taken of the System of *George Keith* on this subject;—a system that, to a certain extent at least, appears to have been adopted by *Robert Barclay*—with some remarks by way of conclusion.

§. I. *Preliminary Observations.* It will be seen that in the following sheets, especially in that part which relates to the "Seed and Birth of God," I quote more from *G. Keith* than from *R. Barclay*. For this there are two reasons: 1st, Because the works of the latter are more

readily inspected: 2ndly, Because I take G. Keith to be the precursor of R. Barclay in this particular view of doctrine.

A list of George Keith's publications before his dereliction of the Principles of Friends, may be seen in Whiting's Catalogue.¹ These writings, which are probably very little read, will be found to throw some light upon certain parts of Barclay's Apology. The intimacy between these authors was great, and the latter appears, as above intimated, to have borrowed not a little from the former:—G. Keith, indeed, asserts that R. Barclay followed him in many or most of his distinctions and terms, not to be found in "Quakers' books" written before his (Keith's), so far as he knew or remembered. See Keith's "Standard of the Quakers examined; or, an Answer to the Apology of Robert Barclay," pr. 1702, p. 22; a book which, on account of the well-known character of the writer, ought not to be read without due caution.

G. Keith appears, while in profession with Friends, to have been of a speculative turn of mind; for a proof of which, in addition to what may be collected from these extracts, one might, I think, refer to his hypothesis respecting *the middle nature of the divine birth of our Saviour*. Way to the City of God, pp. 128—133. That he was well read in the philosophy of the Schoolmen is evident, and he seems to have been no stranger to the Cartesian system. He appears to coincide with R. Barclay respecting the origin of our ideas, namely, that they are *implanted* in the mind, and *excited* by external and other causes; in which I apprehend they agreed with the Platonists. Vid. Keith, Immediate Revelat. not ceased, p. 78. Barclay's Works, pp. 900, 901. Reid's Essays, ii. 40. 47. Harris's Hermes, pp. 393—397 (5th edit.)

His style is in general perspicuous, when not obscured by scholastic terms; and his manner of treating subjects methodical. The following testimony in his favour is from R. Barclay, in a Preface written by him² to one of G. Keith's Tracts, entitled "Fundamental Truths of Christianity," &c. with "A Treatise of Prayer."

"The author," G. Keith, "of the ensuing Treatise (who is now removed out of Europe) hath been blessed with a singular faculty of expressing himself both briefly and clearly, as is well known to such as have perused his writings; which inclined me to present these to the public."

¹ Before the destructive fire at Gracechurch-street Meeting-House, a copy of George Keith's "Immediate Revelation not ceased," second edition, was in the Library there, as also of his "Truth's Defence." The former seems to have been his *opus palmare*. His "Way cast up," and "Way to the City of God," are at the Peel Meeting House. Many of his Tracts are in the Library of the Society at Devonshire House.

Recently I have had presented to me by my kind friend Thomas Thompson of Liverpool, a copy of the first mentioned piece; which I had been much wishing to procure. In taking these Extracts, many years ago, I had the privilege of making use of the copy then in the Library at Gracechurch-street.

² It is signed R. B. only, but Whiting gives the name of R. Barclay.

§ II. *On the Terms "Objective and Subjective Revelation."*—"He," Barron,³ "illustrates this [namely] in what sense he owns Immediate Revelation, and in what sense he denies it, by a pretty fit comparison; as, when a veil or cover is taken off a man's eye, that is, says he, a revelation *ex parte subjecti, sive potentia*, of the part of the subject, or faculty, or sense, which perceives: and that which he denies, is, revelation *ex parte objecti*, as, when the eye having no veil upon it, or stop from seeing, but that the object is hid by a veil covering it; and this veil must be removed ere the eye see, though never so quick of discerning in itself. And thus he concludeth that there needs the operation of the Spirit of God, to take the veil off the eye, but not off the object; for that needeth not: the object of a man's faith is the doctrines of the Scriptures, which are most clear and evident therein; only the veil must be taken off the eye of the mind, to see them in the Scriptures." [2 Cor. iii, 13-16. *Ed.*]

The "illumination of the Spirit, and the mind [or rather, perhaps, some faculty of the mind] concurring therewith," seems to have been considered as the medium *ex parte subjecti* of this spiritual perception; called *medium incognitum assentiendi*, "that which gives the knowledge of the object, but is not known itself immediately,—as the eye is *medium incognitum [invisum Ed.] videndi*; it gives the sight but is not seen itself."—Keith, *Imm. Rev.* not ceased, pp. 134-136.

"By immediate revelation—we understand not only immediate, supernatural operations and influences of the Spirit of God in and upon the mind and understanding of man, which the Schoolmen call Revelations *ex parte subjecti*—to assist and enable, or elevate, the mind to know and understand savingly; but also such inward manifestations and appearances, and illuminations and influences, as are the very immediate objects of our mind—which the Schoolmen call Revelations *ex parte objecti*.—So that a real object or objects are immediately by the Lord set before the mind of man, which he seeth; and perceiveth when they are presented and when not, as my outward eye seeth when it is light or dark; or what is presented in the light, and when it is presented, and when it is taken away out of my sight." *Ibid.* pp. 25, 26.

"Whereas they say, the influence and illumination of the Spirit in believers is merely effective or subjective, and not at all objective.—I say it is both effective and objective; effective to help us to see or hear, and objective, or by way of object for the sight and hearing or any other perception of our souls to stay and rest upon—as when the sun enlightens us, its ray or beam helps us to see, and also it is the object of our-sight." Keith, *Truth's Defence, &c.* pp. 87, 88. [3 3]

On this subject of Objective and Subjective Revelation, G. Keith, in his Answer to the Apology expresses himself thus:—"This distinction I had found fault with in my first book of Immediate Revelation, as

³ Robert Barron, "called Doctor of Divinity in Aberdeen, and of great fame for his learning at home and abroad." Keith's *Immediate Revelation* not ceased, p. 219. [3 3 The latter clause philosophically false. *Ed.*]

well as the author of the Apology hath done ; and I still so do, so far as it makes the Spirit's internal inspiration and influence or motion to be only effective and subjective, but not objective, by way of object, as being perceptible to the mind. But they are but some particular writers that have so distinguished ; which we are the less to regard, seeing it is not to be found in any Confession of Faith of the Protestant Churches ; and the Church of England is so far from denying the Spirit's inward operation or working to be sensible or perceptible to the soul's inward feeling, that she plainly asserts it in her Seventeenth Article ; and if it is felt, then certainly it is present to the minds of the faithful in some sort objectively, and by way of object."—p. 43.

§ III. *On the Term "Immediate."*—George Keith gives two senses of this word ; the first denoting the absence of all mediums ; the second signifying *in medio*, in the mean. "Immediate Revelation not ceased," pp. 34, 35. He distinguishes *means* as being either transmitting or intermitting, and says, the former "hinders not the immediateness of the communication ; but only the intermitting : as, when light, sounds, and shapes of visible things come to our eye, through and by the means of the air, &c., this hinders not our vision to be immediate." Immediate Revelation not ceased, p. 42. And, p. 232, "In them who have the Scriptures, the Spirit and light of Christ doth concur immediately together with the Scriptures, to work or beget the true knowledge and faith of these historical truths declared in them—nor doth the serviceableness of the Scripture in this case hinder the immediateness of the Spirit's communication, teaching, and influence, more than the drinking of water in a vessel hindereth that I receive the water immediately."

There is more to this purpose in his "Truth's Defence," pp. 100—105 ; also, in "Immediate Revelation not ceased," pp. 33—42, 51. In his Answer to the Apology, the following passage occurs on this subject.

"In this sense [as excluding all necessary outward means] the word *immediate* is only applicable to the Prophets and Apostles.—[But] there is another sense of the word *immediate*, videlicet not excluding, but including the outward means, and most nearly and intimately co-operating with them. And in this sense it may be safely said, the Spirit teacheth all the faithful *immediately* ; in opposition to Pelagians, Socinians, and all others of that kind, who affirm that God only teacheth us Gospel truths by the Scripture alone, without any internal operation of the Spirit," p. 35.

§ IV. *On the Terms "formal and "formally."*—To understand the sense in which these words are used by R. Barclay, in the phrases "formal object," "formal cause," "formally justified," it is necessary to advert to the notion of the Ancients respecting Matter and Form ; for which see the explanations given by Harris in his *Hermes*, p. 308, (5th Edit.) et seq., and in the passage quoted from him⁴ in *Encyclop. Britan.* 6th Edit. vol. xiii. pp. 610—612 ; also, Reid's *Essays*, vol. i. pp. 197—199.

⁴ It is in his "Philosophical Arrangements," at pp. 63—92 of the Ed. of 1775.

“Formal object” is, indeed, explained by Barclay himself, *Works*, pp. 742. 895, 896.; but some previous knowledge of the subject will render his illustration more clear. Keith, in two or more places, calls it the *foundation or ground* [of faith]. Immediate Revelation not ceased, pp. 132. 218. 231.

“Formal cause” seems synonymous with “Form.” See Sander-son’s *Logicæ Artis Compendium*, lib. iii. cap. 15, compared with Burgersdick’s *Synopsis*, p. 25.—Harris’s *Hermes*, p. 248.—See also Reid’s *Essays*, vol. iii. p. 55. It occurs in the *Apology*, in Prop. vii. §. 3. ¶ 7. §. 8. ¶ I., and perhaps elsewhere.

“I question much,” says Keith in his Answer to the *Apology*, “if the Author himself understood the import of the [term] *formally justified*,—seeing he holds this birth of Christ in [man] to be not any quality or modification of the soul of man sanctified or renewed, but, a real substance. ‘It is,’ he saith, [qu. where, *ipsis verbis*] ‘the Light or Seed that becomes this birth in them, that is just.’ Now, how one substance, such as the soul of man, is or can be formally just or holy by another substance, is as unintelligible as to say, a wall is white formally by another wall.” p- 290.

This objection of Keith’s lies chiefly or wholly against the term *formal* or *formally*; which R. Barclay used with reluctance and out of “condescension.” Keith asserts, that man is, no doubt, sanctified formally by inherent holiness, as a quality in the soul; and, that those who speak of the birth of Christ in men, should consider it as their sanctification not *formally* but *efficiently*; and (if they make sanctification the same with justification, consequently) as their justification not *formally* but *efficiently*.—*Ibid.* p. 294. I think this is the sense of the passage.

§. V. *On the “Seed and Birth of God!” in which a view, comprised in a small number of subdivisions, or articles, is attempted to be taken of the system of George Keith on this subject:—a system that, to a certain extent at least, appears to have been adopted by Robert Barclay. With some remarks by way of conclusion.*

Seed—synonymous expressions: Light—Grace—a measure of Light, of Grace, or of the Spirit—the Word of God—the Gospel preached in every creature—&c. Barclay, *Apol. Prop. v. and vi. §. 11. ¶ 2. and §. 14.*—Sometimes called Christ. *Ibid.* §. 15. sub finem.

“*Semen ipsius.* Sic vocatur Spiritus Sanctus ab effectu quod ejus virtute, tanquam ex semine quodam, novi homines efficiamur,” Beza in 1 Joann. iii. 9.

Birth—synonymous expressions: the new man—the new creature—Christ formed in us—Christ within, the hope of glory. *Apol. Prop. v. and vi. §. 13 and 14.*

By Birth seems to be meant, at least frequently, *that which is born.* The word *Birth*, as well as *Partus*, used by Barclay in his Latin *Apology*, admits of this meaning. Vid. Ainsworth and Johnson; also Rees’s *Cyclop.*, art. *Birth*.

I. OF THE NATURE OF THIS SEED, AND OF THE DIVINE BIRTH IN MAN.

“It [this seed] is not a particle or portion of the Godhead, as the outward body of flesh and blood is a particle of the great outward world; for the Godhead is not divisible nor discernible into particles, being a most simple, pure Being, void of all composition or division, containing in himself all creaturely perfections, in the greatest simplicity and eminency—but it is of the heavenly, spiritual, and invisible Substance and Being, that is, the most glorious Being and Principle, in which God, as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, doth dwell.” Keith, *Imm. Rev.* not ceased, 2d Edit. 1675, p. 11.

“By this Seed we understand a spiritual, heavenly, and invisible principle; in which God, as Father, Son, and Spirit, dwells; a measure of which divine and glorious life is in all men as a Seed.—And this [Light or Seed] we call *Vehiculum Dei*.”⁵ Barclay, *Apol. Prop.* v. and vi. §. 13, and §. 15. ¶ 2.

“The body or flesh and blood of Christ, of which believers partake, is the same ‘heavenly Seed,’ or ‘*Vehiculum Dei*.’” Barclay, *Apol. Prop.* xiii. §. 2.

Divines and others “only conceive regeneration to be but an accidental, though supernatural, change on the mind; and that in

⁵ So, in his Works; and in the original Latin Apology, *Vocamus*. In modern Editions *we* is altered to *some*.

⁶ “To think that either God, or Christ, or the Holy Spirit, is the Light within any man, as the immediate object of their [his] knowledge, thoughts, spiritual sense, or perception, without any intermediate illumination, divine ray, beams, or influence—is a most absurd notion, which the Author [of the Apology] thought fit to guard against, (as well as I while among them, by my calling this divine beam, ray, or influence, some intermediate thing or being, in one of my former books) by his calling it *Vehiculum Dei*, i. e. a Vehicle of God, as the clouds are called sometimes in Scripture, and the winds his chariot; and as angels are so called; for so the word vehicle signifies. And as he had the term, so he had the notion of it from me; which notion was, that this divine influence, ray, or beam, was a substance, as the rays or beams of the sun are reputed by divers philosophers to be a substance. But whether it be a substance, as the Author contends, I do not think it proper, in this place, to debate; it leading into philosophical disputes.—And it is not the making it to be a substance that doth add any advantage to the Author’s undertaking in defence of his hypothesis; for still it must be acknowledged that there must be some intermediate action or operation of God, in his enlightening the minds of men.” Keith’s Answer to the Apology, pr. 1702, p. 212.—He then controverts an assertion that this “Seed or Vehicle” is uncreated; observing that if so, it must be God himself, and yet that it is said to suffer in men, and to be slain in wicked men. He says that Barclay, avoiding this error, denies the Seed or Vehicle to be God. “Yea,” continues Keith, “he has confessed that Christ dwells not in us immediately, but mediately, as he is in that Seed that is in us. What, therefore, he means by Christ being the Seed in men, can be nothing else but an influence from him, as a ray or beam that bears his name by a metonymy; as the sun is said to be in such a place of the house, when it is but its rays or beams that shine there, that by the like metonymy [of the cause for the effect, see p. 248] bear his [its] name.” Keith’s Answer to the Apology, ubi supra.

its regeneration it putteth on no substantial principle, but only some supernatural accidents; ⁷ so that according to them, the Seed and Birth of God is but an accident; but we know it to be a substance, and feel it to be so, as manifestly as we feel and know this outward birth of flesh and blood to be a substance." Keith, *Imm. Rev.* not ceased, p. 10.

"For the confirmation of the truth, that the Seed of God is a substance, and the life of holiness and grace is substantial, I shall—produce a few plain arguments:—

"1. Even as we do infer, from the variety and nobility of the operations of the rational life and soul, that it is a substance, and no accident; so both from the great variety and also the great nobility—of its operations, we conclude that—the Seed of God is a substance."⁸

⁷ The following is an Extract from Beza's Annotations on the New Testament, but in a form somewhat abridged. "Quod genitum est ex Spiritu, spiritus est," Joann. cap. iii. vers. 6. Id est, ut sibi constet antithesis, quod ex principio spirituali effectivo ac proindè puro gignitur, spirituale quoque et purum est, originem videlicet suam referens, sicut carnale et impurum est quod ex carnali et impuro oritur: quâ in re statuitur hæc inter duas istas genituras convenientia, quod utrinque id quod gignitur dicatur ei simile unde gignitur. Sed dextrè interpretanda est hæc convenientia, ne in magnos errores incidamus. Nam in priore illâ generatione carnali et impurâ, sic homo hominem gignit, ut quod ad corpus atinet, non sit tantùm effectivum, sed etiam materiale ejus quem gignit, principium. At in posteriore generatione spirituali, principium ejus effectivum est ipse Spiritus Sanctus: minimè aliquâ suæ essentiæ traductione (sic enim omnes regenerati essent ipse Spiritus Sanctus); sed eâdem illâ suâ virtute divinâ qualitatem illam impuram abolens, et novam illam puram creans in iis quos refingit.—Per quod opus, etsi Spiritus Sanctus novam substantiam veteris loco non creat, tamen tale et tantum est quod agit, ut sic qualitibus transformati homines, meritò quasi sursus quodammodò geniti, imò etiam quasi sursum creati exstare novo quodam existendi modo videantur: Hinc autem alterum quoque quorundam delirium redarguitur, qui (præter absurdum imò etiam impiam ipsius Spiritus Sancti essentiæ intrâ regeneratos realem insinuationem, de quâ diximus) nomine *Spiritus* intrâ regeneratos creati, non qualitates aliquas, sic metonymicè propter Spiritum Sanctum illarum autorem idem nomen cum ipso Spiritu Sancto sortitas, sed tertiam quandam realem substantiam imaginantur per regenerationis donum creari et transfundi: itâ ut regenerati non tantùm ex anima et corpore, sed præterea ex tertia quadam essentiali parte componantur; quò etiam locum illum Apostoli ex 1 Thess. v. 23. detorqueant."

⁸ In the dispute with the students at Aberdeen, George Keith alleged that the proof of this proposition that the Divine Seed is a substance, would lead into the greatest niceties and obscurities of philosophy and school divinity. Barclay's Works, p. 578. a R. Barclay himself, in his Vindication of the Apology against Brown, seems to refer this question to future discussion.—Works, p. 795. Keith, in his Reply to the Apology, waves debating it. Vide note in p. 16., antè.

The old logical definition of Substance is, "Ens per se subsistens et substans accidentibus." Vid. *Burgersdicii Logicam*. For modern disquisitions concerning Substance, see Locke's Essay; Reid's Essays, vol. ii. pp. 357—359; *Encyclop. Britann.*, article *Metaphysics*, No. 149, Note I. (vol. xiii. p. 613, 6th Edition.)

a On this subject Penn's Works, vol. ii. p. 803, folio Edition, may be referred to.

[This is followed by seven other arguments, which I omit transcribing, and he then proceeds thus:]

“But some may say—it would appear, that we judge the Seed and Divine Birth—not only a substance, but that it is a composed substance of Body and Spirit. To which I answer, yea, it is so, for its Body is the vehicle or vessel of its Spirit—which Spirit is a measure of the Spirit or Soul of Christ the Heavenly Man.” Keith, *Way to the City of God*, pp. 62—65.

“This Spirit [of which the Seed has in it a measure] is the Spirit of Christ, as he is the second Adam, or Heavenly Man.” Keith, *Imm. Rev. not ceased*, p. 250.

“A measure of the same Life and Spirit of the Man Jesus, which dwelt in him in its fulness, and had its centre in him which then came in the flesh—is communicated unto us, and doth extend itself into our very hearts and souls.” *Ibid.* 243, 244.

“Nor is this to make many Christs, as some foolishly and ignorantly charge us: for as the natural life of man that hath the centre in the heart, and floweth into all the members of the body, is yet but one life or soul; even so the Life or Spirit or Soul of Christ is but one, although it flows forth into all his members, and, in some sort, into all mankind.” *Ibid.* 246.

“When I say, the Soul or Spirit of Christ as Man is extended into us,⁹ I do not understand the *Nephesch* of his Soul, but the *Neschamah* or *Nischmah*, even that Divine Spirit of Life which God breathed into Adam.—By the *Nephesch* I understand that of the Soul of Christ common to him with the souls of other men.—By the *Neschamah* or *Nischmah* I understand that substantial dignity and excellency of the Soul of Christ that it hath in its nature—above and beyond the souls of all other men and spirits—of angels.” Keith, *Way cast up, &c.* p. 143.¹⁰

“The Seed and spiritual Body of Christ, both in him and in us, belonging to Christ as he is the second Adam, is as really and immediately united unto the Word, as his outward Body was.” Barclay's *Works*, p. 628.

“God—giveth it [the Seed] from himself out of heaven, and soweth it in the heart of man, and formeth it by his own immediate arm and power, according to his infinite wisdom, and watereth it daily and hourly with influences from heaven—whereby this seed groweth up into a perfect substantial Birth of a heavenly and incorruptible nature, (though till it come to its perfect formation, it can suffer hurt, so far as to be slain, through man his joining unto the contrary Seed and Birth,) which is Christ formed within.”¹¹ Keith, *Imm. Rev. not ceased*, pp. 11, 12.

⁹ This opinion is referred to by R. Barclay,—*Works*. p. 795.

¹⁰ I apprehend more may be seen on this head in Keith's *True Christ owned*, &c.

¹¹ Keith afterwards, in his Answer to the Apology, is for understanding the phrase of the Birth of Christ in men, or Christ formed in men, metaphorically or by way of allegory; and ascribes the origin of the contrary opinion to Weigelius

" This spiritual Birth of Christ in us is not so to be understood, as if the spirit or life itself did then begin to be or subsist; for the same Spirit and Life hath been from the beginning, having its subsistence in the heavenly manhood of Christ, who was from the beginning: yea, it had also its being in us, even since we had a being; but by reason of our sins it lay hid or wrapped up, or imprisoned in us." *Ibid.* 255.

2. THAT THIS DIVINE SEED AND BIRTH IS DISTINCT FROM THE SOUL.

" I do indeed believe—that the Birth of God in us, or the Divine Birth which the apostle Paul calleth 'Christ formed in us,' Gal. iv. 19, is another thing than our souls, even as the soul is another thing than the body, although as the soul and the body of a living man are united together and not divided nor separated, so the soul of him that is regenerate is united with the Divine Birth in it.—This Seed and Birth of God in us hath a sense and discerning—by itself.—It were a great mistake to affirm, either that Christ formed in us is nothing else but our own souls, or that he hath no sense or discerning by himself." Keith, *Imm. Rev.* not ceased, pp. 248, 249, 252.

" As a soul within a soul." *Id.* Way to the City of God, p. 92.

3. THAT THIS DIVINE SEED AND BIRTH BECOMES THE ORGAN OF DIVINE AND SUPERNATURAL SENSATIONS IN THE SOUL, A CERTAIN SUPREME FACULTY BEING THEREIN EXCITED.

" If they did once apprehend or conceive aright of this Birth, as a substantial principle, giving unto man as real sensations and feelings of divine and supernatural things, as the outward substantial natural birth giveth him of outward things, or as the principle of his own natural understanding [or reason, *ibid.* 7, 8,] giveth him an infallible natural knowledge of things naturally intelligible, whereof there are many instances in the sciences of the Mathematics and Metaphysics so called, they could the more easily—be convinced—that such had an infallible knowledge of God, and his requirings and leadings, and the things of his kingdom, who have attained unto this—Birth, to see, taste, and feel divine and supernatural objects therein—The divine and supernatural birth and principle which giveth unto man's mind, by way of organ, as of seeing, hearing, tasting, &c. the spiritual and supernatural knowledge of spiritual and supernatural objects, is no less, if not more, infallible [than either the external senses or natural reason] at least more evident in respect of its objects. Keith, *Imm. Rev.* not ceased, pp. 37, 38.

" The way and manner of immediate revelation concerning God,

and other Germans, pp. 290, 294 b. He quotes George Whitehead saying, in his Book entitled "Judgment fixed," &c.—This Birth is not Christ Jesus, for he is that incorruptible Seed and Word of Life which begets, forms, and brings forth the soul of man into his own nature and image; and so Christ may be said to be formed in us, as in a mysterious and elegant way of speaking, the property and effect being put for the cause.—Whitehead, "Judgment fixed," &c. p. 330. But the whole scope of the passage might be looked at.

b Weigelius died in 1588. There is much respecting him in Arnold's *Ecclesiastical History* (*Gottfried Arnold's Kirchen und Ketzler Historie.*)

and the things of his kingdom—which we plead for—is that alone manifestation and revelation which is discovered and given from the Lord's Spirit unto the mind of man, in the Seed and Birth of God in him, and which the mind in that Seed and Birth alone, receiveth. This Seed and Birth of God is only that suitable and proportionate organ, instrument, or principle, in which divine and supernatural things can be sufficiently and satisfyingly, that is to say, intuitively known—the mind that is clothed with the Seed and Birth of God, is the spiritual man that is able to understand and discern spiritual things—This Seed and Birth of God hath only the true spiritual senses of seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling, and feeling the word of life." Ibid. pp. 8, 9.

"As our souls are partakers of this spiritual Body of Christ, and of his life and Spirit therein and thereby, there is indeed a new faculty awakened in them, of which we had not experience before our regeneration; in virtue of which new awakened faculty we have real spiritual sensations of God and divine things,¹² and this divine faculty¹³ of the soul itself—which hath the spiritual sensations in it, I call,—the true inward man; which I distinguish from the natural man, I mean from the natural faculties of the soul, such as natural reason and imagination—of which true man, in the same sense, the Platonists do speak, understanding thereby the supreme or highest part and faculty of the soul, otherwise called the *mind* or spirit of man, as it may be distinguished from the natural faculties of the soul." Ibid. p. 258.

"The spiritual discerning is held forth under the names of all the five senses" [of which instances are here adduced from Scripture]. "In like manner the things of God themselves are held forth in Scripture under the names of sensible things—as Light—Oil, Wine,—Marrow and Fatness, Bread, Flesh—and many other such like names. But says the natural man, these are only but metaphors and figures. To which I say, albeit these names be so, yet that hinders not but that the spiritual mysteries, represented under them and signified by them, are real and substantial things, as really affecting the spiritual senses of the spiritual man with joy, refreshment, and pleasure, as the outward things affect the natural or animal senses of the natural man. And indeed these outward things are but figures¹⁴ of the inward and spiritual, which as far exceed and transcend them in life, glory,

¹² To the same effect is what Barclay says in his Apology, Prop. v. and vi §. 14. ¶ 1. sub finem.

¹³ Here the soul itself is made to have spiritual sensations. Elsewhere, as these extracts show, the Divine Seed and Birth is said alone to have the true spiritual senses; but then it is also represented as *giving unto the mind of man*, by way of organ, the knowledge of spiritual things.

¹⁴ This, and probably not a little besides, may be referred to the Platonists.—"The Platonists," remarks Abp. Leighton, "divide the world into two, the sensible and intellectual world; they imagine the one to be the type of the other, and that sensible and spiritual things are stamped as it were with the same stamp or seal." Abp. Leighton's *Lectures*, Lect. XV. Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophiæ* might also be consulted.

beauty, and-excellency, as a living body doth the shadow, so that this whole visible world, with all the glory of it, is but a shadow in respect of the spiritual and inward signified thereby." Ibid. pp. 14—16.

"Can the best orators tell a blind man what the sun is?"—"Can they describe to him the beauty of a lily in the field?—Do not those of the meanest capacity—who have their eyes—have a better and more satisfying knowledge thereof, than the blind man though quick of understanding?—Now if the knowledge of these natural things cannot be had sufficiently by any words, how much less can these things spiritual, and God who is a Spirit, be known by words¹⁵?"—Ibid. 60, 61.

4. THAT IT IS BY THIS INWARD BIRTH OF CHRIST IN THE SOUL, THAT MAN IS JUSTIFIED. Vid. Barclay's Apology, Prop. VII. passim. CONCLUSION.

Enough may perhaps now have been brought forward to show, that this hypothesis or system relating to the "Seed and Birth of God in the Soul," which makes it a distinct being or substance as the *Vehiculum Dei*, &c. was merely adopted by R. Barclay, but did not originate with him. And, it may be permitted to the most sincere believers in the reality of the influence and guidance of the Holy Spirit, to query, whether the *Apology*, excellent as it is, would not have been still more valuable, if this hypothesis had not been introduced into it.

An endeavour to explain, where Scripture is silent, the nature of things that are beyond the reach of human comprehension, has been, it is scarcely necessary to observe, a very frequent error, and one to which men of a vivid imagination, such as George Keith appears to have possessed, may be considered as particularly prone.—It may be here added, that were an attempt made to assign the particular causes which, in different ages, have given rise to distorted views of Christian doctrine, it would probably not be wrong to refer much to a want of properly distinguishing between literal and figurative language, and to a disposition to carry analogical reasoning beyond its just limits.¹⁶

Although there can be no doubt that amongst those who have entertained some of the views which have been just alluded to, and especially amongst the Mystics, many truly pious characters could be enumerated; yet we shall not on that ground be warranted in considering the tenets or notions, themselves, as being otherwise than prejudicial to the spread of genuine Christianity. Prejudicial they must be, so far as they obscure plain Scriptural truth, and lead away from an attention to it; and they must also be injurious, in that, not being founded on Holy Writ, or at least not on a correct interpretation of its contents, they will often be found in opposition to what may perhaps be called the

¹⁵ "All good Christians, as well as the Church of England, do agree, that the inward operations, fruits, and the effects of the Spirit, can never be sufficiently known by mere words; but that it is requisite that the things themselves be inwardly felt and experienced." Keith's Answer to the Apology, p. 106.

¹⁶ See some remarks on this in Reid's Essays, vol. iv. pp. 448 and 449.

sound Philosophy of the human mind; and hence an unnecessary occasion of stumbling is laid in the way of a cordial reception of Gospel truth.

ART. III.—*Remarks on Scripture Passages.* Continued.

1 Sam. x. ii. And it came to pass, when all that knew him [Saul] beforetime saw that, behold, he prophesied among the prophets, then the people said one to another, What is this that is come unto the Son of Kish—is Saul also among the prophets? And one of the same place [with Saul] answered and said, But who is *their* father? Therefore it became a proverb, Is Saul also among the prophets?

Here is plainly something deficient in the sense as we have it rendered: in consequence of which, that which was undoubtedly a pointed speech, perhaps a severe sarcasm, loses its force and is overlooked by the reader. To what purpose was it for Saul's countryman to ask who was father to the sons of the prophets, unless there were something of disrepute intended towards them?

The Vulgate Latin, in Chap. x, of 1 *Kings* (corresponding in that arrangement with this text) has it *Quænam res accidit filio Cis: Num Saul inter prophetas? Responditque alius ad alterum dicens, Et Cis pater ejus!* But in the margin we have 'quis' and 'eorum'—the latter corresponding to our sense; the former making, What, and *Kish* his father! Cis is mentioned in Ch. ix, as a mighty man of power—*fortis robore*, perhaps meaning a *substantial Land-owner*. And the wonder was, according to this version, how the son of such a man could fall in with such a crew as he was found with!

But the sense of our own version comes out still worse. The question, and that put in Saul's behalf by his townsman, 'But who is *their* father,' implied at once that they were of parentage so obscure as that he needed fear no one's answer. And the solution amounts to this, That many, or most of these attendants on the prophets, their servants and guards in those perilous times (and who also occasionally caught the spirit of prophecy) were either foundlings, committed to their charge to feed and clothe out of the gifts of the people, or such offspring of their own, as they would in no other way than as such humble attendants acknowledge! The *marriage* of a priest, and his contracting the care and responsibility of a family was in Rome's eyes, at the time of our English reformation, *the unpardonable sin*. And if ever (which may God of his great mercy avert) she should prevail here once more, we shall see substituted for that connexion which, duly observed, is honourable in all, a mysterious and most insufferable licence—a celibacy *dishonourable* to all parties, and the marriage bed defiled!

Matt. i. 1. Should be read, 'The book of the genealogy of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.' I take this title to have been prefixed merely to the Extract from the public registers, containing the genealogy, and not (as *Purver* seems to suppose) to the entire gospel of Matthew.

Matt. iii, 1. 'Now in those days cometh John the Baptist, preaching in the desert of Judea.'

In what days? If we refer to Luke iii, 1, we shall find a precise historical date to the beginning of John's ministry: but here is nothing put before that corresponds. Possibly there may have been such a date as that in Luke, but which is now lost. At any rate, they who suppose the whole second of Matthew, with Ch. i, 17-25, to be an interpolation, will find it impossible fairly to connect this passage with what would in that case precede; or to account for the manner of this opening of the account of John.

ART. IV.—FABLES, &c., IN PROSE AND VERSE—CONTINUED.

The Fox on the Bramble. Æsop. 7.

The Best of them is a briar, the most upright a thorn hedge. Micah vii, 4.

They who in difficulties run
To Usurers are, oft, undone:
The Law's vague remedy, when sought
For cheap affronts, is dearly bought:
Doctors, ill chosen, too will ease
The purse, much sooner than disease.
You doubt that, here, too much is said:
Believe it all, my Fable read!

Impatient o'er a fence to scramble,
The Fox had leapt upon a Bramble,
And while the fastening prickles tore
His coat, and stain'd his paws with gore,
Cries Reynard 'Base, uncivil tree,
I thought to help myself by thee.'—
'Indeed!' the surly shrub replies,
'A Fox, at least, should prove more wise
Than to depend on one, whose nature
Is, thus to serve each meddling creature.'

The found Comb, no prize.

'Good fortune' must be something more
Than merely having goods in store.—

Two men were passing on the way,
Companions meet and kind—there lay
A Comb before them, dropt by chance
From some one's pocket in advance.
Hey! cried the one behind, I see
You've something found: now halves for me!
Replies the finder, Here's the prize—
My head is bald: And mine too, cries
His waggish friend, has not a hair—
Let's throw it down and leave it there!

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ART. I.—*Quaker Marriage Ceremony and Records.*

Continued from Volume Second, p. 384.

I cannot in any better way exhibit our present practice as a Society, in regard to Marriage and the preliminary proceedings, than by quoting our Book of discipline. A new Edition of this has just been issued, the Title of which is as follows :

Rules of Discipline of the Society of Friends, with Advices ; being Extracts from the Minutes and Epistles of their Yearly Meeting held in London from its first institution. Third Edition : London, Darton and Harvey, Gracechurch Street, 1834. Quarto, pp. 335.

The first printed Edition of this Code, (after many years' circulation in Manuscript) bears date, 1783 ; the second was issued in 1802. Supplements and Appendixes have been furnished at different times, by order of the Yearly Meeting, for the convenience of our Members engaged in the discipline, and to avoid the necessity of depending for advice and direction on loose papers : but in the present Book of Rules these may be said to be embodied, up to the present time.

MARRIAGE.

“ Rules for proceeding in relation to Marriage ; when the parties are members of the same Monthly Meeting.

I. The parties intending to join in marriage, are first to declare their intention at the monthly meeting whereof they are members, in terms of the following import, viz. the man, *that he intends to take D. E. to be his wife, if the Lord permit* : the woman, *that she intends to take A. B. to be her husband, if the Lord permit.*

“ II. These declarations are to be made first before the women’s meeting where such are held, and then before the men’s meeting.

“ III. If parents or guardians be present, they are to declare their consent, if absent, a certificate or certificates are to be produced, signifying, *that it is with their consent the parties proceed to accomplish their intended marriage* ; which certificates are to be signed by the parents or guardians, and attested by two competent witnesses.

“ IV. If there appear no sufficient objection, the said meetings are to appoint two men and two women friends to inquire into the clearness of the parties from any other marriage engagements. Those appointed by the men’s monthly meeting are also to see, if there be issue by a former marriage or marriages, that the children’s rights are legally secured ; and to take care that public notice of such intended marriage be given at the close of a first-day morning meeting to which the parties respectively belong : this is to be done as early as convenient after the appointment, and in the following form : *Friends, there is an intention of marriage between A. B. of N. and D. E. of P. : if any person have any thing to object let timely notice be given.*

“ V. The friends appointed are to make report at a subsequent monthly meeting of the day and place of the publication of the intended marriage, and on the other subjects of their appointment : the particulars of this report are to be recorded. If no sufficient obstruction appear in the monthly meeting, liberty is then to be granted to the parties to solemnize the marriage ; and the women’s monthly meeting is to be informed of this conclusion.

When the parties are members of different monthly meetings.

“ VI. If the parties be of different monthly meetings, the man is first to declare his intention to the men’s monthly meeting to which he belongs, and there to produce certificates of his parents’ or guardians’ consent to his proceedings therein ; also of the woman’s consent, and of that of her parents or guardians ; each signed by the respective party or parties, and attested by two competent witnesses. If there appear no sufficient objection, two men friends are to be appointed who are to proceed as directed in rule IV. If no sufficient obstruction arise, they are to prepare and produce to the monthly meeting a certificate thereof, which, if approved, is to be issued by the meeting, and forwarded to the monthly meeting to which the woman belongs. The man is not to be required, in this case, to produce to the monthly meeting of which the woman is a member, certificates of the consent of his parents or guardians to his proceedings in marriage.

“ It is however agreed that after the man has, with the necessary consent of the parties concerned, declared his intention of marriage to the monthly meeting of which he is a member, a notification of his having so done, in the following form, may be signed by the clerk of the meeting on his behalf : viz.

To
Dear Friends,

Monthly Meeting of Friends.

We hereby inform you, that *A. B.*, a member of this meeting, has communicated to us on the _____ day of the _____ month, 18____, his intention of marriage with *D. E.*, a member of your monthly meeting, accompanied by the needful certificates of the consent of all parties concerned. An appointment is made agreeably to the direction of the yearly meeting, and if no obstruction arise, a certificate is to be issued in due course.

Signed on behalf of _____ monthly meeting, held this
day of _____ month, 18____.

S. T. Clerk.

“With this notification he may proceed to the monthly meeting to which the woman belongs, where they are to propose their intention of marriage to the women’s and men’s meetings, who are to receive and act upon the said proposal of marriage as regards the woman, as already prescribed. A certificate of clearness on behalf of the man from the monthly meeting of which he is a member, must however be produced to that to which the woman belongs, before liberty for solemnizing the marriage is granted; which certificate is to be in the following form:—

To
Dear Friends,

Monthly Meeting of Friends.

A. B., a member of this meeting, has communicated to us his intention of marriage with *D. E.* a member of your monthly meeting. We hereby certify on his behalf, that due attention has been paid to the rules of the yearly meeting which are to be observed by us on such occasions; and no objection arising, we leave him at liberty for further proceedings in regard to his intended marriage, and requesting to be informed by you in usual course, when the same is accomplished,

We remain, with love, your friends.

Signed in and on behalf of _____ monthly
meeting, held at _____ this _____ day of _____ month, 18____.

S. T. Clerk.

NOTE.—The use of printed forms is not to be introduced on any occasion.

“VII. Monthly meetings are to make a suitable appointment of friends, to take the needful care that good order be observed on the day of marriage, and that the certificates and the registers of the marriage be properly filled up, and duly signed and witnessed; who are to make a report to the next monthly meeting.

“VIII. Marriages are to be solemnized at the usual week-day meeting, or at a meeting appointed at some seasonable hour in the forenoon on some other convenient week-day (previous notice in the latter case having been given); and at the meeting-house to which the woman belongs, unless leave be obtained of the woman’s monthly meeting to solemnize the marriage in some other meeting-house, with the consent of the friends of such other meeting.

“IX. After the meeting has been held a seasonable time, the parties are to stand up, and, taking each other by the hand, to declare in an audible and solemn manner to the following effect: the man first, viz. *Friends, I take this my friend D. E. to be my wife, promising through*

divine assistance, to be unto her a loving and faithful husband, until it shall please the Lord by death to separate us; and then the woman in like manner, Friends, I take this my friend A. B. to be my husband, promising, through divine assistance, to be unto him a loving and faithful wife, until it shall please the Lord by death to separate us.

“X. A certificate (with a five shilling stamp affixed) in the following form of words, is to be audibly read at the close of the meeting by some proper person, the express names and description of the parties being first inserted: they are then to sign the same; the man first; the woman with her maiden or widow name; the relations next; and such others present at the solemnity as think proper. 1754.—1790.—1801.—1833.

THE FORM OF THE CERTIFICATE.

A. B. of [grocer], Son of D. B. of _____ in the _____ of _____, yeoman, and E. his wife, and D. E. daughter of M. E. of _____ in the _____ of _____, [draper,] and M. his wife, having declared their intention of taking each other in marriage before the monthly meeting of Friends, commonly called Quakers, of _____ in the _____ of _____, the proceedings of the said A. B. and D. E. after due inquiry and deliberate consideration thereof, were allowed by the said meeting, they appearing clear of all others, and having consent of parents [or guardians, *as the case may be*]. Now these are to certify, that for the accomplishing of their said marriage, this _____ day of the _____ month, in the year one thousand eight hundred and _____, they, the said A. B. and D. E. appeared at a public assembly of the aforesaid people, in their meeting-house in [or at, *as the case may be*] _____; and he the said A. B. taking the said D. E. by the hand, declared as followeth:

And the said D. E. did then and there, in the said assembly, declare as followeth:

And the said A. B. and D. E. as a further confirmation thereof, and in testimony thereunto, did then and there to these presents set their hands.

A. B.
D. E.

We, being present at the abovesaid marriage, have also subscribed our names as witnesses thereunto, the day and year above written.

“If the man be a member of a different monthly meeting from that to which the woman belongs, when report is made to the monthly meeting of which the latter was a member that the said marriage has been solemnized, a notification in the following form is to be sent to the monthly meeting to which the man belongs; and the said meeting on receiving such notification, is desired in every case to enter on its minutes a copy thereof.

FORM OF NOTIFICATION.

The Monthly meeting of _____ is hereby informed, that the Marriage between A. B. and C. D. was solemnized in Friends' Meeting-house at _____ in the County of _____ the _____ day

month, 18 .

Signed in and on behalf of
Monthly Meeting held at
the _____ of _____

month, 18 .

} E. F.

Clerk.”

There remains yet one document (and that the most important to the Society itself)—the brief record required to be signed on the day of marriage by the parties, and attested by witnesses, in order to *Registration*; which will be exhibited when we come to treat that part of the subject. *The Certificate at large is the property of the parties.*

It will appear from what has been shewn that our proceedings respecting Marriage comprehend all that it is reasonable to ask, from a body of Christians, on the subject.

They exhibit, 1. The requisite previous publicity of the intentions of the parties. Whether, in any earlier instances, these had recourse to the publication of banns at Church, and then solemnized the marriage in their own way, is what I have not the means of determining—but think it quite possible this was done.

2. A due and indeed extraordinary publicity of the Ceremony itself. The Church of England says, ‘the persons to be married shall come into the body of the church with their friends and neighbours.’ (a) The quakers require that the marriage be solemnized at an ordinary or appointed Meeting for worship, in one of the usual meeting places of the Society—which meeting is also to be held for a seasonable time, before the parties stand up: evidently for solemnity, and that it may be fully gathered, first.

3. The substance of a Marriage Contract, and the requisite promises to each other; in what is said by them respectively, with their hands joined, before the assembly.

This is also the case with the members of the Establishment—the woman however promising *obedience*—a part of the engagement which *Friends*, probably from some persuasion of a greater equality of the sexes in their way, appear never to have adopted. That the injunction of the Apostle to his bishop, to see that young women love their husbands *and obey them*, is less received as the Gospel of Christ among us than elsewhere, is however what I have not been able to discover. (b) And if in any thing, from this very privilege of an admission to service in the ministry and discipline of the church, the sex have taken too much upon them, it is a pardonable excess; and may hereafter admit of a sound Gospel remedy. But the husband himself must also (and first) see to it, that he love his wife ‘even as Christ [who rules] also loved the Church;’ and that he dwell with her ‘according to knowledge.’ For it is true, as Milton says, that she beholds him at those seasons when *he* ‘least wise’ is seen!

4. A document attesting the fact and shewing the time and manner of the solemnization. In which thing another most fit and reasonable provision of the National Church is complied with.

I shall now go back to review some changes in this document, and in the ceremony itself, which have taken place among us.

(a) COMMON-PRAYER. *Form of solemnization of Matrimony.*

(b) Tit. ii, 4, 5. See also Eph. v. 22, 24; Col. iii, 18; 1 Peter, iii, 1.

In the form of Certificate first presented (see vol. 2, p. 296) of the date of 1670, we have at once and in the smallest compass what is required for *legal certainty of the transaction itself*—let the latter be interpreted as a legal marriage (for the times) or not. There are—the names of the parties and their parentage, the consent of friends, the publication of their intentions, the time, the place and the nature of the engagement—all certified in behalf of the married couple under the hands of a sufficient number of witnesses. Nothing but the sordid interest of an officiating minister, disappointed of his fee, could be of force to move to a prosecution, for a thing done in so much of daylight as this. Yet have we divers instances on record, of quakers having been cast into prison, man and wife together, for having thus contracted a union for life.

In 1673, we have the parties also signing, the woman taking her husband's surname; an addition to the instrument of very doubtful utility; and the last part manifestly improper—yet not vitiating the record. In 1675, the Certificate states, the parties did solemnly promise each to the other before the Lord, and [witnesses] whose names are subscribed, to be constant and faithful in their said marriage each to the other, during their lives together: yet—1677 we have a Certificate making no mention of the promises, and the like in two instances in 1678.

In 1703, in the next generation, we find the document assuming more of consistency: and (in a marriage conducted under the auspices of William Penn and other eminent ministers) very nearly resembling the present in form, the declarations of the parties being given *verbatim*, and women now signing as witnesses, in the proportion of about a fourth of the whole.

It should appear that some diversity (c) still obtained 'in regard to the form and manner of solemnization' in consequence of which the Yearly Meeting of 1754 took up the subject, and issued a set of Rules; containing directions as minute as at present (and in practice con-

(c) In proof of this diversity and of the necessity of a rule, I may bring the following Certificate, which reached my hands (too late for insertion in my last Number) in consequence of a request made to my Friend Samuel Lloyd, that he would supply me with an example about this date. The part in Italics is the written portion of the document—the rest is printed, on a broad sheet of large Folio printing paper. The signatures of the parties appear original, the rest copied:—from which circumstance, and the place from which it came, I conclude it was a duplicate for the use of the Monthly Meeting within which the marriage took place.

“ John Gopsill of Southwark London, Merchant, Son of John Gopsill late of Southwark aforesaid, Ironmonger, Deceased, and Sarah Bunce Widow of Daniel Bunce late of Cornbury Park in the County Oxford, Yeoman,

“ Having Publickly declared their Intentions of taking each other in Marriage, before several Meetings of the People of God called Quakers in ye County of Warwick, according to the Good Order used among them, whose Proceedings therein, after due Enquiry, and deliberate Consideration thereof (with regard unto the Righteous Law of God) were Allowed by the said Meetings, they appearing Clear of all others, and having also Consent of Parties and Relations Concerned,

siderably more burthensome) for the publication of the intentions, and conduct both of the preliminary steps and of the ceremony itself. It is only necessary to remark respecting these, that the parties had in most cases *several* public declarations to make, at different meetings, before their final union at the marriage; and that the form of declaration at the marriage ran thus, 'Friends, in the fear of the Lord, and before this assembly, I take this my Friend A. B. to be my wife, promising through divine assistance to be unto her a loving and faithful husband, until it shall please the Lord by death to separate us: ' and the like *mutatis mutandis* for the woman; *who was also now required to sign by her maiden or widow name.*

The lowering of the tone of the declaration, by changing the terms used in 1703, 'in the fear of God' and 'by the assistance of God' to the 'fear of the Lord' and 'by Divine assistance' does not argue with me an increase of religious weight and experience in the Society, but rather the contrary. And in a generation more, in 1783, we find even this whisper of reference to a primary duty beginning to be discarded, and the form reduced to its present simplicity, in the words already cited from our present Code.

"Now, These are to *Certify* All whom it may Concern, That for the Accomplishing of their said *Marriage*, This *Twenty Third* day of the *Fifth* Month, called *July* in the Year one thousand seven hundred and *Thirty two*. They the said *John Gopsill* and *Sarah Bunce* appeared in a Public Assembly of the aforesaid People, and others met together *for that end* in their Meeting-house at *Wednesbury* in the County of *Stafford*, and in a solemn manner, he the said *John Gopsill* taking the said *Sarah Bunce* by the hand, did openly declare, as followeth: *Friends, in the fear of God and in your presence whom I desire to be my witnesses, I take this my welbeloved and most esteemed friend Sarah Bunce to be my Wife, promising through divine assistance to be unto her a faithful and loving husband until death separates.* And then and there, in the said Assembly, the said *Sarah Bunce* did, in like manner, declare as followeth: *Friends, in the presence of the Lord and this assembly whom I desire to be my witnesses, I take this my friend John Gopsill to be my husband, promising through the Lord's assistance to be to him a faithful and loving wife till it shall please God by death to separate us.* And the said *John Gopsill* and *Sarah Bunce* as a farther confirmation thereof, and in testimony thereunto, did then and there to these presents set their hands.

John Gopsill.
Sarah Bunce.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being present among others, at the solemnizing of the abovesaid Marriage and Subscription, in manner aforesaid, as witnesses thereunto, have also to these presents subscribed our names, the day and year above written.

"Henry Bradford, Luke Breedon, C. O. Horne, Jno. Fowler, Heneretta Leonard, Mary Hide, Wm. Payton, Wm. Smith, Danl. Porthouse, Ezekiel Porthouse, Edward Jones, Abram. Freeth, Joseph Stampes, John Jesson, Thomas Wilson, John Fronter, J. Braidley, Thos Bunn, Rich. Hodskins, Edward Sumerland, James Smith, Richd. Whitehouse, Joseph Dumbleton, John Leonard, Henry Fidoe, Senr, Henry Fidoe, Eliz. Wharton, Jane Broadley, Hannah Smith, Hannah Bunn, Mary Williams. Relations: Gilbt. Hagen, Thos. Sonndy, Daniel Bunce, Joseph Wilkinson, John Wilkinson, Mary Wilkinson, Isaac Stapler, Eliza. Stapler, Tho. Pemberton, Jane Pemberton, John Pemberton, John Payton, Henry Payton, Junr., John Payton, Junr., Sarah Payton, Phebe Payton, Wm. Wharton, Junr., Danl. Owen, Ambrose Lloyde.

Surely it would have been more becoming a Christian society, to have kept its form up to the standard of its predecessors in the same faith; leaving those who might think (and weakly, as it might prove) beforehand, that they could not conscientiously adopt the words, to omit them for themselves under cover of the saving clause 'or words to that effect.' They must be strange professors, who could contract such an engagement out of the Lord's fear, and yet promise to be faithful in it by Divine assistance! However, I suppose there would be no law against those who, being conscientiously attached to the mention of the Sacred name, and the reference to God's counsel, in this thing, should *now* choose to put it in—so they vitiated not in any respect, by other deviations, the actual contract between the parties. It would be 'words to that effect' still.

(To be continued.)

ART. II.—*An Epistle of Samuel Jennings to Friends of Bucks county, Pennsylvania, anno 1682; with some account of the writer.*

"My dear and antient Friends, whom in the Lord I love and truly honour, the remembrance of you is often with me and very sweet unto me, especially those amongst you whose love to Sion hath engaged you to draw the bow, and let fly your arrows against her enemies—not at a venture, but in certain and sound judgment. And as many as are of this number, their bow shall abide in its strength, and their sword shall not return empty; but dominion and victory shall they obtain; whilst sorrow and pain shall overtake, and encompass the dwellings of, all Sion's enemies, both hidden and open.

"And, dear friends, when ye are met together, upon so solemn an occasion as to manage the affairs of the Church of Christ, how ought every one to withdraw to their strength, and wait for the opening and keeping open the eye of your understandings, *that so ye may discern betwixt things that differ.* Oh, the sense of the exercise that the faithful had, when my lot was cast among you, is at this time fresh in my remembrance,—by reason of a false birth that is counterfeiting the true—and how many were taken in its snare! And how was their countenance marr'd, and their hearts hardened, and their understandings clouded; and many symptoms did declare they were near fit for slaughter!

"And if any amongst you are yet remaining in the strong hold of Satan; having a secret opposition to, and judgment against the comely necessary order, which the God of order hath directed his people into, and is now used in his Church, I entreat and seriously warn you, have a care of persisting in it; for it leads to the chambers of death! And, dear friends, you who have seen the end and design of that spirit, and have been kept out of it, which hath endeavoured to rend, destroy and lay waste the heritage of God; and plunge us again into

greater sorrow and soul-tribulation, than that which God hath redeemed us out of; be thankfully humble before the Lord (and give him the praise of it) and esteem it as a deliverance never to be forgotten.

“And, dear friends, consider the dignity and height of your calling of God in Christ Jesus: who hath redeemed you from the vilest slavery, and now hath made you kings and priests and prophets to himself; and hath given you the spirit of judgment and discerning, that ye may judge for HIM—and let all be sure to do it. Then shall there be no respecting persons in judgment; and this is pleasing to the Lord. Wherefore be zealous and valiant for God’s truth, whilst ye may; and let none give way to a cowardly base temporizing spirit, that would hold friendship with unrighteousness: for it is detested of the Lord.

“So, dear friends, in that love which neither time, distance, tribulations, nor any other thing can make void, do I hereby salute you; making mention of you before the Lord, for the supplying and fortifying of you with every necessary good thing: for my heart is bound up with you, and is near you notwithstanding my bodily absence—who am your friend and brother in the best relation, *Samuel Jennings*. Greenhill near Burlington in New West Jersey, 6th of 10th Month 1682.

“Let this be read in the Men’s and Women’s Meeting for the upper part of the county of Bucks.”

I have inserted this Epistle from an old MS. in my possession, found in the same book with the one published in my No. 33; and of which an account is given in p. 141 of last Volume. Samuel Jennings was not only a minister among Friends, but a political character of eminence in his sphere. He was at this time Governor of the colony of New Jersey under the Proprietors, and afterwards (1707) Speaker of the House of Assembly of the *province*, as it was now become under Queen Anne: in which capacity he was an ardent defender of the liberties of the subject, and successfully resisted the arbitrary government of the Lord Cornbury, grandson of the famous Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.

Smith says of him under date of 1708: “Here we part with Lord Cornbury’s administration: here also we part with his opponent S. Jennings. His indisposition continued about twelve months, and then finished his life: his many services have occasioned him to be often mentioned. His profession of religion was that of the people called quakers: he was early an approved minister among them, and so continued to his death. *Common opinion, apt to limit this sphere of action, will however allow general rules to have their exceptions; as instances now and then (though perhaps but rarely) occur, where variety of talents have united in the same individual and, yet, not interfered... It is mentioned [in the accounts of those times] that he was of an obliging affectionate disposition, yet of a hasty warm temper; that he notwithstanding managed it with circumspection and prudence, so that few occasions escaped to the disadvantage of his character, or of any cause he engaged*

in ; that he saw the danger to which his natural impetuosity exposed him, knew his preservation lay in a close attention to his cooler prospects, and diligently guarding in that spot, experienced the benefit [of his principles] in many trying events. That his integrity and fortitude in all stations were acknowledged, *that his judgment was the rule of his conduct*—that alive to the more generous emotions of a mind formed to benevolence and acts of humanity, he was a friend to the widow, the fatherless and the unhappy ; tender, compassionate, disinterested ; *and with great opportunities left but a small estate.*—That his sentiments of right and liberty were formed on the Revolution—that he was, notwithstanding all this, sometimes thought stiff and impracticable, but chiefly *on account of his political attachments* : yet that there were instances where better knowledge of his principles, and the sincerity with which he acted, totally effaced those impressions, and left him friends where none were expected. West Jersey and Pennsylvania [in which province he lived some years, and bore several important offices] and New Jersey after the surrender [of the government to the Queen] for near twenty eight years successively, were witnesses of his conduct in various capacities. He studied peace, and the welfare of mankind, but in some instances met with ungrateful returns. And though his endeavours did not altogether succeed to his mind, he survived personal accusation in a great measure—and as to the Public, lived just long enough to see it emerging from an unpromising state of litigation and controversy, to more quiet than had been known for many years." *Hist. of New Jersey*, Ch. 18.

In one of the several altercations in writing, between Lord Cornbury and his parliament (Jennings being Speaker) we meet with the following *pro and contra* : Ld. C. ' You have arbitrarily taken upon you to command the High-sheriff of this county to discharge a prisoner, who was in his custody *at the suit of one of the Queen's subjects* ; and he has been weak enough to do it, for which he is liable to be sued for an escape, whenever the gentleman thinks fit to do it, and from which you can't protect him : this is a notorious violation of the right of the subject, and a manifest interruption of Justice.' *The Assembly* : ' The person we ordered to be discharged *was an evidence attending by order of the House*, and under the protection of this House ; who were only wanting to themselves in not sending the High-sheriff and lawyers to the same place, *for daring to offer so public an affront to the Representative body of a country.*' *Idem*, p. 335. *Ed.*

ART. III.—*Remarks on Scripture Passages.* Continued.

Matthew, v, 41. ' And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain : ' i. e. in the way of requisition with thy carriage, or pack-horse or saddle-horses ; as in travelling and military marches often happens now.

Matthew, ix, 38. ' Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth labourers into his harvest.' Which accordingly

takes place when (Ch. x, ver. 5) Jesus sends forth the twelve 'to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.'

Matthew, xii, 43-45. 'When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man he walketh through dry places [desert, without water, where no man abides] seeking rest and findeth none, &c.'

That state of man, in which he is not only purified from evil but occupied also with good, is the safest from a relapse into evil. In a passive, indolent, trifling state of mind, however innocent the few thoughts and however good the intentions of the party, there is much danger that the fiend who seduces mankind, and destroys their peace, may not only revisit but find entrance and possession; so that the last state of the party shall prove the worst. We should be thoroughly intent on duty, and our affections earnest in the pursuit of it.

Matthew, xiii, 12. 'For whosoever hath [knowledge the fruit of faith and obedience—which knowledge is power: Comp. ver. 23.] to him shall be given [further instruction] and he shall [thus] have more abundance: but whosoever hath not [faith and a willing mind] from him shall be taken that [portion of knowledge and power] that he hath.'

Thus I would expound this somewhat mysterious passage: which seems to point to the indispensable pre-requisite to a growth in grace, to-wit, a lively faith. Unto the disciples, who had this, and gave proof of it by leaving all to follow Christ, it was given to know the mysteries of his kingdom. To the rest of his hearers, this was not given: nor to the disciples themselves, but in such degrees as they needed it. Our Lord was not willing to let them at once into the full understanding of his meaning: but the *words* they remembered, and as happened in other instances, were able best to understand them, when they had the most need of the lesson they contained.

Matthew, xv, 5. 'Whosoever shall say to his father or his mother, It is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me, &c.'—I believe it would be well here to put in Italics after 'gift,' *to the temple*, or, to the treasury of God: which would at once fix the [otherwise obscure] meaning to the inexperienced reader.

Matthew, xvii, 24-27. Our Lord here styles himself, if not also Peter, a son or descendant of the kings of the earth; which thing is true by his genealogy—'the son of David, the son of Abraham.' He says likewise, in royal style, 'Notwithstanding lest we offend them' [or stumble, or estrange them] do so and so: making it a matter of condescension, as well as of politic caution towards doubtful allies, thus to acknowledge their right to take it.

Matt. xviii, 28. This passage might be improved by putting for 'took him by the throat' (as if to strangle him) 'took him by the collar'—a mode of securing a prisoner probably quite as ancient as the time of our Lord's ministry.

Matt. xx, 28. 'Even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto but to minister [always in a spiritual office] and to give his life a ransom for many.' A ransom implies slavery: to whom was the slave in bondage? And when redeemed by the blood of Christ, what

was that slavery out of which he was to come, by laying hold on the proffered terms in faith? Again, the ransom paid, the message sent, the succours furnished, and the redemption thus far effected, what further act is required, on the slave's part, to effect his liberation? Must he not, believing the messenger, *of his own free-will* prepare for his journey homeward, and depart from the territory of the Lord who before held him in bondage? He *may* disbelieve the message, or prefer his present condition, and so remain where he is!

Matt. xxiii, 34-39. 'Wherefore, behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes: and some of them ye shall kill and crucify; and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city: That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.'

In this passage I may first notice the fullness of assertion of the power and authority of the Godhead in himself, by Christ, in that he says 'Behold, *I* [the Wisdom of God] send unto you prophets, and wise-men [teachers or judges] and scribes.' He does not ascribe the sending to a higher power than his own; though he condescended himself, to be one of the company of teachers, yea to wash the feet of the rest and wait upon them at table, for example's sake.

Then comes the wrong putting of 'shall' for 'will,' making Christ (or the Godhead) the author of persecution and murder, by fore-ordination—of which I have already treated elsewhere.

Lastly, the apostrophe (as the Rhetorians call that mode of speaking) in verses 37-39—which is quoted even by those who deal in words alone, as the finest example of the kind in any author. See also Luke xi, 49: and compare the following in order: John xx, 21; John xvi, 15, iii, 35, v, 19; John x, 30.

Matt. xxvi, 21. 'And as they did eat he said, Verily I say unto you that one of you shall betray me.' The word 'shall' in this place must sound very uncouthly to an experienced ear, at this day. To the rest it serves, *cum multis aliis*, to keep up the delusion of predestinarianism; where arguments and inferences fail.

Matt. xxvi, 30. 'And when they had sung an hymn, they went out to the mount of Olives.' I am not sure that simple Psalmody, or the public reciting or chanting of hymns and spiritual songs, whether in metre or not, has been rightly laid aside in the Religious circles in which I move. The difficulty seems to be, with those who would seek edification, and not amusement, that on few occasions are the minds of a whole company or congregation prepared to join, without

any mixture of insincerity, in the exercise. But real sacred poetry (and such are many passages of Holy Scripture, though not put in metre in our version) contributes powerfully, in private, to stir up the gift of God in us, and excite to true devotion. See on this subject *Barclay*, Apology Prop. xi, § 26 and 28, where he is very plain on the subject—but how do we ‘plead for’ *the spiritual singing*, now?

Verse 50. ‘And Jesus said unto him, Friend, wherefore art thou come?’

Purver renders it ‘companion,’ and nearer to the sense of the original. It is an example of that peaceable mode of address which it becomes us to make use of, in the first instance, towards those who in approaching seem to intend some violence. I have availed myself of it, in meeting suspicious persons by the way: it may, by indicating presence of mind and coolness, even contribute to turn aside the evil intent, already beginning to be formed in them.

Verse 59, 60. ‘The chief-priests and elders and all the council made enquiry for *evidence* (such as might seem to be legal) against Jesus, that they might put him to death: yet, though many false *witnesses* came, found they no evidence.’ How short is our version, for want of the right choice of words, of telling the plain reader all this!

Verse 63. The definitive article is in the Greek, here, ‘the Christ the Son of God.’ And Jesus assenting fully to the thing as propounded to him, proceeds immediately to style himself *the Son of man*: the whole together being what none but himself could say. Further, the Law saith that no man is bound to accuse himself. Hence the need of witnesses to the fact charged; and Jesus might have claimed his privilege of not being his own accuser; and have shewn by declaring what he *did* say about the temple, how falsely these men spoke: he might also have called witnesses who heard, and would testify to, the thing—but the accusers wanted not, and probably would have refused to hear them.

Verse 72. It is of greater importance to the man who speaks falsely to *swear* (of his own accord) than to him who speaks truth. We may here recur to our Lord’s words: ‘Let your yea [affirmation] be *yea*, and your nay [denial] be *nay*: FOR WHATSOEVER IS MORE THAN THESE COMETH OF EVIL.’

Matt. xxvii, 11, 12. I should prefer to render this passage thus, And as Jesus stood before the governor, the governor said to him, Thou art *then*, the king of the Jews! But Jesus replied, Thou *thyself* sayest this.

Pilate was sensible that the whole ground of the charge was envy and malice: he now repeated it from the accusers—they on their part produced no evidence (the pretended threat to destroy the *temple* would have availed nothing *here*) and our Lord puts by the whole with this simple answer, These are thy own words. In which we may be sure he did not admit the thing, in the sense the accusers intended to impress on the mind of Pilate, that of treason against Cæsar. See John xviii, 36.

Verse 34. The 'vinegar' was probably the article provided for the soldiers as their common drink—but being charged with that nauseous defilement, Jesus refuses it: but afterwards takes a little from a sponge, when administered in compassion, or to prevent his expiring immediately from faintness: ver. 48.

Verse 46. A commencement, plainly, of a recitation of the Twenty-second Psalm; in which is contained so remarkable a prophecy, in descriptive terms, of the very deed now acting! It does not appear whether our Lord had strength left to finish the Psalm: or that, beyond the expression of his own deep feeling of desertion, he had more in view than to remind his persecutors of that passage of Scripture; by which they ought to have taken warning before. But they would neither hear Moses nor the prophets, nor believe when he had risen from the dead!

Verse 65. 'Pilate said unto them, Ye have a watch; go your way, make it as sure as ye can.' I should rather express this peevish answer thus—*You* have the charge [of him, now] go &c. The Greek adopts the very term of the Roman governor, *custodiam*, the custody: *echete koustodian*.

Ch. xxviii, ver. 2. 'And behold there was a great earthquake, for the angel &c.' Considering the 'for' I incline here to the opinion of those who make the 'earthquake' to have been merely a great *commotion upon the spot*. The Greek *seismos* may very well admit of this interpretation.

Verse 17. 'And when they saw him they worshipped him: but some doubted.' *Hesitated*, so as that it appeared by their behaviour they were not yet ready to acknowledge Christ in this appearance: on which account he immediately draws near and speaks to them; not waiting their further coming on. The unpleasant impression is liable to be left by the Com. version (pointed as it stands) that after all, some of the eleven doubted finally whether it were their risen Lord or not. *Ed.*

ART. IV.—*Anticipation.*

How heavy are these heart-felt Cares,
How drags the fretting Chain;
The Captive in the galley shares
Not more consuming pain!

Then why should Man, a slave, be bound
To "tug the labouring oar,"
No solace felt, no respite found,
Till on life's farthest shore?

Glad is the day, and hail'd the hour,
Which frees me from these pains;
E'en now I feel th' enlivening power
Of Freedom in my veins.

Like bird that's been in cage confined,
I mount on cheerful wing,
And, leaving Earth's dull clods behind,
My Heaven-ward carol sing. W.

ART. V.—*Derivations and Meanings of Words.* Continued.

Crime ; offence ; trespass ; transgression. The first of these is from the Greek *krima*, through the Latin, *crimen*. It implies, in these languages, something more precise than our present use of the word. Johnson defines crime, 'An *act* contrary to right; an offence; a great fault; a wickedness'—but, in the usage of the ancients, none of these would be *crime* until the act were specified and the judge had passed sentence upon the party, or assigned his punishment. When a man has waylaid another and killed him, we say he is guilty of murder—we mean in strictness, he has done the *act* to which the Law attaches that *crime*.

Offence is directly from the Latin, *offendo*; the strict meaning of which is, I provoke by striking: a sense which has been extended so as to include a variety of ways in which I may give pain or uneasiness to another: but still preserving the character of a *personal wrong*. Johnson makes offence to mean in the first place 'crime, act of wickedness'—I think weakly, upon his own showing. He gives from Fairfax, 'Where Christ the Lord for our offences died:' the meaning, clearly, for our offences *against God*. And again, from Shakespear, 'Thou hast stolen that which after some few hours were thine without offence [against me the party injured; or affected *injuriâ*—by an act *against right*.] He then brings *Locke*, with the extended or less proper sense of the word, 'If by the law of nature every man hath not a power to punish offences against it:—The *law* cannot be offended; the offence is against the *lawgiver*.'

Trespass is French, transplanted with the Norman code. It is *the setting foot on another's land*: and *transgression*, which is almost mere Latin to the very same purpose, has acquired together with the former, a high and extended acceptation, by entering so much into our Scriptural phraseology. In the case of any transgression, the boundary assigned to the party offending has been overstepped in conduct; and the law *broken*—a plain allusion if not to the two tables, at least to the practice of writing Laws anciently *on slabs of stone*.

Punishment. To punish is from *punio*, Lat. and this being from *pæna* (whence our *pain*) it seems strictly applicable only to such legal inflictions as regard the *person*. But we have extended it, both in this and in the term *penalty*, to a variety of cases besides—especially those affecting the estate. The Latins have *tormentum* (*tortum mentum*, a rope's end?) to signify an infliction, very painful or cruel, on the offender's person—and which was probably at first by simple flogging: though the ingenuity of the evil mind extended it, in after ages, to a great variety of *torments*.

Pardon ; absolution. Most persons would say these were precisely synonymous; but there is a considerable difference in the meanings. The Etymon of the first seems strictly French, although the words, *pardono*, and *ardonatio*, be found also in our Law Latin; applicable to the forgiving of offences *against the King*. It is probably from *par don* Fr. by gift; or of *free grace*, which the Sovereign by virtue of the

Prerogative extends to an individual offending against him. It is distinguishable from *absolution*, a Latin term, in this respect, that the latter refers to some Legal or Ecclesiastical sentence, to which the party for some offence or trespass was subject; and from which he is now *set free* (*absolutus*) it being either upon his estate in the way of fine or forfeiture, or upon his person in the way of penance: in which latter case the purse is very commonly made to bear the penalty (to the priest's no small commodity) in the *person's* stead. *Ed.*

ART. VI.—FABLES, &c., IN PROSE AND VERSE—CONTINUED.

The Ape and the Dolphin. La Fontaine.

Greek sailors, when they made a voyage,
Took dogs and monkeys with their stowage.
A vessel once, with these on deck,
Not far from Athens suffer'd wreck,
And but for Dolphins, which are known
Man to befriend, all had gone down.
'Tis *Pliny* vouches for the tale,
And thus its truth shall nowise fail;
One of the mimic tribe, he says,
Aware that desp'rate was his case,
Bethought him how he best might save
His carcass from the swallowing wave;
The fish, when hail'd, for man mistook
The creature's grave, half human look,
And, seated on his back, he bore
This new Arion tow'rd the shore.
When near the landing—"Ere we part hence
(Says he) are you from learned Athens?"—
"Yes (said the other) there I'm known;
"If any business you wish done,
"Command me, for my interest's great,
"First cousins, Judges in the state."—
"Thanks! (said the Dolphin), well I ween
"Piræus too you've often seen."—
"Daily (said he); my oldest friend.
"If compliments to him you'd send."—
Our chatterer thus, of brains prov'd short,
And took for some man's name the port.
How many you and I have known
Who Vaugirard mistake for Rome;
Who, in their ignorance, will boast,
And 'things unknown' discourse of most.
The Dolphin, smiling, turn'd his head,
At once from what the prater said;
And thinking he might spare, for once,
His pains in saving such a 'dunce,'
Sous'd him o'er head and ears i' the main,
And to the wreck swam back again. W.

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ART. I.—**Choir Gaur: A POEM.**

CHOIR GAUR (the giants' dance) or STONEHENGE (the stone of Hengist) is justly accounted one of the noblest remains of rude Antiquity. The uncertainty of the design, and the mysteries which some pretend to find in it—the solitude of the site—the singularity of the structure—the prodigious size of the stones composing it, in a country destitute of this material, have so perplexed Antiquaries that there is no end to their discordant opinions. (a) History (among other matter bearing few marks of probability) records a tale which seems to prove that there existed, subsequently to the introduction of Christianity into the Island, a local tradition respecting this monument: but which, in the mouths and on the vellum of those propagators of superstition and absurdity, the monks, was in process of time converted into a heap of marvellous lies! Those who, with the author, have visited and attentively considered this monument, and read what is to be found written on the subject, will best appreciate the following effusion; begun on the spot near thirty years since, and subsequently made the vehicle of a few reflections, applying to the circumstances of our country at the time of its being composed. *Ed.*

(a) A detail of the systems of different antiquaries and architects may be seen in '*Choir Gaur*, the Grand Orrery of the ancient Druids, commonly called Stonehenge on Salisbury plain; astronomically explained and mathematically proved to be a temple erected in the earliest ages, for observing the motions of the Heavenly bodies.' 3 Plates. Dr. John Smith, Salisbury, 1771.

VOL. III.

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What art thou, whence and wherefore, huge *Choir Gaur*,
 For worship, council, pomp—of peace, of war?
 Those rocky pillars who uprais'd in air,
 And placed those rude and frowning imposts there?
 Did mere Herculean might, or rather skill
 Like his of Syracuse, that task fulfill:
 Or was it *Merlin* (human strength apart)
 Prevail'd on th' old arch-fiend by magic art,
 Bound in a slender withe, from Erin's shore,
 To whip at once th' enormous burthen o'er?
 Witness the solitary stone they show
 That slipt from 's grasp into the brook below!
 Which yet, so found, might make one shrewdly deem
 Its carrier not a spirit but the stream.

Howe'er convey'd, what moved a savage race,
 From distant unknown quarries, to this place
 With toil immense enormous rocks to bring
 And build of porches this mysterious ring?

In vain I ask: in vain around I throw
 Th' enquiring eye, and seek thy birth to know.
 Tradition, silent as the mossy stone
 And lost in time's great gulf, response gives none:
 Nor History's grave recital, mix'd with lies,
 Nor bold conjecture yet its place supplies. (b)

Sure on this spot, entire, the fabric stood
 E'er Earth was whelm'd in th' Universal flood,
 And these few ruins scaped its wasteful rage
 To prove the riddle of each future age;

(b) "Jeffery of Monmouth tells us, that Stonehenge was a monument erected, in the reign of Aurelius Ambrosius, by Ambrose Merlin, to perpetuate the treachery of Hengist, the Saxon General; who having desired a friendly meeting with Vortigern, at the monastery of Ambresbury, assassinated him, with four hundred and sixty of his barons, and consuls; after which, the bodies of the slaughtered Britons were interred in a burying place near the monastery, where they had received their deaths; and Aurelius Ambrosius going to see the sepulchre, soon after he had mounted the British throne, the king not only shed tears at the sight of it, but resolved to perpetuate the memory of that piece of ground, which was honoured with the bodies of so many noble patriots, that died for their country, with some noble monuments.

"In order to this the king, after summoning together several carpenters and masons, commanded them to employ the utmost of their art, in contriving a proper structure; but they, out of diffidence of their own skill, refusing to undertake it, Merlin, who had been the prophet of Vortigern, was sent for to exercise his abilities; and he immediately advised Aurelius to send for the Giant's Dance in Killaraus, a mountain in Ireland: For there is, says he, a structure of stones there, which none of this age could raise, without a profound knowledge of the

Or else the giant-race that rear'd the pile,
 By war, by pestilence swept off the isle,
 Sudden to endless night departed all,
 And left abortive their memorial!

But see where, frequent o'er the champaign round
 Rises, emboss'd in green, the taper mound, (c)
 Whence oft as curious hands remove the soil
 The grave appears, and Death his mould'ring spoil
 Resigns, ambiguous, mix'd with relics few,
 That scarce declare to whom these rites were due.
 Eastward, again, throughout an ample space,
 The long protracted *Hippodrome* we trace,
 With double vallum closed to bound the race ;
 And laid (so fancy deems) to meet the eye
 At once of eager thousands crowding nigh !

Perchance, where yonder village (d) drinks the stream,
 (Thro' bordering trees, by fits, the waters gleam)
 A city stood of old, with bulwarks closed,
 And empire on these waving plains imposed ;
 Sent forth, like far-famed Troy, her chiefs to war,
 Yoking twin coursers to the sythe-wheel'd car,
 And made this ground of solemn rites the scene :
 Here worship'd, burnt the dead, and on the green

mechanical arts. They are stones of a vast magnitude, and wonderful quality ; and if they can be placed here, as they stand there, they will remain for ever.

“These stones, continues Merlin, are mystical, and of a medicinal virtue. The giants of old brought them from the farthest coasts of Africa, and placed them in Ireland, while they inhabited that country. Their design in this was to make baths in them, when they should be taken with any illness ; for their method was, to wash the stones, and put their sick into the water, which infallibly cured them. With the like success they cured wounds also, adding only the application of some herbs ; and there is not a stone there, concluded Merlin, which has not some healing virtue. [In all which there is a covert allusion to the Church of Christ ; 1 Pet. ii, 5. *Ed.*]

“Aurelius forthwith sent his brother Uther, attended with fifteen thousand young men, under the direction of Merlin, for these wonderful stones ; and at their arrival at the place where they stood, Merlin bade the men try their force, and see whether strength, or art, could do more towards taking them down. The command was no sooner given, than some of the young men, who had prepared cables, others who had provided small ropes, and some who had furnished themselves with ladders for the work, applied those implements to the several parts of the building, and with one accord the whole army attempted the removal of the Giant's Dance ; but all to no purpose. Merlin, laughing at their vain efforts, then began his own contrivances ; and when he had placed the engines, in their

(c) The Barrows ; many of which have been opened, and found to be Sepulchral monuments.

(d) Amesbury, or Ambresbury.

Expanse her youth to competition drew
 In martial sports, and crown'd the conqu'ring few.
 So may we guess; nor vainly, for I ween
 Where the dead lie so thick the living crowd has been.

But many an age of men has roll'd away
 Since, here, or martial game or mortal fray
 Was acted: thou didst find, insatiate War!
 A sweep more vast for *thy* destructive car.
 This little isle, once shared by petty kings
 With tumult ever in her breast, now rings
 Th' alarm to half the world, and calls in vain
 On chiefs deposed by Gaul to rise and reign.
 While, from Iberia's southern point, that sees
 Afric, to where the polar waters freeze,
 The long drawn feud at balance is maintain'd,
 And shame by Gaul, disgrace by Britain gain'd:
 Witness thy captive princes, bleeding Spain,
 And thou, much wrong'd and yet resenting Dane!

Yet, here, the lonely shepherd fearless goes
 Forth to his flock, and fearless seeks repose;
 While not a wolf alarms his tranquil eye,
 Far less the prowling band from armies nigh.

proper order, which he thought necessary for the work, he took down the stones, with incredible facility, and withal gave directions for carrying them to Mount-Ambre. [Persuasion does what force had attempted in vain. *Ed.*]

"The stones were no sooner brought to this mountain, than the king summoned to it the bishops, the abbots, and the people of all other orders and qualities, from every part of Britain, to celebrate with joy and honour, the setting them up: And when the parties were all assembled, Aurelius with royal pomp, celebrated the feast of Pentecost, the solemnity whereof he continued the three following days. In the mean time, the king having bestowed all places of honour, that were vacant, on his domesticks, as rewards for their good services, he next ordered Merlin to go to work upon the monument, and rear up the stones that were prepared for it, about the sepulchre of the slaughtered Britons; which he forthwith did in the same form, as they stood in the mountain Killaraus; and, as the British historian concludes, thereby gave a manifest proof of the prevalence of art, above strength. [And of the Gospel preached above mere coercion. *Ed.*]

"Tradition varies from history, in the story touching the removal of this monument from the mountain of Killaraus to that of Ambrius, and delivers it to this brief effect.

"The prophet Merlin, desirous of having a parcel of stones, which grew in an odd sort of form, in a backside belonging to an old woman in Ireland, transported from thence to one of the hills of Salisbury plain, employed the Devil upon the work; who the night after, dressing himself like a gentleman, and taking a large bag of money in his hand, presented himself before the good woman as she was sitting at her table, and acquainted her of the purchase he was come to make; the fiend, at the same time, pouring out his money on the board before her, and offering her as much for the stones as she could reckon while he should be taking them away.

O Britain, much hast thou to boast and much
 To blush for—such thy deeds, thy safety such.
 Yet boast not; lay thy mouth in dust, and own
 His mercy, whose long-suffering stays the frown !

But ceasing, now, the secrets to explore
 Of time, and generations gone before,
 And less prepared with curious glance to pry
 Into the stores of dark futurity,
 To what conclusion shall our theme be brought;
 What present truth to those who hear be taught?

Man toils, his works, by time subdued, decay,
 Or, should he borrow aught their fall to stay,
 Nature the metal, gem or rock provides,
 That in its own inherent strength abides ;
 Or, tractable beneath his hand, she takes
 The form of art, and art perpetual makes.
 So stands this pile which, but that art has left
 His signet here, might seem a mountain cleft
 By earthquake, while huge torrents from above
 Labour'd the lighter covering to remove :
 So rise yon mounds and heave the turf on high,
 Tombs that with thine, Egyptian Memphis ! vie,
 Nor fear the wasting influence of the sky.

“The money was all in odd sorts of coins, such as four-penny half-penny pieces, nine-penny pieces, thirteen-penny-half-penny pieces, and the like ; but nevertheless the Devil’s proposal seemed so very advantageous, that, notwithstanding the difficulty there would be in reckoning the money, the old woman could not avoid complying with it, as she imagined the removal of her stones by a single man, would be a work of almost infinite time; and that she should be able to tell as much money, while it should be about, as would make her as rich as a princess. But the bargain was no sooner made, and she had no sooner laid her fingers on a four-penny half-penny coin, than the Devil, with an audible voice, cried out, ‘ hold,’ and said, ‘ the stones are gone:’ The old woman, disregarding what he said, however peeped out into her backside, and, to her great amazement, it was even so as Satan had spoken ; for the common deceiver of mankind in an instant took down the stones, bound them up in a wyth, and conveyed them to Salisbury Plain ; but just before he got to Mount Ambre, the wyth slackened, and as he was crossing the river Avon at Bulford, one of the stones dropped down into the water, where it lies to this very hour ; the rest were immediately reared up on the spot of ground destined by Merlin for them ; and the Devil, pleased with the accomplishment of his work, declared, upon fixing the last stone, that nobody should be ever able to tell how the fabric, or any of the parts of which it is composed, came there.

“A Friar, who had lain all night concealed near the building, hearing the Devil’s declaration, replied to it by saying, ‘ that is more than thee canst tell ;’ which put Satan into such a passion, that he snatched up a pillar and hurled it at the Friar, with an intention to bruise him to dirt ; but he running for his life, the stone in it’s fall only reached his heel, and struck him in it ; the mark of which appears in that pillar even unto this day. *Vid. Wood’s Stonehenge*, p. 70.

Short lived and perishing, compared with these,
 The chisel's wonders, studied pomps that please
 An age refined : not rude as these I view,
 Sublime in massive greatness, but in due
 Proportion form'd, and gorgeous symmetry,
 Alike t' instruct and please the tutor'd eye—
 Solid or light, their date fulfill'd, they fall,
 And join Earth's common mass, the womb the grave of all !

Not so works Nature's GOD ; his plastic power,
 Wasting, repairs the waste from hour to hour,
 Still his vast plan sustains, makes hills subside
 And vallies rise, restrains with sand the tide
 By tempests urg'd, or with resistless sway
 Sends torrents down, to sweep earth's face away ;
 Where, yet, the springing blade again shall know
 Its time to rise, and sheltering thickets grow.
 'Tis He beneath the flow'ry turf bids rise
 Fires, that whole mountains mingle with the skies, (e)
 Then, ere the dreary waste has cool'd around,
 Renews and clothes with life the fruitful ground :
 As if to trembling mortals he would prove
 How, still His awful ire is ruled by love.

Cætera desunt.

“ Giraldus Cambrensis says, there was in Ireland in ancient times, a pile of stones, worthy admiration, called the Giant's Dance ; because giants, from the remotest parts of Africa, brought them into Ireland ; and in the plains of Kildare, not far from the castle of Naase, as well by force of art as strength, miraculously set them up. These stones Aurelius Ambrosius, King of the Britains, procured Merlin by supernatural means to bring from Ireland into Britain. And, that he might leave some famous monument of so great a treason, to after ages, in the same order, and art as they stood formerly, set them up ; where the flower of the British nation fell by the cut-throat practice of the Saxons ; and where under the pretence of peace, the ill secured youth of the kingdom, by murderous designs were slain. *Vid. Jones's Stonehenge*, p. 12. *Rainulph* monk of Chester saith, ‘ Ambrosius's brother, Uther Pendragon, by help of Merlin the prophet, brought Choream Gigantum, that is Stonehenge, out of Ireland. Stonehenge is now in the plain of Salisbury : Of that bringing of Stonehenge out of Ireland speeketh the British story, if it should lawfully be ytrowed.’

“ Polydore Virgil saith, the Britons, in memory of his great achievements for the commonwealth, erected a magnificent sepulchre to their chieftain Ambrosius, made of great square stones, in form of a crown, even in that place where fighting he was slain ; that the prowess of so great a commander should neither be forgotten among themselves, who then lived, or left unremembered to posterity. Which monument remains even to this day, in the diocese of Salisbury, near unto the village called Ambresbury. *Vid. Jones's Stonehenge*, p. 18.

(e) The volcanic mountain *Jorullo*, 1200 feet in height, was thrown up from the level ground during a single absence of the sun. *Humboldt*.

On the _____ Day of the _____ Month, One Thousand Eight Hundred
 and _____ born at _____ in the Parish of _____
 of _____ in the _____ of _____, unto *A. B.*
 his Wife,* _____ who _____ named _____
 We, who were present at the said birth, have subscribed our names as Wit-
 nesses † thereof :
 Examined at _____ Monthly Meeting, }
 of _____ mo. 18 . _____ Clerk. }

* Here insert a son, a daughter, two sons, &c. as the case may be.
 † The residences of Witnesses to be added to their signatures.

BURIAL NOTE.

[To be properly filled up, inserting the description, occupation, or other usual addition,
 and residence of the deceased.]

To _____ The _____ Day of the _____ Grave-Maker.
 Make a Grave on or before next _____ Day, in Friends' Burial-Ground at or
 near _____ in the _____ of _____, and therein
 lay the Body of *A. B.* _____ of _____ in the _____
 of _____ draper, aged about _____ who died the
 Day of _____ Month, One thousand Eight Hundred
 and _____

[To be here signed by the Friend appointed to give out burial notes.]

The body above mentioned was buried the _____ Day of the
 Month, 18 .

Witness _____ Grave-Maker.
 This note to be delivered by the Grave-Maker, as soon as may be, to the person
 who signed it, or to be forwarded to the proper meeting, for the purpose of making
 the registry.

“ In every monthly meeting, a suitable friend is to be appointed
 as registrar of marriages, births, and burials. The registers of births
 and burials are to be made agreeably to the following plans ; and they
 are to be entered by the friend appointed as registrar, from the birth
 notes and burial notes, after they have passed the monthly meeting.

“ No mistake that happens to be made in a register is to be erased,
 but to be corrected by drawing a line through the same, so as to leave
 it legible ; and what should have been written, is to be inserted near
 it, and to be authenticated by the registrar's signing the initials of his
 name thereto. No contractions are to be used either in filling up any
 of the foregoing forms, or in the registers, except that in the latter,
 dates may be expressed by figures.

Forms of the Monthly Meeting Registers of Births and Burials.

BIRTHS.

When Born.	Where Born.	Name.	Son or Daughter	Names of Parents.	Residence.	Description of the Father.

BURIALS.

When died.	Name.	Age.	Residence.	Description.	When buried.	Where buried.

“ Birth notes and burial notes are to be taken to the monthly meeting, there read, and the duplicate (or triplicate, &c. as the case may be) birth notes compared, and all signed by the clerk; one birth note is to be delivered to the registrar, and the other or others given to the parents: the registrar, after entering the notes in the book kept for that purpose, and filling up the index, is to forward them to the quarterly meeting, at least once within the year: they are then to be fixed into a proper book and indexed.

“ Burials are to be registered in the monthly meeting in which the burial ground is situated; and if the deceased were not a member of such monthly meeting, the burial note is to be afterwards forwarded to the monthly meeting to which such deceased person did belong, to be there also registered, and sent from that meeting only to the quarterly meeting. But seeing that the burial grounds in the six monthly meetings of London are the joint property of those meetings, it shall suffice that burials in those grounds, of members of any of the said meetings, be registered in the monthly meeting to which the deceased did belong, and the burial notes taken thence to the quarterly meeting.

“ Children who have not a birthright in our religious society, may be registered upon application made for that purpose. Burials of persons, not members of our religious society, may also take place in our burial grounds, provided they be, in all respects, conducted as the burials of friends are conducted [without a form. *Ed.*] but no meeting for worship is to be appointed on any such occasion. In both instances it is to be stated on the notes and in the register, that the individuals are not in membership with us. Friends are to exercise discretion in complying with any application that may be made in the before-mentioned cases.

“ Monthly meetings are in all cases to make a record on their minutes, of the names of those for whom birth and burial notes, or marriage registers have been produced: and when the record is of the birth or burial of any one who was not a member of our religious society, the same is to be briefly noticed in the minute. The friend who gives out the birth or burial note, is to notice such cases as are last described in the check which he keeps, and also to take care that the monthly meeting is informed of the circumstance when the note is produced.

“ In the case of any witness not being able to write, the affixing of his or her mark is to be attested by the signature of another person.

“ Monthly meetings are, previously to the Spring quarterly meeting in every year, to appoint a committee to examine the registers of marriages, births, and burials: which committee is to ascertain by examination of the monthly meeting minutes, and of the check mar-

gins of the notes, that all birth and burial notes given out by the friends appointed to that service have been delivered into the monthly meeting; and also by a comparison of the marriage registers, and of the birth and burial notes, as recorded on the minutes of the monthly meeting, with the register books, to ascertain that all marriages, births, and burials, have been duly and correctly registered; and also that the indexes at the ends of the respective register books are regularly kept up. The committee is also to make out a list of the said notes and registers, which list is to be signed on their behalf, and to be transmitted, together with the birth and burial notes and marriage registers enumerated in it, to the Spring quarterly meeting.

“The quarterly meeting is to deliver the said notes and marriage registers, to its registrar for preservation; and it is annually to appoint a committee to ascertain by an examination of its registers, that all marriage registers and birth and burial notes, enumerated in the lists sent in from the respective monthly meetings, are duly entered in the said registers, and that the indexes at the ends of the respective register books are kept up.

“Quarterly and monthly meetings are also to exercise a proper care that the indexes of all register books of former time are so complete, that there may be a ready reference to them in case of need. 1767.—1774.—1794.—1801.—1832.—1833.”

Such is the system of *Registration of marriages, births, and burials* in use among friends, the result of many years' experience and practice. There are directions of the Yearly Meeting equally specific and guarded, respecting property held in trust for the Society; and concerning *Wills*, and the duties of *Executors and administrators*.

These regulations not being my present object, any more than *Certificates of removal*, required when our members change their residence, I may here refer to the Code itself; only remarking that, if the woman change her residence by marriage, she becomes by that act being notified (and without certificate) a member of the monthly meeting to which her husband belongs.

It is proper however to apprise the reader, that the duty of keeping books of Record of whatsoever kind, and of giving out and receiving again on behalf of the monthly and quarterly meetings the forms required to be executed, is done gratuitously by friends appointed to the service; and in no case, except that of business done at the Society's Office in London, is any salary paid, or fee required. At marriages, the Clerk of the monthly meeting reads the certificate and takes the signatures; or if not convenient to him to attend, some friend conversant with the discipline, in his place. Birth and burial notes are applied for by the parties who desire them, and by them returned through the preparative meetings, or the friend who gave them out. There being no ceremony observed in the naming of children, no attendance is here required. At burials, the grave-digger is sufficiently rewarded for his labour to make the place worth asking for; and at marriages and burials both, a share of emolument usually devolves to the poor

friend, or other party, having the care of the premises; but nothing is claimed by him, on these occasions, *as of right*, he being otherwise provided for; yet, probably, no where is official duty more cheerfully or punctually discharged, than in this society.

There is a source of profit from the dead, much looked to I believe in the Establishment, and sometimes carried to a great pitch of extravagance, which we cut off entirely, by the following virtual prohibition of the Yearly Meeting.

GRAVE STONES AND MOURNING HABITS.

“ This meeting being informed, that friends in some places have gone into the vain custom of erecting monuments over the dead bodies of friends, by stones, inscriptions, &c. it is therefore the advice of this meeting, that all such monuments should be removed, as much as may be with discretion and conveniency; and that none be any where made or set up, near, or over the dead bodies of friends or others, in friends’ burying places for time to come. 1717.

“ This meeting being informed, that since the advice formerly issued, in order to excite friends to a proper regard to our testimony against grave stones, divers have accordingly been removed; and being desirous that the revival of this concern may be effectual, we earnestly recommend the removal of them may become general. 1766.

“ According to the primitive simplicity of friends, it is the advice of this meeting, that no friends imitate the world in any distinction of habit, or otherwise, as marks or tokens of mourning for the dead. 1717.

“ Advised against imitating the vain custom of wearing or giving mourning, and all extravagant expenses about the interment of the dead. 1724.

“ Having observed that, in imitation of a custom prevailing of late in this nation, divers under our religious profession have discouraged the female sex from attending the burial of their relations, by not inviting them thereto with the men; which is neither agreeable to the practice of our worthy predecessors, nor a decent token of respect, which, if health permits, it becomes both sexes to show for their deceased relations and friends, on these solemn occasions; we are therefore concerned to recommend that friends in general, and ministers, elders, and overseers in particular, would tenderly advise against any conformity amongst us, with the modern general custom of the world in this respect; as well as in that of putting on black, or any other garments approaching to that colour, by way of distinction on such occasions; which we as a people are well known to have always had a testimony against. 1782.” *Rules of discipline*, 1834: p. 70.

Respecting mourning habits, I have already published my opinion, that the ordinary dress of our members of both sexes (and with us, we see, both are expected to attend the funerals of their relations) is sufficiently grave to appear in, on any of the occasions of life; consequently that the ‘moral reason,’ for putting on a peculiar habit during the season of mourning for the dead, is not of force among us: see *Rees’ Cyclopædia*; article ‘Quaker:’—but there exists a difficulty not so easy to get over, in the case of letters announcing to survivors the decease of a relative or friend; the shock of surprise, that is sometimes experienced on such occasions, may well be spared them by some token on the outside: and *black wax* is here, I think, no superstition.

I shall be asked, and why not grave stones then? Christian reader! let me bespeak thy serious consideration of the following remarks—I am myself subject to this weakness (if such it be) of desiring that

the remains of those who were dear to me in life, may be suffered to mingle again with their original elements, undisturbed. I too, sometimes visit the graves of my fathers; and do not love the trouble of referring, on these occasions, to a plan of the ground, or to my pocket-book, to find the spot where each was laid. I remember to have been struck with the neatness and order of a little burial place of the Moravians, at Bristol, to whom I paid a visit in company with my friend Stephen Grellet. An inscription at the head of each grave indicated, in a uniform manner, *the initials of the name, and the date of the year*. Another at the foot pointed out the extent of the space allotted, as the last lodging place on earth, to each brother or sister; and if I mistake not, each mark was of wood—a sufficient security, methinks, against a perpetuity of monumental fame. Now I own, I think the practice of the *Unitas Fratrum*, on these occasions, preferable to that perfect levelling of even the little mound with the common surface, which obtains in some places among us. A memorial like this, *for the use of those whom it may concern*—a mere mark to find the place by, is surely another thing than *a monument* that bespeaks the attention of every passenger: and if it record facts for the information of posterity, may too commonly be taxed with telling lies also in favour of the deceased.—‘Here lies the great.’—‘False marble where?—Nothing but sordid dust lies there!’

I admire not, then, the sweeping Pharisaical ordinance which our book presents on the subject; and yet *something must be prescribed and settled by rule*; or we shall lie open to the invasions of selfishness and vanity, in this matter, in common with the world at large.—There is a respect due (and for nothing do we stickle more in other cases) from Society to the private judgment and personal feelings of each member. It may be very poetical, but it is not, methinks, just or reasonable to impose alike on all of us the sentiment—‘Thus let me live unheard, unknown; thus unlamented let me die; steal from the world and not a stone tell where I lie!’ *Ed.*

ART. III.—*Burying in Woollen enforced: Burial fees.*

“James Ecroyd son of John Ecroyd died in his childhood, and was interred in his father’s family Burying ground, *in his orchard at Briercliff*, 6th Mo. 4th, 1683.” Hereupon arose the following singular case of vexatious intolerance towards the parent. “In the latter end of the 6th Mo. 1683, Richard Whitchelqh, John Hargreaves, and Lawrence Thornber, Wardens, and Richard Swaine, Overseer, took from [me] John Ecroyd of Briercliff, a Kersey Piece and a Stone of Wool, worth £2 10s. (beside other goods returned again) by warrant from Thomas Bredwell called Justice, upon information of Robert Hartley of Burnley called curate, *for not making certificate upon oath of my child being buried in Woollen*.—Though it was told the said Thomas Bredwell, that information was given to one called a

a Minister, called James Hargreaves, unto whom, by right it did belong to receive the same; and also that my child was buried in Woolen. Yet *being nothing would satisfy but the oath*, and I could in conscience ask none to do it [or swear for me] distress was made as above. John Ecroyd." From the records of Marsden Monthly Meeting: S. Routh.

Burial fees: "At Wakefield Sessions the 5th of the 12th Month 1741: On an appeal brought by John Ledger and Sarah Rishton against the Order of Richard Witton and John Burton, Justices, who had granted Charles Zouch, Vicar of Sandal, a warrant of distress against them for *Burial fees*—with some previous proceedings by John Hill, who with Samuel Armetage and John Willson was appointed by our Monthly Meeting to assist the appellants.

"As soon as I was apprised of the nature of the case, that a Warrant of distress, dated Nov. 3rd, 1741, was out against the appellants, I waited on Charles Zouch several times, endeavouring to convince him of the unreasonableness and illegality of his demaunds; shewing him the precedents, and several Counsel opinions in our favour. But he persisting in his resolution to try the cause, I thought it necessary to give him the following notice which was settled by my Attorney: 'Take notice that we whose names are underwritten intend to appeal at the next Quarter Sessions of the peace, to be held by adjournment at Wakefield in and for the West Riding of Yorkshire, in the first whole week after Epiphany next, against the order of adjudication and warrant of distress granted against us at thy instance: Given under our hands this 5th day of December of the year 1741,

John Ledger,
Sarah Rishton.

Witness, John Hill.

"'To Charles Zouch, Vicar of Sandal, and one of His Majesty's Justices of the peace for the County of York.'"

[Then follows a letter to the prosecutor from John Hill, proposing to him, should he incline to cancel the Warrant, a time and place for meeting before the trial: to which Prosecutor replies in civil terms refusing the request, and alleging morning prayer, and want of time for the meeting: but adds, 'The demand I make is no more than what hath been all along generally paid, sometimes voluntarily, as I hope to make it appear: and as I think myself obliged in conscience to transmit down to my successors (as far as I lawfully may) the Rights of my Church undiminished, I think I shall be guilty of injustice towards them if I consent to this proposal.'

"On receipt of this letter, we who were appointed by our Monthly Meeting to assist the Appellants prepared for tryal; which by reason of other tryals in course before us could not be brought on till about five in the Evening, at the White Hart, where the Court sat by adjournment. The Justices were Richard Witton, Cavendish Nevile, Richard Gilpin Sawrey, and Will. Radcliff: of whom the first, (though he was one *who signed the Warrant* for Charles Zouch) had heretofore

given under his hand, *that in such a case as this nothing is due for burial fees.* And we being provided by our Friend William Hird with the original paper, put it into his hand just before y^e tryal came on: who perusing it with some seeming displeasure declared,—as we had done so, he would not meddle in the affair; and accordingly *declined acting as Chairman, or giving his judgment at last.*

“Our Counsel were John Stanhope and Richard Willson: Charles Zouch chose to plead his own cause. On y^e Tryal, y^e most material passages were to this purpose, as near as can be recollected by our Counsel on behalf of John Ledger and Sarah Rishton, who are of the people called Quakers and of Wakefield and Dewsbury parish: ‘We appeal to this Court against the order of the Justices for making a Levie on their goods for Burial fees, supposed to be due to Mr. Zouch, Vicar of Sandal, in which parish their deceased friend was laid, but in the Quakers’ burial-ground which their own friends hold.’

—*Charles Zouch*: ‘I object against the regularity of the notice given me: it ought to have been in ten days after signing of y^e Warrant, but this was longer; also it states the time of the Sessions in the first whole week after the Epiphany which is now past.’ *Counsel*. ‘The act of parliament makes no such restriction, for we have liberty to appeal even after the leaving the warrant: so it is absurd to suppose us restrained to any intermediate time. And as notice was given according to the usual course of the Sessions (the adjournment being an accidental circumstance) it is sufficient for us, as this is the first sessions after delivery of our notice. But if you will insist upon points we shall reply, and take such advantages as offer on our side: otherwise it is beneath us to aggravate matters, or to dwell upon circumstantial points. We rely upon the merits only, and say that Burial fees in this case are not due by Law.’ *Charles Zouch*: ‘The 1 Geo. 1. directs how the Clergy may receive all that is due to them by Law and custome, and this is due by custome. I take it for all burials in my parish, and I can prove that it hath been generally paid me for such corps as have been laide in the Quakers’ Burial-ground.’ *J Hill*: ‘It is not so: we deny it. (a)

“*Counsel*. ‘Admit what you say to be true, ’tis nothing to us what others have done: y^e pointe is what the Law obliges us to do. The Statute gives the power as to Tithes, rates and customary rights, which by Law and custom ought to be paid: *but the Vicar here did not duty,*

(a) Note. To refute what C. Z. says here, and also in his letter, some who had laid their dead in the ground were ready to prove that they never paid him any thing, and upon the strictest enquiry we find that he has only been paid voluntarily by two persons, who are not of our society, and whose friends were buried there by our permission. What he has had besides is very [in]considerable and obtained in a clandestine manner—as from Hannah Booth for three corps; for which he craftily persuaded one Shepard to pay 5s. 6d. for her, which money Shepard stopped of her by mere constraint the first time they reckoned—but our Counsel desired us to wave this point, as it would nothing avail our adversary, and replied [as above.]

and therefore can have no right to the fee. The Law allows no man wages where he doth not work: no custom can be good, that is in itself unreasonable—and so it has been determined in the King's bench time after time. Edward Topsal, parson of St. Botolphs, libelled against Sir John Ferrers, alleging that Sir John wife was buried in another church, yet as she died in his parish there was a burial-fee due to him by custome: whereupon for Sir John Ferrers a prohibition was prayed for by Serjeant Harris; and upon debate it was granted. For this custome (says the record) is against reason, for a man to pay twice for his burial! Again, Bourdeaux, a French protestant had his child baptised at the French church in the Savoy, [Strand] and Doctor Lancaster, vicar of St. Martins, libelled against him for fees; and a prohibition was moved for, and Livins argued it was an Ecclesiastical fee due by the Canon. But Lord Chief Justice Holl replied, 'nothing can be due of common right, and how can a Canon take money out of a Layman's pocket? Linwood says 'tis simony to take any [thing] for Christning or burying, unless it be a fee due by custom: but then a custom for any parson to take a fee for Christening a child, when he does not christen him, is not good—like the case in Hobart, where one dyes in one parish and is buried in another, the parish where he dyed shall not have a burial-fee. If you have a right to christen you should libel for that right, but you should not take money for christning when you do not.' We have also the opinion of several counsel in our favour. Lawyer Gibson, who was Recorder of Lancaster and well known to be a man of sound judgment gave the paper [now put in] under his hand:

“Clerk reads: ‘First, *quere*. Whether the Rector or Vicar of any parish hath a Legal right to any fees for marriages, christenings, or burials happening within their respective parishes, unless such Rector, Vicar, or other person authorised by them, actually do perform such service in such kind. *Answer*: I am of opinion that no fee can be due to the Rector either by canon or custom, for marriages, christenings, or burials, unless he actually performed the service: for the canon cannot subject the Laity to the payment of money, nor can they without performing the service [shew] any ground or consideration to support the custom. Second *quere*. If any Justices of the peace command before them any of the people called Quakers for refusing to pay the said fees, have they power to grant warrants to distrain for such fees jointly with small tythes, them distinguished from small tythes in the warrant, when such Quakers, after having been examined by the said Justices, and objecting against their proceedings, acquainted them they would not submit to such demands, but on the contrary defend themselves by Law. *Answer*: I think the justices have a jurisdiction in this matter; and if they err in their judgment by judging that to be due to the Rector, which upon the whole circumstances is not, the parties grieved may appeal to the Quarter Sessions: and if not redressed there may have the matter stated, upon the Session's order for a *Certiorari*, to the King's Bench. *Quere*, third, If after such notice

given, as above, and distress being made by Justice's warrant, will the same be justifiable and a sufficient authority for the Rector, Vicar, or other officer that executeth such warrant, to distrain for the said fees? If not, what remedy is most proper to be had and used in such a case—(against whom by name shall an action be brought on such distress) and by what way and means and in what manner can it be most readily and effectually obtained? *Answer*: The justices have a jurisdiction; the Rector and officers will be justified in executing the warrant of distress; and therefore think it most advisable for the parties against whom the judgment is, to appeal to the Quarter-sessions. And if the Justice there incline to affirm the judgment, to get the fact specially stated on the order, *particularly*, that the Rector or his Curate did not perform the duties for which the fee is demanded, and thereupon to bring a Certiorari and remove it to the Kings' Bench, to have the judgment of that Court. Robt. Gibeon 16 Sept. 1740.'

"Then the Court after a very short pause, seeming to ground chiefly on this that as no duty was done no fee was due, gave it for the appellants, to the general satisfaction of the auditory, town and country. Signed by us who were appointed by our monthly meeting to assist the appellants and attend the tryal, *John Hill, Samuel Armetage, John Willson*: Wakefield, y^e 5th of y^e 1st Mo. 1741."

ART. IV.—*A Brush for the Mantle* :

STANZAS returned to the lender with a MS. of '*The Mantle of Elijah*'—
a Jeu-d'Esprit written under the *Post-Pitt* administration.

Reader! Wouldst know the stuff that made
The mantle of the mighty shade

Whom Canning's proud to praise?
The warp was good, the weft was nought—
For still, still err'd his giant thought,

By evil days untaught,
And splendid failures, dearly bought!
The premier's eloquence, like wine,
Knew to intoxicate as well as shine.

Away, then, minor prophets all!
Stern FOX his country's seer I call,
Though Senates heard in vain
His warning, still believ'd too late;
While deeper plunged the toiling state:—

Let Senates mourn his fate,
And what is left of sober sense retain.
'Weave truth with trust:.' the motto's* good—
State stuff, thus wove, has ever stiffly stood! H.

* The Weaver's.

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PRO PATRI^A.

1834.

ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrines and practices of the Quakers.*

(Continued from p. 349 in Last Volume.)

A. D. PERSECUTION GENERALLY RENEWED, the *Declaration of In-1674-5. indulgence* having been *revoked*: See vol. ii, p. 339.

The king was brought to this act by the opposition of a party in Parliament, and by the representations of the French Court. In the *Commons* “Feb. 10th 1673, After a long and adjourned debate it was resolved, by a majority of 168 to 116, that ‘*penal statutes in matters Ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by Act of Parliament* ;’ and this resolution was embodied in an address presented to the king.” *Lingard*, vol. vii, p. 545.

Gough, the historian, says of this address :

“When they presented this remonstrance to the King, he defended his right to issue the declaration, by virtue of his acknowledged prerogative of supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, which he did not claim in matters of property or civil rights. But the Commons, having in their hands a stronger argument than words, viz. the power of granting money, the want of which only obliged the King to convene them, knew where their strength lay, and used it accordingly; resolving that the money bill should not precede the redress of grievances, of which they seemed to consider this declaration as the principal. The Commons appearing determined, the King gave up the contest, revoking the declaration, and breaking the seal with his own hands.

“The conduct of the Commons in this case hath procured the general voice of our historians in their favour, and it must be acknowledged that they acted consistently with their duty in opposing the infringement of the constitution. That

in the present contest they acted a more manly and honourable part than in those preceding on the like subject in 1662, and as late as 1668; as proceeding upon sounder and more universal principles. Yet, as the King's apparent inclination to have the Dissenters exempted from penal laws would have merited praise, if it had been sincere, and attempted in a legal way, so the opposition of the parliament would have been entitled to the claim of greater merit, if it had not originated with many of them in an aversion to the principle of the declaration, (impunity to the nonconformists) as much as in the grounds upon which it was published; and if they had not laid the foundation for this contest in the various penal laws, which, under the influence of party pique, they had undeservedly enacted and revived, and on all occasions manifested a determined enmity to all dissenters from the established religion. For if they had not an aversion to the principle of the declaration, they had now a fair opportunity of legalizing it, by converting it into an act of parliament." *History*, vol. ii, p. 373.

But it was an age (as Lingard very justly remarks) *in which religious antipathy exercised an unbounded influence over the judgments of men.* Take the following cases for example, and in proof of the fact of 'renewed persecution' above stated.

Bedfordshire: 1675. By an order of a Sessions held at Shefford on the 8th of the month called April this year, prosecutions were carried on afresh, especially in the parish where Justice *Keeling* dwelt, whose authority influenced inferior officers to act beyond their inclinations. From William Rogers, a wheelwright, they took his working tools [and this] not for want of other goods.—Another zealot in this work was George Blundell of Cardington, a justice of the peace, who seeing the people unwilling to buy distrained goods, said he would *sell a cow for a shilling*, rather than the work should not go forward.—From four Friends of this county *taken at a meeting in Bucks* (and fined, and certified to Sir John Charnock) were taken goods worth £24 4s.; for fines amounting to £13 15s. (a)

Berks: 1675. William Dobson was prosecuted in the Exchequer, and sent to prison on the 6th Sept. this year, where after 20 months' confinement he died.—He had besides taken from him, at the suit of Ralph Whistler his prosecutor, goods worth £156, for five or six years' tithe of a farm, the Yearly value of which had been formerly estimated at £4. At Reading *Sir W. Armorer* was active, as in former time; and in concert with the Mayor sent many friends to prison for meeting; treating them with great inhumanity. Seven friends, of New Windsor, were taken to Reading gaol, and kept five years close prisoners, on a *Writ de capiendo*, for trivial Ecclesiastical demands, amounting to but 12s. 1d. among them all. (b)

Bristol, where so great cruelties had been acted, from some cause was now permitted six years' enjoyment of meetings in quietness. (c)

Cambridgeshire: 1675. John Prime of Willbrum, at the suit of Thomas Witham, priest, had his household goods and other things taken by distress to the value of £74, for a demand of three years' tithe for a farm of but £22 per annum rent. The same Friend in 1676 suffered distress of two-thirds of his Estate, by Exchequer process for absence from the *national worship*, to the amount of £88.

George Friend, informed against by Edward Swanton, priest, for being at a meeting at Lakenheath, had all his goods taken from him, and himself with his wife and children obliged to lodge on straw, in the cold of winter. *The goods taken were carried to the informing priest's house.* (d)

Cheshire; 1675. Several distresses were made by warrants from Jeffery Shackerly, Governor of Chester Castle, on complaints of three informers, who made much spoil. Ten or twelve widows, who had many fatherless children,

(a) Besse, i, 9, 10. (b) Idem. p. 32. (c) Idem. p. 53. (d) Idem. p. 96, 97.

were bereft of all their goods, till they had not a skillet left to boil their children's food in.—John Daniel of Dansbury [styled Justice!] caused to be taken by distress from Thomas Briggs and others, to the value of £116 15s. 10d. in kine and horses, which the Justice kept, working them as his own; and also took to his own use their household goods, and other provision. (e)

Cumberland: 1673. Thomas Bewley of Haltcliff-hall, aged about seventy-eight, was prosecuted by Arthur Savage, priest of Coldbeck, for £3 'Prescription money' [what is this?] and had taken from him his feather-bed, bedclothes, and a cupboard worth £5. The hardship of the poor old man's case so affected the neighbourhood with compassion, that when the bailiff exposed these goods to sale, nobody would buy them at any rate. Whereupon the priest sued the bailiff, and made him pay both his demand and his costs.—The next year, the same priest again prosecuted the said Thomas Bewley for tithe of wool, lambs, &c. and sent him to prison: and in 1676, sent to prison, to be company for his elder brother (who had already lain there two years) Thomas, son of the aforesaid Thomas Bewley.—By the same person on an Exchequer process were also imprisoned, in 1676, four other Friends, two of them widows with six children apiece. A part of the priest's ruinous policy being, in all probability, *by this means to burthen the rest*; who were sure to support the families, while they were able. (f)

Dorset; 1674. Sixteen individuals being distrained upon in this and the preceding year, for meeting, and their goods taken to the value of £97, we have the following remarks. After mention of a strange piece of inhumanity on the part of the Justice, in kicking and striking with his dog-whip 'an innocent woman,' it is added; 'The like fury possessed one of the informers, who coming to make distress cut the arm of Henry Hodges to the bone. Another, clerk to one of the Justices, wished the quakers locked up in their meeting house and fire set to it, saying, *He believed it doing God good service to kill them.* Such wolves as these worried the poor sheep of Christ at their pleasure.' Yet, 'so firm and constant were these people in their religious assemblies to worship God, that by frequent execution of such warrants many of them were impoverished, and their *whole substance* made a prey to merciless *Informers.*' (g)

Gloucestershire: 1675. "For meetings at or near Cirencester, in the month called May this year, Sir John Guise, a justice of the peace, issued his warrants for distress against John Timbrel, Richard Bowly [and twelve other Friends here named] and on the 16th of the same month John Cripps and Jacob Hewlings [see vol. i, p. 85] were fined for the like pretended offence. The constable to whom these warrants were directed was not forward to execute them: whereupon Sir John Guise, on the 3rd of the next month, sent for him and threatened him, that if he did not levy the fines by the 10th of that month he would proceed against him for neglect of duty. But the justice's purpose was prevented; for in returning home *that day* from Cirencester, he quarrelled with another man and was run through the body with a rapier. By means of this desperate wound, the necessary care for his own life diverted him from pursuing other men's ruin." (h)

Hants: 1675. "For a meeting held at Newport, [Isle of Wight,] on the 24th of Sept. this year, Frederick Perdue, a poor boatman, having a wife and six small children, had taken from him by the Mayor's order two great boats with all their tackle, and also his household goods; *the Town-serjeant charging the officers to leave neither bed, dish nor spoon.* And it was with much difficulty they were dissuaded from taking away the bed his wife then lay on, being at that time near her delivery of a child, and having women attending her." (i)

Herts: 1675. The Constables of Buntingford, terrified by a blustering informer, entered the house of George Gates [of whom hereafter] breaking open

(e) Besse, p. 106. (f) Idem. p. 132. (g) Idem. p. 170, 171.

(h) Idem. p. 218. (i) Idem. p. 236.

locks and doors; and for a fine of £20, laid on him for a meeting house of which he was neither Owner nor Occupier, took away his goods to the value of £46.

1676. Robt. Cooper of Cheshunt was imprisoned for Tithes at the suit of Robert Winchestly, priest. The prosecutor gave order to keep him close, and not let him go into the town for any refreshment. His friends pleading that he was a poor man, and had a wife and many children, the Priest returned this answer, 'If his children starve, 'tis none of my concern: he shall lie there and rot: I will have no more mercy on him than on a thief: if the Law would hang him, I would: *Tithe is my due and I will have it.*' (k)

Herefordshire: 1676. For an account of a persecution acted for near half a year together (under Clerical influence) upon the Friends of Hereford at their meetings, see *Gough*, vol. ii, 422, and the Sufferings. (l)

Huntingdonshire: 1675. "On the 14th of the Month called June, several persons who attended the Interment of Robert Falkner in the Burying ground at Somersham, were fined on the evidence of two Informers, *who swore it to be a Conventicle*: The amount of the sums taken by distress on that occasion [one third to the informers] was £87 7s." The sum of £70 appears to have been taken this year in various other fines for Meetings.

1676. "On the 23rd of the month called April, for a meeting at Amy Peacock's in Erith, where George Whitehead preached [several were fined; two of them £10 each] and William Pryor, a young man of Somersham, being fined 5s., the officers came when he was in bed, and took away all his clothes except one stocking. He being poor was obliged to borrow clothes to wear, *till by his industry he could repair the loss.*" (m)

Kent: 1675. At a Meeting at the house of Nathanael Owen in Sevenoaks, the informers by the Justice's order pulled down John Abraham, then preaching, and dismissed him; seizing however his horse, and two others belonging to a poor man, Samuel Green, which were ordered to be sold. They fined Nathanael Owen 20l. for his house, and 7l. for the pretended poverty of the preacher (and in his stead) though he had told them he had an estate of his own, at Manchester. *For those fines the said Nathanael Owen suffered distress of Linen and Woollen cloth, and other goods out of his house and warehouse, to the value of 77l. 8s. 3d.*—In the same year, for refusing to bear arms, John Baker, John Harvy, Thomas Elgar, George Girdler, Richard Russel, Abel Burroughs, John Mainard, and Luke Howard, *for fines amounting to 9l. 7s. 6d. had their goods taken by distress to the value of 46l.*—Also Thomas Clarenbole and Richard Perry were imprisoned on writs *de excommunicato capiendo* for refusing to pay to the repairs of their Parish-church, so called. (n)

I have now gone through about half the counties and places, from whence the accounts of Sufferings recorded in my author were sent up. I might enlarge this extract beyond due limits by taking cases from the remainder; and still leave a great mass of evidence in these years untouched. We may find a future occasion of citing Besse, from *Kent* forward. What is now brought before the Reader may suffice to shew, that it was no longer the mere reckless overbearing insolence of a party newly restored to political existence, but in addition, the cool calculating malice of the priesthood; *purposing utterly to impoverish and thus to overthrow the rising Sect*, whose proceedings threatened the ruin of the craft of Babylon, in the hands of these hypocrites. But the sufferers were not thus to be quelled: the more they were trampled on, the more (like the lowly but most useful herbage) they spread and grew—their Testimony survived them, and descended to after generations; and it

(k) Besse, p. 251. (l) Idem. p. 259. (m) Idem. p. 266, (n) Idem. p. 205.

is now becoming a serious question with the country, whether it shall not in effect be adopted and prevail; to the establishing of A FREE MINISTRY OF THE WORD OF GOD among us,—the only state of things consistent with the terms in which the blessed Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was originally proclaimed to mankind!

A. D. 1676. *Barclay's Apology published.*

The Title at length is, 'An Apology for the true Christian divinity, as the same is held forth and preached by the people called in scorn Quakers; being a full explanation and vindication of their principles and doctrines, by many arguments deduced from Scripture and right reason, and [by] the testimonies of famous authors both ancient and modern: with a full answer to the strongest objections usually made against them: Presented to the King: Written and published in Latin for the information of strangers, by Robert Barclay; and now put into our own language for the benefit of his Countrymen.' The texts affixed as a motto are. Acts xxiv, 14: Tit. ii, 11-14: 1 Thes. v, 21.

The Apology was preceded by the fifteen *Propositions* which it treats, in Latin under the title of *Theses Theologicæ*. These were first separately addressed in print (and in English) as follows, 'To the Clergy of what sort soever, unto whose hands these may come; but more particularly to the Doctors, Professors, and Students of Divinity in the Universities and Schools of Great Britain, whether Prelatical, Presbyterian or any other, Robert Barclay, a servant of the Lord God, and one of those who in derision are called Quakers, wisheth unfeigned repentance [of their error and prejudice, we may presume to be intended] unto the acknowledgment of the Truth.' They were next expanded, in the manner described in the Title, into the present work; which being attacked by an author of the name of John Brown, in a book entitled, 'Quakerism the pathway to Paganism,' the author published a *Vindication* of his Apology; contained in eighteen Sections, and half as large as the work itself.

The date of the address to Chas. 2nd prefixed to the Apology, runs thus, 'From Ury in my native country of Scotland, the 25th of the month called November in the year 1675:': but the work was not, probably, before the *public* until some time in the following year; *which was the 28th of the author's age*. When we consider this so early production of so elaborate a performance, we may very well allow to the author the praise of industry;—and a perusal of it will oblige every competent judge to add to this the further meed of adequate reading and research. It is not for me, in this place, to enter into a full consideration of its merits—they are long since sufficiently admitted to be safe from future depreciation. I have no doubt, however, that had it pleased God to allot to the author a term of years, equal to the common maturity of human life, he would in many parts have been found greatly to exceed himself, as he now appears to us, by the addition of the maturer fruits of doctrinal experience to this product of a vigorous understanding, enlightened by the Gospel and subject to its power, in early youth.

The Apology shews to some disadvantage, now, by the side of other systematic vindications of our Principles and Testimonies, from the great change that has taken place in some of the main subjects of the controversy. And there is found, interwoven with some of its original and more important arguments, the *Platonizing doctrine* of Barclay's intimate friend (and in that day associate in Religious labour) *George Keith*. I am myself fully convinced, that the *Scriptural* consistency of the work was by these additions impaired—yet, that Barclay's argument in favour of *Universal and Saving light and grace* will stand without them. I must refer the Reader, on this subject, at once to a little piece published for the first time in my present volume (see p. 4–15) after having been distributed privately to a number of Friends. It is a posthumous work of a near and beloved relative; and is as such commended to the close and serious attention of every friend to Truth. The same Relative joined me, in the year 1818, in revising, and carefully comparing page by page with the Apology, an *Abridgment* of this important work, of which a second Edition was about to be published, by our late Friend *George Harrison*. With the exception of a single passage 'concerning the present Magistrates of the Christian world,' omitted in dissent from our united judgment, in the conclusion of Sect. xv, I can recommend on our joint behalf this useful (and now pretty extensively circulated) shorter vindication of our faith and practice, to the use of the Christian Reader. *Ed.*

ART. 11.—*Remarks on Scripture Passages.*—Continued.

Mark i, 12, 13. This passage of the temptation in the wilderness contains but a general intimation and, as it were, a short note for the historian's future use, of what was not afterwards (that we know of) written out *by Mark* in full. But it has in it one circumstance, which does not appear in either of the Evangelists besides, who have treated the same subject. Jesus, it seems, 'was with the wild beasts:' he was exposed to some natural dangers, as well as to the hardship of a long fast—for the perfecting, as we may reasonably suppose, of his natural courage, as well as of his faith. This part transpired, and came to Mark's knowledge; but might not enter into that circumstantial and more important account of the events, which Christ undoubtedly gave before Matthew after his return. The mention of this one appendage, however, of the temptation suffices to place the *scene* of it really 'in the wilderness;' as far from human society *in place* as in imagination. Comp. Matt. iv.

Ver. 15. 'Repent ye and believe the Gospel'—to-wit the message from God, then undoubtedly preached also more at large. I believe it may be best for future scribes, who may have to revise our version, to retain the term *Gospel*, though it be not the literal rendering of the Greek *eu-angelion*—glad tidings. We might render the first syllable of this word in a variety of ways, and make the message *good, joyful,*

fair, beneficent, &c. but our own Saxon, God's *spel* [or word] contains an abundance of meaning. The word or message *brought and preached* at the first by Christ and his Apostles, *heard* by the men of those ages, *read* by us, now; and *spelled* before we are able to read it: for so early should the child now receive it.

Ver. 27. 'What thing is this—what new doctrine is this? For with authority commandeth he even the unclean spirits, and they do obey him.'

The exclamation has reference, not to his doctrine but, to an act of spiritual rule. I should conceive it better rendered, What new *discipline* is this, &c. agreeably to the use of that word for correction elsewhere: See Judges viii, 16.

Ver. 39. 'And he preached in their synagogues throughout all Galilee; and cast out devils.'

What a train of even outward benefits (if indeed we may account this kind outward) attended the ministry of Christ in person! But in addition to the healing of the sick, and rescuing many from the actual possession of the spiritual enemy, it should seem that *the forgiveness of their sins uniformly accompanied the blessing*. Israel had outward afflictions, to be endured in this present world, early declared to them as the chastisement of their sins: and in the removal of the one was included the remission of the other. But so as that the state of probation continued still; and they might yet fall away. See Ps. ciii, 3: Matt. ix, 2-8, xii, 43-45: Luke xi, 24.

Ver. 45, and Chap. ii, Ver. 4. The act of breaking up the roof, to get into the house by force, may serve to show the nature of the danger, because of which Christ could not for some days before enter into Capernaum. It was the excessive curiosity and rudeness of a multitude, strongly excited by new and strange events: there would have been danger to the inhabitants and their property, as well as to his own person. I believe that few of us, habituated as we are to these narratives from our childhood, realize to our minds in reading them, the extremely irksome and dangerous character of the kind of ministry then exercised by our Lord and his disciples. It is almost needless to add, that nothing short of 'the power of God unto salvation' could have encountered these trials.

Chap. iii, 31-35. Here was a continuance of the same officious care of our Lord's person which shows itself in verse 21. He was concerned for the spiritual welfare of those about him, and the interruption being unseasonable, it is put by: yet is the occasion taken, for treating of that spiritual relation and unity which he came to establish, among those who should believe in and receive him.

iv, 11, 12. The sense of the prophecy in Isaiah, Ch. vi, ver. 9, is used here, in the way of application. The people of that age had complained, as it seems, that they *could not understand* the plain reproofs and denunciations, which came through the prophet from the Most High. The message then was, 'Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not? Make [then] the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest

they [now] see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart; and convert and be healed.' Our Lord here turns it against the people *without*; those who, not believing on him as the *Sent of God*, followed him only from curiosity, and for the sake of the outward benefits they might expect through him—including a temporal kingdom and deliverance from their state of subjection to the Romans. In all this, I see nothing of the predestination of so large a part of God's peculiar (outwardly gathered) people to everlasting damnation.

Verse 24. 'And he said unto them, Take heed what ye hear: for, &c.' This is as if they were to refuse a part—but I take the meaning to be, 'Take heed *how*, or consider well *what*, ye hear'—with a period after it.

vi, 6, 7, 30. Jesus, having sent forth the twelve, is left by the text going round about the villages teaching. The mission of the twelve seems to have been to the more distant towns and places; that the whole country might hear the Gospel at that season. Thus should they be occupied, whose place it is to oversee the lives and labours of others: they should be engaged meantime in the work, *themselves*.

Ver. 45–52. This miracle of walking on the sea is one of the few which appear to have been wrought by Christ, simply with a view to display his all-sufficient might, and confirm the faith of his disciples. There were probably circumstances, or indications in the weather, &c. which made the disciples impatient to get their Master on board, and be gone: but he obliges them to go without him, while he deliberately finishes his service on shore; then shews them how safely they might have waited his time, at the first. The whole is a sublime lesson of faith; and which it seems they needed, the recent miracle of the loaves notwithstanding.

vii, 27. 'It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it unto the dogs.' *Purver* has rendered it (somewhat ludicrously) 'puppies' because the Gr. noun is a diminutive. It means, doubtless, the little dogs kept to guard the house, *within*.

Ver. 34. 'And looking up to heaven he sighed, and saith unto him, *Ephphatha*.' Here is a silent and inarticulate prayer of Christ himself; in company, and probably also *in the closest sympathy*, with a dumb person. This is remarkable in itself, and affords moreover great encouragement, to those who feel that they cannot put their devout desires into suitable words, still to offer up the sigh to God the Father, in the spirit of the Son; and in the faith and hope that in this exercise he is with them!

viii, 24. 'And he looked up and said, I see men, as trees walking.' A definition of upright bodies in motion; to which if he could have applied his hand, as while still blind, he would have known whether they were men or trees. The blind take some time, after sight has been given them *by couching*, to learn by the joint application of sight and feeling the real figures and magnitudes of objects. But here, the further extension of Divine help made this experience superfluous; and at the second touch he saw objects clearly, or with a full understanding of their parts and properties.

Ver. 35-37. One and the same term, *psuché*, is here used in the Greek for both 'life' and 'soul,' as they appear in our version. It is clear from the value of the thing expressed, in verses 36 and 37, that the mere natural life of man cannot be intended. I think we may take the term *psuché* in the different acceptations it will admit of, thus: In verse 35, in the two former instances ('life') of the natural life—in the two latter ('it') of the life to come; the being which will follow the resurrection unto life. But in verses 36, 37, of the soul itself; the part which lives, here and hereafter. Thus, in this important passage, we have the same Greek word taken *necessarily*, in three different senses in translating. Let it be considered, that our Lord spake in *Syriac*, and that his words are reported in Greek, by one who was not an ear-witness of the discourse, and we shall be disposed I think, to admit all three senses. In the parallel passage, Luke ix, 25, we have the meaning clear, as to what the man who thus gained the whole world should *lose*: it is '*himself*;' which would leave him in no capacity to use or enjoy his vast acquisition.

Mark ix, 5. The word here translated 'tabernacles' does not necessarily imply any thing beyond a *tent*, or temporary shelter from the weather; but I believe most readers connect with the term (as I once used to do) something of a *religious* nature; as if sacrifices were to be offered there to the three persons named.

Ver. 15. 'All the people, when they beheld him, were greatly amazed:'—probably at the still glorious appearance of the person and dress of Jesus. But we see that he takes no account of their emotion; but proceeds at once to further duty, in making up for a lamentable want of faith in his disciples left behind.

Mark x, 17-22. This was not a case of infirmity or urgent need, but a desire, on the part of a diffident and rich young man, to converse with Christ. Accordingly we find him watching his opportunity to meet him as he went abroad, rather than intrude on his privacy at home. In Ver. 20 he shows his politeness, in not repeating the epithet 'good,' which Jesus had rejected, before.

Ver. 50. 'Casting away his garment'—probably a heavy cumbrous cloak, that might serve him to *lodge* as well as beg in. Ver. 51. 'Lord' is not the proper rendering for *Rabboni*, the term used here, meaning *Master* in the superlative; or Very reverend Sir! or, May it please your Excellency! A piece of adulation which they who profess to open men's eyes, in Christ's behalf, are not yet (it seems) tired of—the great Master's example, who refused to be styled Good, notwithstanding.

Mark xiii, 13. 'But he that shall endure to the end, the same shall be saved.' Saved, not from his share in the troubles, in which even his own martyrdom might early happen; but from the future miserable state of 'the fearful and unbelieving;' and so received into the rest of God's elect.

Ver. 14. 'Let him that readeth understand.' This seems a parenthesis, for the benefit of those interested in the warning. They were to take the sign and intimation, but not to make a noise about it; which might defeat God's purpose as to themselves.

Mark, vi, 3. This anointing of the head of Jesus was probably the service that was more peculiarly wanting to his outward comfort, and decent appearance, at the time.—The climate and their manner of going uncovered should be had regard to. He was now about to be brought before his judges, of which thing some presentiment doubtless existed in the breast of the woman who did the act. The costliness of the kind of oil used was what raised the objection; not the anointing. Ver. 9. The prophecy of the woman's memorial, for this act of kindness, is fulfilled (we may observe) as oft as 'this gospel' is read by any of us now. *Ed.*

ART. III.—*An Epistle of George Fox on the subject of proceedings in order to Marriage.*

The following Epistle may serve to conclude the series of documents presented to the Reader, on the subject of which it treats. I have printed it *verbatim* from a MS. in my possession (contained in a book to which I have already referred, as having belonged to the Peningtons) probably nearly as ancient as the advice itself. It exhibits further proof, both of the very early care exercised by our honourable Elder respecting Friends' marriages, and of the existence of disorders (before the general establishment of meetings for discipline) requiring such controul on the part of the new Society. The reader will find here, 1. The peculiar style and manner of Fox, more largely exemplified than before in this work: 2. His usual appeal to the doctrine of the New Testament, and to the immediate movings of the Holy Spirit, for his authority to make such regulations: 3. A distinction, sufficiently clear, between the non-observance of days superstitiously set apart, and the observance of stated days of meeting, in Gospel order: 4. The greater part of the points of order since insisted on among us: as, the care of the body through meetings of discipline—the full publicity of the proceedings of the parties—the securing consent of parents, and rights of children by any former marriage—the presence of a competent number of witnesses at the marriage, and the execution of a proper certificate at the time: Lastly, a more particular description of the nature and extent of the abuses requiring the interference of the Men's and Women's meetings in the case, than I have met with elsewhere. The latter should obtain serious attention among us: for the adoption of our mode of procedure by other people may hereafter give occasion to irregularities, for which we might become, as a society, in some measure responsible—and the more the remedy is made known, along with the danger, the better. I have made the punctuation clearer, by adding the *semicolon*; which the scribe no where uses. *Ed.*

“To all the Elect, and chosen of God in Christ Jesus before the foundation of the world.

“Friends and brethren, It lyes upon me from the Lord, to write unto you the following lines.

“ First, I was sent out by the Lord God in his Eternal light and power to preach the word of life, which was before the word of death, and to turn people to the light which was before darkness, and the power of it. That all might be reconciled to God by the Word, and that all might believe in the Light; which is the life in Christ the Word; and so become children of the Light; and to know Christ the Author of their faith, and their faith to stand in him, who is the Author and finisher of it,—and to turn people to the spirit, which they had quenched, vexed, grieved, and rebelled against, that in that holy spirit they might see [which was] before the spirit of error was; and that in the spirit they might know God and Christ, and the scriptures, which were given forth from it; and that in the same spirit they might all have fellowship one with another, and with the Father and the Son,—and so to preach the everlasting gospell, the power of God, (which was before the devill was,) that brings Life and immortality to Light, in all that do receive it, that they might see over him that had darkened them: which gospell I received not of man, nor by man, but by the Lord Jesus Christ, by his holy spirit sent from heaven. And so after I had received this and preached it, and many thousands were come into it, in several places of the nation, then by the same power and spirit and light, I was moved to set up the mens monthly and quarterly meetings, and the womens meetings.

“ So that all, in the power of God, the gospell, which was before the devill was, and in the light before darkness was, and all in the holy spirit, before the unholy spirit was, that they might be all in their possessions of the light, spirit and power of God, and therein to keep this heavenly order of the gospell; being heirs of Christ, and of his government, of the increase whereof there is no end. Which gospell order is over all the orders of Adam in the fall, or amongst the Apostates from the gospell the Apostles were in; and will stand, the power of God, the gospell, when they are gone.

“ So that all the heires of life and grace, and heires of the gospell, might be in their possession, and keep in it, in the power before the fall was: and in this no Apostacy can come. So here in this power of the gospell, has all their Liberty, and all has unity, and all has liberty in the spirit, and unity in the Light, and unity in the faith, that Jesus Christ is the Author of: so that we may see him and his government, which is over the government of Adam in the fall, for he was before old Adam was, and will be when he is gone.

“ And so that all might be in the possession of Christ, and as they have received him, so to walk in him, the heavenly and spirituall man, of the increase of whose government there is no end: but there will be an end of old Adams. Now friends, whosoever shall come, under what pretence soever, to alter these meetings or to deny, or speak against the men and womens meetings, it is the spirit of confusion and opposition, which would be seeming to do something, yet its work is to disquiet the simple minds, and it is the very same spirit with John Perrot; and mark his end, and their end, and such as joyæ with it. Ffor it is against the power of God, in which the order is, and the eternall spirit and light, in which the men and womens meetings were set up; in which all things should be fastned, and is fastned [bound and loosed, see Matt. xviii, 18] in the light [which was] before the darkness was, and in the power of God [which was] before the devill was, and in the holy spirit [which was] before the unclean spirit was, and will stand when he is gone. Therefore in it keep your possessions in the power of God, and in his light and spirit, that you may know the mountain of the Lord established above all mountains. And they are none but loose spirits, and such as tends to loosnes, that stand against the men and womens meetings; though it may come under pretence to set up a better way, or under pretence only to alter them to another day, and it may pretend their fear of the corrutions of observing a day. All this is but from a corrupt spirit of darkness, which God will blast; for we put no holines in the usuall and constant dayes, of monthly and quarterly meetings.

“ Ffor I would have them all to know, that they who be heires of the Gospell,

and of [God in] Christ Jesus, are redeemed out of dayes, and out of the Jewish, and Apostate Christians holy-dayes, to God by Christ, who made all dayes and every thing good; and their eyes are to the supernaturall day of Christ, and they are the children of his day. And that is a creeping spirit, that would go to alter the usuall and constant meeting dayes, under pretence to prevent people from the corruptions of observing a constant day, or under a pretence of keeping people out of a forme; and so would father their deceit upon God. Ffor them who be in the possession of the power, by which all true formes, and all things are upheld, (which word and power gives form and being to all things) and all they that are in it, are above all such things, and judges all such dark spirits. And they that be in the observation of dayes, they are not heires of the power, nor of Christ before dayes were; and such cannot sit in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, to do his churches busines. So I say, that after people were turned to the light, power and spirit of God, and they all come into the Light, power and spirit of God, all such are to make up the men and womens meetings, and in it to feel the wisdom of God, by which all things were made and created, and with it to be ordered, and to order all things to Gods glory: so that wisdom may be justified of her children. Now concerning laying all marriages before the mens and womens meetings. Some have maliciously said this is not as was in the beginning, and so makes a jumble and troubles the minds of the simple: but you will see this spirit is that loose spirit, that opposes the power of God, and is to be reproved: for in 1653, severall friends came to me concerning marriages, and to know what they should do in that case.

“And I waited upon the Lord and saw in his eternall Light, that all that did marry they might lay [it] before some faithfull friends; in the wisdom of God that they might see into it. These were my words then, as in a paper of mine given forth that year may be seen; and after the faithfull did see into it, and the thing were clear and they found clear from all others, and all was satisfied, then they might declare it in the end of a meeting, and to the Justices or at market-cross if they would, or as they were moved, that was left to them; and if things were not found clear by the faithfull, that they might stay till the General county meeting; and when all things were clear that they might appoint a meeting on purpose for the accomplishing of their marriage, and their relations of the world might come to it, if they would. At which meeting not to be under 12 of the faithfull friends, which might be witnesses, and as many more as they pleased. And this continued for severall years; but few laid it before the faithfull friends, in the wisdom of God to see into the thing, that they were clear from all others, and that the relations were satisfied, or before the Justices or at market-cross either, but sometimes spoke of it at the end of a meeting, contrary to the approbation of the faithfull, and contrary to their relations; and sometimes bringing their marriage with one of the world into friends meetings, and sometimes they would say they could not tell where to go, to get some faithfull friends in the wisdom of God to have a meeting upon it. So that things grew to be so loose, and some so careless, that sometimes it bred disquietness, betwixt parents and children, and amongst friends; for many times some would mingle with the world, and stand up, and take one another in friends meetings. Nay, sometimes the loose ones of the world would stand up and take one another in friends meetings, friends not knowing who they were nor whence they came, of purpose to save their money, which the priest would ask for marrying of them: neither were there in many places, any registers, or certificates made of such things. And when I was moved to go round the nation, to set up the men and womens meetings, or to write to those places where I could not go, that all the faithfull might keep their meetings in the power of God, and in it to be settled and established; and that all marriages might be laid before the men and womens meetings, who was in the wisdom of God and in the possession of his gospell order, who had the care of the church of Christs busines, that they in the wisdom of God might look into it, and see, that

they were clear from all other persons, and that their relations were satisfied, and so that they might come together to the men and womens meetings. First to the women, that if the women might know any thing by the woman, that it might be stopt there, and never come so far as the men; and so that they might lay it before the mens and womens meetings and wait till the next monthly meeting, to see if any thing might be found betwixt the meetings; that so they might declare it before some particular persons and might have a meeting upon it, before the next men and womens monthly or quarterly meetings; and so to make all things clear, that Gods unspotted truth might not be blemished. And all things being found clear, at their second coming to the men and womens meetings, they might then appoint a meeting of faithfull friends, not under 12, but as many above that number as they would, with as many of the world and their relations as they would, where they might take one another before God and his people; and the faithfull friends then present to be witnesses thereof, and subscribe to a certificate with their names, and the day and year when it was accomplished: and if he or she came out of another county, they might bring a certificate of their clearnes, from that monthly or quarterly county meeting unto which they did belong. So that all things might be done in truth and righteousnes; for marriage is honourable in all, the bed being undefiled; for it is Gods joyning and not mans in the restoration, as it was before the fall; and we marry none but are witnesses of it. And if they be widows and have children, before their marriage be concluded the men and womens meetings are to see into it, and that which her former husband did order or leave for his children by will or deed, or otherwise was in his mind, is to be ordered for his children, according to equity and truth, before their marriage be concluded. Now a great deal of trouble about these things we had, before the men and womens meetings were established, and the marriages coming before them to be ordered in the wisdom of God, and things were done loosely as before is said, being not done as was at first ordered; not being laid before the faithfull friends, in the wisdom of God to see into it. And therefore now that excuse is generally taken away from all; they cannot say now that they cannot tell where to find a meeting of the faithfull, to lay their marriages before them, before they declare it in their common publick meetings. Now that the men and womens meetings are settled in the power of God, to look after the churches affairs, and all knows where they may be found, at certain days, times and places, to lay it before them as before is mentioned. And that they goes together in the truth and power of God, will lay their marriages before them that be in the same truth and power of God, So that all things may be done in truth love and unity, and purenes and cleanes and holynes, to the praise and glory of God. And all whosoever they be that opposes this gospell order, are loose spiritts out of the power of God, and their work tends to loosnes and to draw into a loose liberty, under a deceitfull pretence of keeping people out of forms. So the same power and spirit that directed all marriages to be laid before the faithfull at the first, when there was but few friends in many parts of the nation and no mens nor womens meetings—I say, the same power of God that did convince friends at the first, the same power and spirit set up the mens and womens meetings, that they might be in the possession of the gospell, the power of God, and its order. And the same power and spirit of God set up our order of our marriages in our men and womens meetings; and that all are to speak first to the parents and have their consent, before they draw out the affections of the daughter; and this order is settled by the power of God, in all the men and womens meetings; for many formerly did speak to neither father nor mother, till they had drawn out and entangled the affections of the daughter, and that brought great troubles and discontent upon the Parents and among friends. And therefore this is to be enquired into, in the men and womens meetings, where the marriages are to be spoken of. So as friends come to truth, which the Devill is out of, and the power of God before the Devill was, all being heirs of life and the gospell and heires of

Christ, I say, take your possession of life, and come into the order of life, and into the order of the gospell; and then you will all have a witness in yourselves, and will say with me, your order is not of man nor by man, but it is by Jesus Christ and his gospell order, and of his government, of the increase whereof there is no end. And so all be faithfull, keeping in your possessions, and in your inheritances, in that where no Apostacy can come. For I must tell you there is the same spirit stirring, if it could prevail, that would lay waste Gods heritage, and bring you out of your possessions, that it might rule over you. But if you keep your possessions of the gospell order, the power of God in Christ Jesus, you will rule over it; being in and upon the foundation of God that stands sure, though some earthly loose spiritts it may draw after it. But mark the end of it, and what was the end of John Perrot and his spirit, who was so much against mens meetings, and cried they were forms, and so turned against the power of God, till he and it ran out of all forms. But the power remains and will remain, and the seed reigns upon [over] the head of all such false spiritts, and orders and governments, that is not set up by Jesus Christ; and it will grinde them to pieces, that is the word of the Lord God to you. Let whoever will oppose it. For the power was before they were, and will stand when they are gone. For all our men and womens meetings which are set up by the power and spirit of God, these meetings are for the practise of religion, and to see, that all that does profess truth, do practise it, and walk in it; and all such as are against them, are begetters but of talkers, and not walkers; and of sayers, but not doers; and such always were judged by all them that walkt in truth, and in the pure religion, that is undefiled before God; that kept and keeps from the spots of the world; and all such are never like to prosper, that are against the practisers of religion. And therefore as I said before, live in the possession of the gospell, and its order before the devill was or the Apostacy either, and know his government, of the increase whereof there is no end, who is set up from everlasting to everlasting, the Amen. And live in love and unity one with another; for that edifies the body of Christ, and that is it, which will bear all things, and the patience will run the race, and have the crown; and keep in the lowly Lamb, that will have the victory. And such as cry against formes, and prescriptions and edicts of men, they are the most in them this day, and gather into a separation by prescriptions and subscriptions; and under a pretence of crying against such things, cry against the power, and them that be in the possession of it. But the power will blast them, and make them to wither like the grass and corn on the house-tops, as it did John Perrot and his company; to whom it was the word of the Lord then, and so it is to these now; and the word lives and abides, and endures for ever. So with my love in the Lord Jesus Christ to you all, in whom is my labour and travells for your eternall good, and your eternall settlement upon the eternall rock, Amen, Farewell. G. F.

Swarthmore the 12th of the 12th month 1675."

ART. IV.—*Fate of Sabbath Observance Legislation.*

See Vol. 1, p. 289—296, and Vol. 2, p. 177—184.

From the *GLOBE* paper: July 19th, 1834. "The last of the [three or four] *Sunday Bills* was ultimately lost last night, by a majority of four [against it] in a very thin house. Nothing can be more evident than the indisposition of the House of Commons to legislate upon this subject, which has been evinced both negatively and positively, in the most significant manner. Indeed, the negative display has been upon the whole more indicative of the temper of the House than the positive: for this reason, that few members like to shock the honest convictions of any respectable portion of their constituents, however firmly they

may be convinced of the visionary and futile nature of the enactment and restrictions for which these are contending. *In fact, there is no mode of altering confirmed habits and practices by rigid legislation; or of rendering people moral and devout by Act of Parliament!*"

A reference to the passages in my two former volumes here pointed out will, I hope, secure me from the imputation of indifference to this point of Christian duty; or of a desire to see the laxity of the Continent introduced among us. It is clearly the province of *those who administer the instruction of the day* to persuade the careless and profane to listen. The gathered-church professor, who proposes to himself both duty and comfort in the observance, can scarcely need an Act of Parliament to move him to it. *Ed.*

ART. V.—POETRY: *The Times of Alfred: a Fragment.*

Ah! why should reigns despotic give the lie,
 So oft to *Freedom's* vaunted theory?
 Why is that virtue, all agree to praise,
 Referr'd by all to past or future days?
 Are laws when healthiest, ever, sound asleep,
 Or do they but Exchequer vigils keep?
 When Alfred had his lawful kingdom won,
 Throughout he saw impartial justice done:
 Yet not by terror, for the gibbet show'd
 Not oft, as now, the foul opprobrious load.
 Yet, then, Historians vouch, a man might lay
 Untouch'd his purse upon the public way,
 And virgin unmolested, tread the wild,
 Where, erst no rose, unfenc'd by thorns, had smiled.
 Then, all being bound good order to preserve,
 No part, thus by the whole restrained, might swerve.
 Be it, that partial records cheat our view:
 In many points the picture must be true.—
 And what was sound and practicable then,
 E'er we had filled our populous hives of men
 (Where vice may safely spawn, and hide it's head,
 Nor blast of wholesome air, nor daylight dread)
 May now to warmest hearts, a mere day-dream
 The vision of some good Enthusiast, seem.
 Yet why? 'Tis plain the vigour of good health
 Then only can pervade the commonwealth,
 When, branching still thro' each minuter vein,
 Flows power th' abuse of freedom to restrain;

NOTE: The reflections which appear in the latter part of this piece were suggested (now many years since) by the well known historical fact, of the distribution of the people under this monarch into *TITHINGS*,—a small municipal body, of *ten* neighbouring families, being made responsible, each freeman for the acts of himself and his nine neighbours severally, and the whole being obliged to deliver up an offender within a limited time, or suffer by a fine out of his (or their collective) property.

When, at offender's sting, is felt the smart
 Of warning pain, on each surrounding part,
 By sound propulsive honesty inflamed,
 And restless, 'till the poison's rage be tamed.—

To my Friend Elliott Cresson: written in his Album.

With such competitors shall I succeed,
 Cresson! And wilt thou give the poet's meed
 To me, or Milton? For I had in mind,
 In his, or Cowper's sweeter verse, to find
 Wherewith to deck a page in this well bound
 And well tool'd *Album*, which this morn I found
 Waiting my leisure for the task. Thy hours
 Flow sweetly now, I ween: and Mem'ry's powers
 Not oft revert to those thy infant days,
 When thy sweet prattle gain'd a mother's praise!
 She, bent (it seems) on fetching home by thee
 The traveller's spoil, in prose or poetry,
 Produced this splendid gift, and bade thee go }
 Question each friend, or prompt belike a foe }
 His wit and learning at thy cost to show.

However, friendly is my mind tow'rd thee:
 And never, never will I bid the free
 And lively Cresson seek his native land
 Without the wish that, soon, that mother's hand
 May meet his own, with full experience fraught,
 Of men and things in Europe's clime, and taught
 Still more the worth and weal of wisdom's way:
 Thus happy may he go—or, learning, stay
 'Till next year's Sun shall shine upon to-day!

Tottenham, Sixth Month 30th, 1826.

H.

To a Friend on presenting him with "The Nomenclature of Clouds." 1822.

Erewhile I view'd the heavens, and gave a name
 To each fair cloud that flits on the blue sky,
 Bearing its fleecy crest or low or high:
 Delightful task, nor void of honest fame!
 Now, lonely, pensive, I survey mankind
 Wand'ring in error wide, the puny will
 (To 't self an Autocrat) resolving still,
 Then giving each fair purpose to the wind.
 Ah! who shall *minds* reduce to method fair;
 Who cure of self-conceit the good; the wise,
 Of strife; the rich, of war; the great, of lies?
 The task is not for man; and dumb despair
 Hangs on the thought, until it upward rise
 To HIM whose *Word* shall clear this murky air.

H.

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PRO PATRIĀ.

1834.

ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrines and practices of the Quakers.*

(Continued from p. 54.)

A. D. 1676. *High and Low Church appear.*

“The Clergy began now to be distinguished into two classes, which afterwards gave rise to the denomination of ‘High Church’ and ‘Low Church.’ Those of the former class were rigid sticklers for Uniformity, for reverence to the Church, that is to themselves; for the dignity of their own indelible character; for unlimited submission to kingly power; and for the divine right of tithes. In the pulpit, non-conformity was more the subject of their invectives than vice, and a churchman of loose morals, in their view, seemed a better man than the most virtuous dissenter. They promoted the enacting of penal laws, and the severe execution of them, to the utmost of their power. To the Church of Rome, through which they derived their pretended uninterrupted succession from the Apostles, and to the relics of which they were obliged for the possession of their power and emoluments, they bore much more good will than to those dissenters whose principles were adverse to both. The priests of this class were now the more numerous by far: church-preferments lying on their side, and their doctrines being most fashionable at this time.

But there were others of this order, although the fewer in number, of a different spirit. These went under the denomination of Low-

VOL. III.

K

church men, being more disposed to moderate measures towards the dissenters; more rational in their principles and less assuming in their claims." (a)

With some difference as to the state of parties, 'High-church' having now become, strictly considered, a small minority, we find these very opposite descriptions of officers in the Establishment subsisting at the present time. Their 'divine right of tithes' having been generally exploded, the claim to these is urged more on the ground of property and law—and in this disposition we may observe the 'Low church' also partaking: so that the free ministry of the word has still its most numerous advocates among those who have not in any way tasted the sweets of Church-preferment. So near is our worldly interest to our hearts; and so difficult is it (now, as formerly) to leave all and follow Christ! Yet in all probability, the nature of the Gospel itself and the feelings which it inspires considered, the condition of the teachers of Religion generally, would be greatly improved by a change to the *voluntary system of rule and maintenance*, now so clearly before the public. It is the drones, merely, that need fear being expelled the hive.

A. D. 1677. An extensive religious visit performed by William Penn, and several others of the more eminent of the Society, to its members in Holland and the North of Germany. Penn's '*England's present Interest considered*' in print.

We left Penn at home and newly married, taking the indulgence in this case of the Mosaical law (Deut. xxiv, 5) but not unmindful meantime of his suffering friends, and abused country. Among other things, he had written and published, in 1675, '*England's present interest considered, with honour to the prince and safety to the people, in answer to this one Question, What is most fit, easy and safe, at this juncture of affairs, to be done for quieting of differences, allaying the heat of contrary interests, and making them subservient to the interests of government, and consistent with the prosperity of the kingdom?*' After a spirited introduction, setting before the rulers of the country the evil effects of their intolerant policy, he gives under three heads '*The Answer*,' recommending, '1. An inviolable and impartial maintenance of English rights: 2. Our superiours governing themselves upon a balance, as nearly as may be, towards the several Religious interests: 3. A sincere promotion of general and practical religion.' The pamphlet in which these are argued at length occupies twenty five pages, large folio, in his '*Works*.' Recommending the whole to the reader's attention, I shall here only give his '*Corollary*: That the people are under a great dissatisfaction: That the way to quiet differences, and render contrary interests subservient to the interest of the government is, First, to maintain inviolably the Rights of it, viz. *Liberty and property, Legislation and juries*, without neglect. That slighting and infringing them hath been the injury of Prince and people, and early or late the ruin of the contrivers of so ill designs:

(a) Gough. Hist. of the Quakers: ii, 415.

and when all has been done, the only expedient has been, to come back again to *English Law*. This takes in all; and pleases all, because it secures and profits all. Sacrificing privileges for the sake of conformity, makes a breach upon the Civil government, alienates the people's affections from their prince, lodges property in the Church, so as none can come at it but through obedience to her rites: for she at this rate has the keeping of it—a thing unknown (as well as unsafe) to the Ancient English Government.

“Secondly. That the prince govern himself upon a balance towards all Religions interests: That this best poises parties, to his security, renders him master of an universal affection, and makes him truly and safely prince of all his country. But the contrary course narrows his justice and mercy, makes the government to shine but upon one part of the kingdom; to be just but to one party, and disinherit the rest from their birth-right: That this course ends in great disadvantage to the peace, plenty and safety of prince and people.

“Third and lastly, Instead of being uncharitable, severe and cruel for modifications, let the debate about them sleep, and general and practical religion be promoted—that which receives an *Amen* in every man's conscience, from the *Principle of Divine life* (as the Lord Keeper well called it) in every breast; that all agree in the most weighty doctrines; and that nothing will sooner sweeten men's blood, and mollify their natures, than employing that time and pains they bestow on fruitless contests, in *living up* to what they (both) *know, believe and accord in*: That this leaves men to keep company with their own comments, and makes the *Text only sacred*; and Holy living necessary not only to Heavenly but earthly places—I mean preferments: Where virtue becomes the door to favour, and *Conscience* (now smothered in the crowd of sinister interests) the noble rule of living.

“*God Almighty, if it please Him, beget noble resolutions in the hearts of our superiours to use these plain and safe expedients*; that Charity may supplant cruelty, contest yield to good life, and present distances meet in a just and kind neighbourhood. Great and honourable is that Prince, and free and happy that people, where these things take place. *William Penn.*” (b)

We need not be surprised at finding the man who could, in such an age, utter and stand by the soundest maxims of Civil and Religious polity, in the correspondence and intimacy of the Great; nor that he should, in no long time after, be called, himself, to the work of Legislation. Penn and Barclay were now to be brought into acquaintance with some kindred spirits abroad, viz. The Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Frederic V Prince Palatine of the Rhine; and Anna Maria, Countess Hornes. (c) The former, a grand-daughter of James I. and sister to Prince Rupert and Princess Sophia, had noticed Robert Barclay in 1676, had written to Prince Rupert to procure the release of himself and his father from prison, and corresponded with

(b) Penn's Works: Ed. 1721, p. 374—399. (c) Penn's Works: Life xxiii.

both him and Penn. Having several years before become a religious character she had fallen in, first, with De Labadie and his sect, at that time considered abroad as quakers: but their conduct not being such as was safe for her to countenance, she was happily rescued from this mistake by her own prudence, and in time found out who the true quakers were.

But the object of this visit to the Continent was of a more extended nature, and embraced the affairs and discipline of the society in Holland, the Palatinate, Hamburg, Lubeck and Frederickstadt, &c. for which a General Meeting of Friends of those parts was held at *Amsterdam* on the second of the sixth month, and attended by George Fox (who had lately left his retreat at Swarthmore) William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith and five other Friends from Britain. The business of which meeting, and the public and private religious service attending it being despatched, the company from England separated. George Fox proceeding to visit his fellow-professors in many towns and places in Holland and the North of Germany; and Penn and Barclay (with Benjamin Furly as interpreter and guide) beside many like visits, to pay their respects at the Court of the Princess Palatine at *Herford*. (d)

A minute account of this visit, which appears to have been very satisfactory and encouraging to the religious characters concerned (including the Princess's household) may be found in Penn's Works under the title of 'Travels in Holland and Germany.' The princess persevered in a life of religious watchfulness; and dying single about her 60th year, Penn wrote and published in his *No Cross no Crown*, Pt. 2, an excellent character of her for piety, charity, and the careful administration of her government. He says of her in this work, 'She chose a single life as freest of care and best suited to the study and meditation she was always inclined to;—had a small territory, which she governed so well that she shewed herself fit for a greater' and 'would constantly every last day of the week, sit in judgment and hear and determine causes herself; where her patience, justice and mercy were admirable; frequently remitting her forfeitures, where the party was poor or otherwise meritorious. And, which was excellent though unusual, she would temper her discourses with religion, and strangely draw concerned parties to submission and agreement, exercising not so much the rigour of her power, as the power of her persuasion.' (e)

The Friends, having performed their respective tours on the continent reunited (except Robert Barclay and others who had taken leave before) at Rotterdam, and embarked for England. They had a long and hazardous passage in a leaky packet-boat, with two pumps continually going; but were preserved from this danger, giving God the praise; and arrived at Harwich the 23rd of the eighth month, having been absent about three months on the service. (f)

(d) Fox, Journal, 500: Penn, Works, 447. (e) *No Cross No Crown*, Ch. xxi.

(f) Fox, Journal, 519.

A. D. *Marriage of the Princess Mary, daughter of James Duke 1677. of York, to the Prince of Orange. Death of Archbishop Sheldon.*

The former of these events connects with our history, as one of those leading to the Revolution of 1688, and the establishment of a Toleration: the latter, as freeing us from an inveterate persecutor. 'He was succeeded by Sancroft, who seemed on some occasions too much to copy the spirit of his predecessor.' (g) Being applied to by George Whitehead and William Crouch, on account of the sufferings of Friends by informers, and rather pressed on the subject of the infamous characters and conduct of these persons, and the dishonour it was to his church to employ such agents, he did not scruple to own them, as such, by remarking that *there must be some crooked timber used in building a ship!*

1678. *Congress of plenipotentiaries at Nimeguen, to conclude a peace.* Robert Barclay addresses to the Congress an *Epistle in Latin*, and presents his *Apology* to the Ministers severally, and through them to the powers they represented.

Parliament being applied to, on the subject of the Penal Statutes against Papists, wrested by persecuting magistrates to the destruction of the Quakers, William Penn is twice heard before a Committee of the House of Commons in their behalf.

The speeches made by Penn, together with the Petitions presented may be seen in his Works. (h) The application was likely to have been attended with success, in procuring some relief for Friends by means of a Clause in a Bill then before the House: but it was lost in the Lords by a sudden prorogation of Parliament. Penn says (in the petition to the Commons, which appears to be of his writing) 'That which with due respect and integrity we offer is, that our word may be taken instead of an oath; and if we are found faulty, that we may undergo that penalty which shall be inflicted in the other case: *that we and our families may not be exposed to the malice, self-ends or revenge of any; which we certainly shall be, if you relieve us not.*' The suffering state of our predecessors, here so emphatically described in a sentence, should not escape our recollection when we have occasion to speak of the relief from oaths, now (after the further interval of a century and a half) so fully accorded to us by our Country.

Gough says of the period we are come to: "From this time to the end of the king's reign party heats grew more and more violent; plots real or fictitious, prosecuted with acrimony by the opposite parties; a spirit of intrigue and hostility, influencing both court and country; continual dissensions between the king and parliament, both struggling for power which both carried too far; furious sallies of rage and revenge, to the almost entire extirpation of temper, sound judgment, wisdom, and justice; private animosities and public confusion, deform the history of the latter years of this reign. In the mean time the dissenters in

(g) Gough, ii, 431. (h) Penn's Works, Life, xxiii.

general, and Friends in particular, felt the hand of persecution heavier than ever; the penal laws being in full force, and the execution of them in the hands of their inveterate enemies, whose hatred was now edged by this temper of the times. For although the society attached themselves to no particular party, yet the Parliament's taking their severe sufferings under deliberation, especially those inflicted on them as Popish recusants, and intending their relief, was a sufficient reason to Magistrates subservient to the Court, as well as to the Court bishops and clergy, to consider them as the opposite side, and treat them accordingly." (i)

Again, "The magistrates, who were of the high-church party, retained their malignity to dissenters until their hands were manacled by law. Informers were encouraged to hunt after their prey, and the justices as ready to convict as they to inform. Prosecutions by the Acts of Elizabeth for £20 a month, and the seizure of two-thirds of the annual rents, were multiplied against the people called quakers, as the most expeditious mode of impoverishing men of estates. Advantage was taken of the alarm occasioned by the rumour of the popish plot, to increase the rigorous persecution of a people of opposite principles and conduct [to papists:] under the specious pretence of the necessity, in this season of danger, to exert additional vigilance in guarding against seditious assemblies. And in order to turn the tide of the public temper against them, and expose them to the resentment and abuse of the undiscerning populace, some members [of the society] whose residence, occupations and manner of life were well known, were imprisoned under a pretended suspicion of being papists or concealed Jesuits; a character which was at this season in a peculiar manner the object of popular odium." (k)

Ministers deceased, viz.

1. "Richard Farnsworth, of Balby in Yorkshire, was one of those whom the Lord raised up early [in the course of the gathering of this society] in the work of the ministry. He suffered about twelve months imprisonment at Banbury in Oxfordshire in the year 1655, and many were turned to God by him. He was mighty in discourses and disputes with priests and professors, and after much labour—and great suffering and persecutions, he at last finished his testimony in London." [Date 1666; omitted in its place.]

2. "William Bayley, a sea-faring man who joined the society from the Baptists at Pool, among whom he had been a teacher; and was master of a ship as well as a minister, among us, to the end of his days. He was esteemed an able Scriptural preacher, went through much suffering for his testimony, and died at sea, returning from Barbadoes, in 1675: *laying down his head*, according to his own expressions, *in peace upon the waters*, and trusting 'in God,—the God of the whole Universe' [to raise him up.] (l)

3. "Christopher Bacon, of Polling-hill, in Somersetshire, was formerly a soldier in the king's army. About the year 1656 some of the Lord's servants, called Quakers, coming into that country to preach the gospel, he went to one of the meetings, not to receive good, but rather to scoff and deride; but, through the Lord's mercy he was reached in his conscience, and received the blessed truth in the love of it; and afterwards—the gospel of Christ to preach, and was a diligent

(i) Hist. ii, 432. (k) Idem. 436. (l) Piety Promoted, pt. 1.

labourer in the work of the ministry; and travelled to London, and into Ireland, and Wales, and many parts of the nation of England, and several were convinced of the truth by him.

“In the year 1678 he came into the county of Cornwall, and there fell sick, being weak of body before, but had a good meeting of friends in the town: and upon his sick bed he desired a friend by him to write comfortably to his wife, if the Lord should take him away, and advise her, that she bring up her children in the fear and counsel of the Lord; and it was his fervent desire that his wife may be kept to truth; and for all friends. And said, ‘Since it is my lot, after many great labours and travels for the service of truth, for me to come here and lay down my body, I am well satisfied in God’s will and pleasure, and am at this time free and clear in my mind, willing to be with God.’ Then making some pause, he said, ‘Oh! friends, keep in mind your latter end, and that will make you draw nigh to the Lord, and seek after him.’ And further said, ‘Friends, take heed that you lose not an heavenly inheritance for an earthly.’ And the day before he died, being the First-day of the week, he spoke to friends as they were going to meeting, minding his dear love to friends, and said, ‘The Lord’s presence be amongst you, for his presence hath attended me in all my labours, travels, sufferings, and exercises, for his name’s sake.’ His end drawing near, and his body weak, he continued to the last moment in sweet harmony, and lifting up his hands, in much quietness and peace he gave up the ghost the 29th of the Tenth month, in the year 1678, aged about fifty-five years. (m)

Whiting informs us this Friend was several times imprisoned for his testimony; and that his *fourth confinement for tithes*, in a very cold room in Bridgwater gaol, broke his constitution, so that he lived but about three months after his discharge. ‘He was,’ says *Whiting*, ‘a valiant man for truth, and freely given up to suffer for it.’ Being taken at a meeting at Glastonbury ‘he was had before Bishop Mew at Wells, who reproached him, calling him rebel &c. for meeting contrary to the king’s laws. Christopher said to him, Dost thou call me rebel? I would have thee to know I have jeopardied my life for the king in the high places of the field, when such as thou lay behind hedges.’ *Memoirs*: pa. 30. See also *Besse* i. 613.

4. “William Coale, of Maryland, in America, was convinced of the blessed truth about the year 1657, and was a man of an innocent and tender spirit, of true judgment, and stood in the power and love of God against unrighteousness and false liberty, and for true liberty in Jesus Christ, and for holiness, peace and unity in the church; he freely and tenderly preached the cross of Christ, and was living and weighty in his testimony. He suffered imprisonment in James Town prison, in Virginia, with George Wilson, a friend of Old England, who travelled into America to preach the gospel, whom the magistrates of that town persecuted to death, after they had cruelly beaten and whipped him, and kept him long in iron chains; and the said William Coale was also much decayed in his body by that cruel imprisonment, and never recovered it.

“His visit to friends in Virginia was very serviceable to many, some were turned to the Lord through his ministry, and many were established in the blessed truth; and in the time of his sickness he was cheerful in spirit, freely given up to the will of God, as a living man prepared to die, saying, ‘The living presence of the Lord is with me;’ with many words more, of the great satisfaction he had from the Lord concerning his peace, saying, ‘I bless the Lord, I have finished my course, and I have nothing to do but to wait on the Lord to die.’ So in a short time he departed very peaceably and quietly away, about the year 1678. (n)

5. "Giles Barnardiston, of Clare, in the county of Suffolk, came of a family of great account in the world, and had his education accordingly at the university, and his natural parts were answerable thereto; but when he received the truth, he saw not only the emptiness of those things, but of their way of worship also; and, like Moses, chose rather to join with the poor suffering people of God (called Quakers) than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. After he was converted, it pleased God to commit a dispensation of the gospel unto him, and laid a necessity upon him to preach the same; which he faithfully performed to the day of his death, not regarding the tenderness of his body so much, as to fulfil the will of God.

"When he was about to enter upon an hard journey, or otherwise exercised, he would say, 'That is but for a short time and we shall have done in this world; and I desire that I may be faithful to the end, that I may enjoy that of the hand of the Lord, that I received the truth for. If it had not been to obtain peace of conscience whilst I am in this world, and hopes of everlasting rest with God in the world to come, I would never have left the glory and pleasure of this world, which I had, and might have had a share of, with them that are in it; neither would I now leave my house and home, where I have a loving wife, with all that a man, fearing God, needs to desire, if it was not to obey the Lord, and to make known his truth unto others, that so they may come to be saved: for this cause do I forsake father and mother, wife and estate; and whosoever thinks otherwise of me, with the rest of my faithful brethren whom God hath called into his work, to declare his name and truth among the sons of men, they are all mistaken of us, and I would they knew us better.' And so he continued faithful in the Lord's work to the end; and he was blessed in his labour, for he turned many to righteousness.

"It pleased the Lord to visit him with sickness, in his return from London to Chelmsford, and his sickness was short; in which time he gave testimony to the goodness of God, and said that the Lord was his portion, and that he was freely given up to die, which was gain to him. And on the 11th of the Eleventh month, in the year 1680, he departed in peace." (o)

6. "Isaac Pennington, of Chalfont, Bucks, an honourable, useful and virtuous member of this Society, was the eldest son of Alderman Pennington of London, a noted member of the Long Parliament, who was nominated (but never sat) among the King's judges [i. e. of Chas. I, on his trial under the Commonwealth.] And being born to a fair inheritance, his education was suited to his quality and expectations in life, having all the advantage which the Schools and Universities of his own country afforded:—a man of quick apprehension—sound judgment and good understanding. His disposition was mild and affable, free from pride and affectation; his common conversation cheerful, but guarded—equally divested of moroseness and levity—he was no less pleasing in the manner than instructive in the matter of his discourse. His father's station in public employments, and his [own] rank in life, opened a fair prospect of worldly greatness—but actuated by higher and nobler considerations, he was induced to relinquish the short-lived glories of this world, as unworthy to engage the principal attention of man, born to immortality. He stedfastly believed in a future state; was early impressed with a lively conception of the value of everlasting happiness therein, and early engaged in the arduous pursuit thereof." (p)

Thus far Gough, concerning this amiable Friend, and constant sufferer for his Testimony; of whom mention has been made already, on various occasions, in these volumes. He joined Friends in 1658, and died in 1679. His Works, consisting chiefly of doctrinal and controversial Treatises and Essays in two thick 4to volumes, are in the Libraries of most families of any standing in the Society.

(o) Piety Promoted, pt. 1.

(p) Gough, ii, 439

It may not be unpleasant to the Christian reader not of our communion, to be refreshed, after so much of injustice and cruelty related, with these Testimonies to the blameless and useful lives, as well as peaceful ends of a few of the earlier preachers of the Quaker doctrine. Considering myself to have done justice to our Fellow-professors of the faith in Christ, by inserting, in the two former volumes, many accounts of ministers who appear to have been in the possession of it also, I am the more free thus to endeavour further to make my work edifying, as well as informing, to religiously disposed minds. And having read, perhaps, as much of *Religious biography*, of Christian characters of all denominations, as most men of the present age, I feel in no wise ashamed or afraid to commend, to those who would 'prove all things and hold fast the best,' the candid perusal of the whole of the homely records of the dying sayings of our members, out of which the foregoing were taken. *Ed.*

ART. II.—*Remarks on Scripture Passages.* Continued.

Luke v, 17. 'And the power of the Lord was present to heal them.'

And the healing power of the Lord was there. For what purpose, in the first instance, if not to have healed those Pharisees and teachers, gathered from so many different quarters, of their grand spiritual malady, unbelief, in order to the remission of their sins? They were come, it may be reasonably thought, to see and hear Christ, not on account of any bodily infirmities they had on them, but to determine for themselves and the nation whether he were the *Sent of God* or not. They might have yielded to the power they felt present in their hearts and have been convinced it was He—but they required miracles. And our Lord gratified their desire: but not till he had first asserted the main purpose of his mission, by addressing the paralytic person with, 'Man, thy sins are forgiven thee.' This might have sufficed, had they been unprejudiced, to have reminded them of his office as their *Saviour*; according to the tenour of many prophecies concerning him, as recognized in the New Testament: Luke ii, 11, xxiv, 47; John iv, 42; Acts v, 31, x, 43; Rom. xi, 26. This doctrine, of the forgiveness of sins by one who seemed to be but a private person, and without atonement by the priest, was too hard for their present apprehension. They were however all amazed at the miracle, and filled with fear; so that at any rate they glorified God for what was done, and confessed they had seen strange things that day—some of which might be quite as great miracles as this wrought on the palsied man; but not attended with so singular an introduction to Christ's presence.

Chap. vi, 10. 'He said unto the man, Stretch forth thy hand.'

Observe, here, that our Lord thought fit to defeat on this occasion the malice of his adversaries, by effecting the cure in such a way, as that he could not be justly accused of doing any thing inconsistent with the due observance of the Sabbath. He merely says, 'Stretch forth

thy hand'—the power of the Godhead in Him operates unseen, and the man is healed! Any one of the company might have *said* as much, and probably some did—but there was nothing *done* they could take hold of—hence their 'madness;' and their subsequent consultation what to do to destroy him.

Ver. 29. 'Him that taketh away thy cloke forbid not to take thy coat also.' Nothing was probably more commonly heard of, in that age, than the stripping of travellers by those who followed the occupation of robbing on the highway. The meek man would save his life, and perhaps defeat, in part at least, the purpose of the plunderer, by a quiet submission. See Job ii, 4—where I take the meaning to be, Skin after skin—cloke after cloke, will a man part with to save his life: or, the cloke to save his skin, and all that he hath to save his life.

This was a familiar application of the general command, Matt. v, 39, *not to resist evil*: in applying which, as absolute and binding upon all Christians in all circumstances, we *may* forget that, to the disciples of our Lord, as then sent forth and commissioned, this non-resistance was not only duty by the command, but the best policy by reason of their circumstances. Were *we* obliged by it in no case to resist evil, we could have no police, and no Magistracy composed of Christian people. MEEKNESS is the virtue intended to be here inculcated on *Christians*; a virtue the Heathen knew not, a quality they despised—but which is compatible, on occasion, with the highest courage, and most enduring fortitude, and constancy of resistance: and why not also with those qualities which should enable a man to keep the peace with a constable's truncheon in his hand, and to apprehend, and even disarm, a robber? The case of Thomas Lurting (see vol. ii, p. 163) is a remarkable example of the union of courage and prudence with meekness, in such conduct, as is likewise the whole behaviour of George Robinson, in his pilgrimage under a persuasion of duty to *Jerusalem*, which led to his bearing testimony against the superstitions acted there. 'In his way, [being on foot between Japha and Ramoth] he met two men riding on asses and a third on foot; and one of them holding a gun to his breast, another put his hands into his pockets and took some things out. He patiently suffering without opposition, the man who took his things away put them into his pockets again; and one of them, taking him by the hand, led him a little on his way in a friendly manner, and so left him.' *Besse*, ii, 392.

Luke xiv, 1-6. 'And he took him and healed him and let him go.'

The disease was a dropsy: and it is very probable (as we read not of an instantaneous cure, as in paralysis) that this person was healed by a gradual, however speedy, absorption and evacuation of the extravasated fluid; produced by Divine energy without means. In this way of viewing the case, it may be supposed that Jesus took him aside to give nature the time requisite for the operation; and having effected the cure, brought him back to the company, and then 'dismissed him.' Compare John ix, 6, where we have another of these gradual cures.

Ver. 12-14. This exhortation to charitable, instead of expensive and ceremonious entertainments, was probably addressed implicitly to this Pharisee for his own government; and not, as often, intended for others of the company also. In issuing a *general precept*, our Lord would doubtless have placed some allowance of kindred and friends by the side of the poor, the maimed and the blind: but here, the relations and acquaintances had had their turn; and we may read it, *next time thou makest a feast, call not, &c. but the poor, &c.* And the allusion to the recompense to be expected in a future state, might lead us to think the person addressed was advanced in years, and not far in the course of nature from that change: whence the greater urgency of the duty upon him. Ver. 15. 'Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God:—*in that state of which Jesus had just been speaking*: here was some evidence of seriousness and conviction, which our Lord immediately 'improves' in the ensuing parable, for the benefit of the party.

Luke xvi, 13. 'No servant can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other: or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.'

This supposes that the masters issue contradictory orders: and the servant (for attachment in one case, and for his interest in the other) obeys the one more agreeable to him. Now God and mammon do give contrary commands. The former says, (Chap. xii, 22) 'Take no thought for your livelihood; but go on with your business or calling in faith, preferring to set your hearts upon the kingdom of God—his rule in you, and your rule over what is put under you, in his power—and all needful things shall be granted you.' The latter, 'GET MONEY—*honestly if you can—but GET MONEY!* And when gotten, indulge the selfish feeling which it genders; leaving to a future day, if you ever think of it at all, the care of the inward government of your thoughts and desires, and the attainment of happiness in the world to come.' These are therefore two masters who cannot both be obeyed: and he who holds to GOD must needs despise *Mammon*.

Luke xvii, 5. 'And the Apostles said unto the Lord, Increase our faith.'

I have had, at times, much trouble with superficial reasoners, and preachers who could not or would not reason, on the subject of this text. They *will* have it a prayer; and they make it accordingly a pattern for their own; and ever and anon are heard praying on their knees, not only in their own but in the church's behalf, *for an increase of faith!* The speech is clearly a *murmur of discontent*, suggested by the seeming unreasonableness of the terms just before propounded to the Apostles, of an almost unlimited forgiveness of the trespasses of their brethren. It was a time of ill humour: the Pharisees and Scribes had murmured before them (Chap. xv, 2) nay derided their Master (xvi, 14) which had brought upon these scorners an oblique, but severe, reproof in the parable of the rich man in Hades. It is probable their conduct had deeply hurt some who were with Christ; and they found it hard to pass by the offence. But what said our Lord, to the pro-

posal that he should believe for them: for it is nothing short of this. 'If ye had faith, though ever so little, ye might overcome greater difficulties than the present.' They were in effect, for the time, in an unbelieving state.

Now if any choose, under feelings of discouragement in meetings, to put themselves (as we are often found choosing in idea for ourselves) into the state of these unbelieving Apostles, and ask for more faith, instead of using that they have—since *faith* they must have, to pray at all—let such ask for themselves alone; and either do it in secret, or let us know they do it on their own account merely—and let not the rest who should judge (according to Scripture, 1 Cor. xiv, 29) be implicated, without or against judgment, in the censure which follows.

I shall be replied upon, presently, that *faith is the gift of God*; therefore it is right we should ask it of Him. I know well that scripture (for it is the first sentence I ever uttered as a minister in Friends meetings, and that without comment) 'By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God.' And I know too (and shewed it to a ruling Elder many years ago, who buried it, as to myself, with much beside, in silent oblivion) that the word used to begin the latter clause of this text, in the Greek, requires to be connected, grammatically, not with 'faith,' but with the whole work, the *salvation*. And putting against this, and another (I believe also fairly explicable) isolated text, the whole scope of Christ's discourses, and conduct in his ministry, I feel obliged to hold my own Creed; and say that *grace* is God's part, and *faith* ours, in the work of man's salvation. That if God indeed give us faith, then does He also *believe for us*—rather than provide and propose the object of faith, and call and draw us to Himself, by Christ.

This doctrine, of faith being the gift of God, supposes the greater part of mankind to be altogether passed by, in his offers of mercy to sinners: it makes the Gospel [or God's call to repentance] a mockery, and our preaching vain—as not needful to believers, and of no possible service to those in unbelief. Yet Christ saith, of *his own effectual preaching*, 'The hour is coming and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live: John v. 25.' A blessed and an awful truth in the spiritual, as it proved then in the natural world. They who choose to go with Calvin, and hold predestination, may do it: for my part I cannot comfortably sit under, or conscientiously unite with, such ministry. *Ed.*

ART. III.—*An Epistle from the Mens' Monthly Meeting in Burlington, to the Yearly Meeting of Friends in London, 1680.*

"To our Dear friends and Brethren at ye yearly meeting at London.
Dear friends and Brethren

"Whom God hath honoured wth his heavenly presence and dominion, as some of us have been eyewitnesses (and in our measures partakers wth you) in those solemn Annuall assemblies in the Remembrance of wch our souls are consolated

and do bow before y^e Lord with reverent acknowledgement to him to whom it belongs for ever. And Dear friends, being fully satisfied of your love and care and zeal for y^e Lord and his truth, and your travell and desire for y^e promotion of it, hath given us encouragement to adress ourselves to you, and request your assistance in these following Particulars, being sensible of the need of it and believing it will conduce to y^e honour of God and benefitt of his People; for y^e Lord having by an overruling providence cast our lots in these remote parts of y^e world, our care and desire is that he may be honoured in us and through us, and his dear truth w^{ch} we profes may be had in good repute and esteem by those that are yet strangers to it.

“ Dear friends, Our first request unto you is that in your severall Countyes and Meetings out of w^{ch} any may transport themselves into this place, that you will be pleased to take care that we may have Certificates concerning them; for here are severall honest and innocent People that brought no Certificate wth them from their respective monthly meetings, not foreseeing the service of them, and so never desired any, w^{ch} for y^e future in Cases of w^{ch} defect we do intreat you who are sensible of y^e need of Certificates to put them in mind of them; ffor in some Cases where Certificates are required (and they have none) it occasions a great and tedious delay, before they can be had from England, besides y^e Hazard of letters miscarrying, w^{ch} is very uneasy to y^e Parties immediately concerned and no ways gratefull nor desirable to us; yet in some cases necessity urgeth it, or we must act very unsafely, and particularly in cases of marriage in w^{ch} we are often concerned. So if y^e Parties that come are single and marriageable at their coming away, we desire to be satisfied of their clearnes or unclearnes from other Parties and what else you think meet for our knowledge. And if they have Parents, whether they will committ them to y^e care of ffrinds in generall in that matter or appoint any particular Person whom they can trust. And if any do incline to come that do profes truth and yet walk disorderly, and so become dishonourable to truth and y^e profession they have made of it, we desire to be certified of them and it by some other hand (as there is frequent oportunities from London of doing it) for we are sensible that here are severall that left no good savour in their native land from whence they came, and it may be probable that more of that kind may come, thinking to be absconded in this obscure place; but blessed be the Lord, he hath a People here whom he hath provoked to a zealous affection for y^e glory of his name, and are desirous that the hidden things of Esau may be brought to light, and in it be condemned, for w^{ch} cause we thus request your assistance as an advantage and furtherance to that work; for though some have not thought it necessary either to bring Certificates themselves, or require any concerning others, we are not of that mind, and do leave it to y^e wise in heart to judge whence it doth proceed; for though we desire this as an additionall help to us, yet not as some have surmized, that we wholly build upon it wth out exercising our own mediate sense as God shall guide us. Some, we know, that have been otherwise deserving, have been unadvisedly denied this their impartiall right of a Certificate, and very hardly could obtain it, merely through the dislike of some to their undertaking in their coming hither, w^{ch} we believe to be an injury: and though we would not have any should reject any sound advice or councill in that matter: yet we do believe that all the faithfull ought to be left to Gods direction in that matter; most certainly knowing by y^e surest evidence that God hath had a hand in y^e Removall of some into this place, w^{ch} we desire that all that are inclined to come hither, who know God, may be carefull to know before they attempt it, least their tryals become unsupportable to them: but if this they know they need not fear, ffor y^e Lord is known by sea and land the shield and strength of them that fear him.

“ And Dear Friends, one thing more we think needfull to intimate to you, to warn and advise all that come, professing of truth, that they be carefull and circumspect in their passage; for it is well known to some of you, that such as are employed in Sea affairs are commonly Men of y^e wildest sort, and many of

them use great Diligence to betray the simple ones, w^{ch} if they can do they triumph in it, and spread it from nation to nation to defame truth: therefore let all be warned of it, and especially young Women, that they behave themselves modestly and chastly, that they may not be corrupted in mind and so be drawn to gratify the wanton luxurious inclination of any: For many temptations may be mett wth sometimes through short and straight allowance, for y^e enlargement of w^{ch} some have complied wth that w^{ch} hath dishonoured God and grieved his People: and though we know that true friends are more enabled than to submit to any unrighteousnes, to gratify so mean an end; yet all y^e Professors of truth are not of that growth, and for their sakes it is intended, that all may be preserved and grow into truths dominion.

“ So Dear friends, this wth what further you may apprehend to tend [to] truths promotion in this place, we desire your assistance in, w^{ch} will be very kindly and gladly received by us, who are desirous of an amicable correspondency wth you, and do claim a part wth you in y^e holy body and eternall union, w^{ch} the bond of life is the strength of; in w^{ch} God preserve you and us who are your friends and Brothers.

Thomas Budd,	Rob. Powell,	Scath Smith,
Wm. Peachee,	John Bourton,	Walter Pumphrey,
Wm. Brightown,	Jo. Woolston,	Tho. Ellis,
Tho. Gardiner,	Daniell Leeds,	Samuell Jenings,
Rob. Stacy,	Jo. Butcher,	James Saterwaight,
Tho. Barton,	Henry Grubb,	John Coips.
John Hallenshead,	William Butler,	

“ Several friends not being present at the said meeting, have since as a Testimony of their unity wth the thing subscribed their names—

Mahlon Stacy,	Wm. Billes,	Abra. Hewlings,
Thomas Lambert,	Tho. Harding,	Peter Ffretwell,
John Kinsey,	Wm. Hewlings,	Tho. Eaves,
Samuel Pleft,	Rich. Arnold,	Wm. Clark,
Wm. Cooper,	John Woolman,	John Paine.
John Shin,	John Stacy,	

“ Ffrom our Mens monthly meeting, in Burlington in West new Jearsey, y^e 7th of y^e 12th month 1680.”

The MS. book from which this Epistle is printed (and from which I have before published several documents) has, written inside the cover in a neat Italian hand, ‘ Mary Penington her Book, being Copies of several papers of friends, w^{ch} she transcribed for her Dear father.’ *Ed.*

ART. IV.—POETRY:—*The Way of Salvation.* Isaiah, xxxv, 8.

There is ‘ a new and living Way,’
 Cast up by God alone,
 ’Tis lighted by his heavenly ray,
 And leads up to his Throne.

The sincere, honest Traveller,
 Whom worldlings vain deride,
 In its plain path shall never err,
 Whilst Faith his steps shall guide.

The Lion and the Adder there
 Ne’er ravening seek the prey,
 Nor on his sweet repose shall dare
 To trespass, or way-lay.

Fresh streams shall oft his strength restore,
 His hungry soul be fed;
 And Joy, when Life's short journey's o'er,
 Shall crown the pilgrim's head. W.

The Optimist's Consolation.

Wild winter rages, all his floods pour down;
 To the fierce blast the mountain-spirits moan;
 The dark wave rises on the billowy deep;
 See! scarce the labouring bark its course can keep.
 Now sinks the Soul beneath the dark'ning scene,
 And gives the cheerless hour to vapoury spleen.
 But why: Since Nature's varying shapes are given
 For man to use with all the gifts of Heaven?
 Were there no clouds to dull our brighter sky,
 Say, would the sunny prospect charm the eye?
 When arid winds have parch'd the thirsty ground,
 Joys not each sense the shower's refreshing sound?—
 Cease then thy murmuring: take what Heaven bestows;
 And own "What's best for man Heaven only knows." W.

On the Christian Sabbath.

This day a glad refreshment brings
 To every weary soul:
 Here Gratitude, adoring, sings
 God's praise from pole to pole.

The sinner shall His Name confess,
 And at his foot-stool fall:
 To Jesus' throne his prayer address,
 And own him 'Lord of all.'

The humbler creatures of his hand
 Now cease their weekly toil,
 Unyoked they feed, at his command,
 And rest on freedom's soil.

To celebrate thy glories, Lord!
 All nature now combines;
 Th' Angelic Host with sweet accord
 In heavenly rapture joins. W.

Ackworth School Jubilee on Negro Emancipation.

(Official!) Friends' School, Ackworth, 8th of Eighth Month, 1834.

This day week, the 1st of the Month, having been the day of the commencement of freedom to the Blacks in our Colonies, it was thought by some of the Children's friends, that it should be spent in a manner calculated to leave that auspicious event engraven on their memories—that it should be a JUBILEE; a day of rejoicing, with those who would have to rejoice in the acquisition of so great a benefit.

Accordingly, *Medals in commemoration of the day* having been pro-

cured; and distributed to the boys and girls severally, at the close of an examination of their proficiency in the knowledge of Holy Scripture and Christian doctrine, the Juniors were to be seen, during this and the following day, decorated with this *Order of Civil Liberty*, appended by various coloured ribbands to their necks. The vacation of two days, which had attended the Annual Meeting for the affairs of the Institution, was prolonged to the end of the week,—*prizes*, in the form of approved books, were distributed to the more deserving; and *something*, in that way, given to *all*. After which the children were encouraged in every due manifestation of hilarity and joy; the refreshment of Coffee and butter-cakes, being set out for them, on the Girls' play-green, in the evening.

Among the other novelties, a *public meeting* of the Scholars was convened; at which *Resolutions* (grave and well worded as those of more splendid assemblies) were moved and seconded by speakers of four-foot growth: and a premium having been held out for the best *poem on Negro Emancipation*, the inspiration was found redundantly availing, and copies of verse (by boys and girls both) flew about like butterflies on a Summer's morning. But some Friends from the South, who were the life and soul of these divertissements, having carried off the best of them, I shall not here let down the cause by printing from the remainder; concluding that these verses, which were really passable, will appear *somewhere*. Suffice it for me, as *Censor morum*, to record the gratifying fact, that after all this excitement, in the course of which the most lively *clapping* of favoured speakers—a thing unheard of in former times—was indulged in (such is the power of good habits) we had the same serious faces at our First-day morning-meeting following the lively scene, as if nothing had occurred to cause a ripple on the tranquil stream of events, in our little secluded community. *Ed.*

P. S. and *N. B.* The Boys gave up their weekly pence, and the Girls raised a most liberal subscription (their means considered) *in aid of Negro Education*.

RESOLUTIONS moved and passed by the Children of both sexes at Friends' School, Ackworth (in company with a few of their Seniors) on occasion of the Abolition of British Colonial Slavery.

1. "That this Meeting is of the judgment, that to hold our Fellow-men in a state of Slavery, to buy and sell them like cattle, and to drive them to their work with the cruel Cart-whip, is wholly inconsistent with the natural rights of man, and with the principles of the Christian religion.

2. That this Meeting unites in the feeling of humble gratitude to the Author of all good, who has condescended so to bless the efforts of Christians of every denomination in this country, that the curse of Slavery throughout the British Empire is this day ended, and that all the Slaves are free!

3. "That this Meeting feels a peculiar interest in the welfare of the Negro Children, and earnestly desires that they may be so educated in the blessed doctrines and precepts of Christianity, that, *under Divine Grace they may become FREE INDEED.*

—o—

CHARLES ELCOCK, PRINTER, PONTEFRACT.

THE
YORKSHIREMAN,

A

RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY JOURNAL

BY A FRIEND.

No. LIV. PRO PATRIÆ. 1834.

ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrines and practices of the Quakers.*

(Continued from p. 73.)

A. D. Prosecutions and Exchequer processes, with distrains upon 1678-9. informations for Religious meetings continuing heavy upon the Society, their case is further pressed upon the attention of the Government.

George Whitehead says of this period, 'Because of these our sufferings on divers sorts of prosecutions and processes—application was often made to the King, and sometimes to the Judges before they went their several circuits, for some redress and relief from those hardships and severe sufferings:—But we found little redress from the Judges in those days, after divers applications to them, *except when the King gave some instructions thereunto.*'

On the 16th of the 11th Month, 1679, George Whitehead, William Mead and John Osgood, being introduced by William Chiffins, Esq. Closet-keeper to the King (as he had given leave and appointed) laid before him 'The Case of the people called Quakers, who are still sufferers by prosecutions upon Old Statutes, made against Popish recusants:' The Case stated that, two years ago, their Sufferings had been represented to the King and his Privy Council; to-wit that by the late and unwonted prosecutions upon the 23rd and 28th Elizabeth and 3rd James, *two thirds of their lands, tenements, hereditaments, leases and farms*, for two or three years then last past were seized into

the king's hands, and process made out of his Exchequer twice yearly, to collect the rents and profits thereof; for which the bailiffs seldom take less than double; their distress frequently amounting to more than the yearly value of the whole estates! That the King had upon that occasion referred them to the Parliament, who (says Whitehead) 'by a Committee then examined by witnesses and records the justness and reasonableness of our complaints, and had true resentments thereof; but before they could yield us any relief were prorogued, and soon after dissolved.'

That the like being done to the succeeding Parliament, 'they were pleased to insert a Clause in a Bill then before them, to distinguish betwixt Papists and Protestants, which would have tended to redress our grievances—but the King also proroguing that Parliament, before the said Bill had past its last customary reading in the Upper House, we are still left under the said heavy pressures.—We therefore in true Christian humility desire, that the King will be pleased to grant a present stay, or cessation of process, until we can have a more effectual redress in a Parliamentary way.' (a)

A List of the Sufferers was at the same time presented to the King, who received it with fair words, admitting that it was very unreasonable they should suffer thus; declaring himself against prosecuting any for conscience; promising he would consider of their case, and advise with the Lord Chancellor and Attorney General about it; and appointing the next Council-day for moving it, and Shepard to give them notice. Shepard was 'a noted sort of a witty person and courtier, who much attended the King and was intimate with him.'

Whitehead says, they were sensible the king was at that time (as he had himself known him at others) touched in conscience, and somewhat tenderly affected with these accounts of extreme and long continued sufferings; but that he had persons about him who were not our friends, and had too much influence upon him: and he concludes with some reflections upon the duty and satisfaction of calling for justice; and persevering in this service under present ill success, in the hope of a future reward. We shall now see how this honest and noble-minded man was rewarded for that season.

A. D. 1679. On the 21st of the First Month (b) George Whitehead and Thomas Burr are taken out of a Meeting for worship, held on a First-day, at Norwich, by Thomas Seamans one of the Sheriffs, and examined by Francis Bacon, Recorder of the City, who commits them to the Common-jail of the City for a seditious conventicle; following the *Mittimus* in two days more by a second warrant, charging them with refusing the *Oath of Allegiance*. After five weeks' imprisonment they are brought up at Quarter-sessions, and in spite of a strenuous defence, in which the Court refused to hear them out (George Whitehead being haled away

(a) Christian Progress, p. 374.

(b) Following the former date, or a little more than two months after, the year then ending in the Third month.

A. D. from the bar speaking) are committed anew to prison by an *Order* 1679. of *Sessions*, for refusing the Oath of Allegiance: they lie till 'the 12th of July, 1680,' and are then discharged by proclamation in open Court, *under a new Recorder*.

The account of these, and other irregular and arbitrary proceedings of the same Recorder, occupies 112 pages of the work in small 8vo. above quoted; as published separately in the same year. It is full of documentary matter, and shews in a strong light the implacable high-church enmity and sanguinary threatening conduct of *Bacon*; who, in about five days after the re-commitment of the Friends, was voted out of office by the Common Council. He had been for some years a violent persecutor of the Society; and we have an account, here, of many whom he had proceeded against by imprisonment and distraint of their goods, representing them as *Papists* and *Jesuits*. The publication ends with 'A copy of an address from our suffering friends in Norwich in the year 1679, directed to the Knights and Burgesses for the county of Norfolk and city of Norwich;—signed by Samuel Duncon and fifteen more of the Citizens and inhabitants of Norwich.'

The above is but a sample of what was doing at this time to the Society at large:—for some further account of which take the following cases from the SUFFERINGS. They will show the variety of ways in which Friends were now troubled about the oaths, and for non-conformity.

Bedfordshire and Herts: 1678. Two Friends, John Barton and Henry Newman, are committed to gaol for not paying the sums of 2s. 2d and 1s. 1d. respectively for *Church-rates*, on writs *de excommunicato capiendo*; on which they lay, the one three years and a half, the other above two and a half. (c)

Berkshire: 1678. Michael Reynolds of Faringdon, on an *execution for Tithes*, at the suit of Robert Pye, Impropiator, had his corn and cattle taken away to the value of £97 6s. 9d., for one year's tithe of land of £55 yearly rent.

Robert Ewer, *being chosen Tithing-man at a Court Leet* and refusing to swear, suffered distress of his goods to the value of 40s. (d)

Bucks: 1678. John Stratton of Ivigoe, a poor husbandman, was imprisoned twenty one months, away from a wife and eight children, for not appearing before the Surrogate of the Bishop of Lincoln, to answer a charge of *absenting from his parish church, and for not receiving the sacrament*. (e)

Cambridgeshire: 1678. Thomas Amey of Great Abingdon, imprisoned in Cambridge Castle on a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, at the suit of John Boulton, vicar, for a claim of *oblations and tithe of wild pigeons*, remained there a year and a half. (f)

Cheshire: 1679. John Simcock, *for speaking some words of exhortation at a funeral*, had his goods taken away to the value of £100. In the preceding year he had taken from him, for a fine *for preaching*, eight cows and eleven heifers worth £90. Sir Philip Egerton disgraced himself, by encouraging the lawless plunder of Informers; saying he would justify them if they sold cattle at 12d. a piece. (g)

Derbyshire: 1678. For *small tithes* of about 1s. 6d. value, Eleanor Robotham, a widow about sixty years of age, was found to have been two years a prisoner. And William Beard, *for absence from the public worship*, was fined £220 as a *Popish Recusant* and imprisoned. (h)

(c) Besse, i, 10. (d) Idem. 34. (e) Idem. 81. (f) Idem. 97.

(g) Idem, 107. (h) Idem. 143.

Devonshire: 1678. Elias Tuckett of Christow, aged eighty one years, blind and almost deaf, was imprisoned ten weeks, at the suit of John Davis, a *Justice and Impropiator*, for tithes. And Manasses Orchard of Tiverton, was imprisoned by a writ *de capiendo* after prosecution in the Ecclesiastical Court, for opening his shop on the day called Christmas-day. (i)

Dorsetshire: 1678. Joseph Gillett, a clothier of Wooton near Lyme, was arrested in the month called May, for a demand of £220, for eleven months absence from the *National worship*: he put in an appearance to the action, but in the next term execution was awarded against him for that sum, which obliged him to shut up and leave off his trade, to the detriment of many poor people by him employed. In November, he was again committed to prison at the suit of Priest Bird, who himself assisted in plucking him out of his house. He was continued a prisoner near six years. (k)

Durham: 1678. Richard Watson, of this Quarterly Meeting, having preached at Darlington in 1676, had six cows taken from him, worth £30.

And fines being imposed, this year, on twelve friends for meetings at Stockton and Norton, and for Richard Watson's preaching there, this liberal spirited man went to George Morland, the Magistrate granting the warrants, and desired him to recall those warrants and let it fall on himself, who had sufficient effects. The magistrate refused, and distraints were made on the 9th Nov. to the amount of £101. An appeal to the Quarter Sessions from one of these friends, convicted in his absence and without a summons, as owner of a Meeting-house, was frustrated:—and eighteen more were in like manner convicted unheard, and without summons, the magistrate having, as he confessed on a complaint, forbidden the officers distraining even to shew their warrants.

The following document, relating to another case in this year (having somehow been seen and copied) brings forward by name some of the real movers of the persecution.

Durham Ss. "Whereas the right Worshipful Richard Lloyd, Knight and Doctor of Laws, Vicar General and official of the the right Reverend Father in God, Nathaniel, by Divine providence Lord Bishop of Durham, lawfully constituted, by a certificate under the Seal of his office aforesaid, hath informed us his Majesty's Justices of the peace, and Quorum hereunder named, that Roger Hudson, in the county and diocese of Durham, yeoman, was duly cited to appear before him, to answer Thomas Davison Clerk, Master of Arts, Vicar of the parish and Parish-church of Norton aforesaid, in a certain cause of Tithes and other Ecclesiastical rights, and upon his appearing was judicially required to appear before him as aforesaid, at a certain time and place likewise assigned to him, to take and receive a Libel in the said cause, at the suit of the said Thos. Davison, Clerk; and for his contempt in not appearing accordingly, he the said Roger Hudson was by him pronounced contumacious: In such contumacy he yet stands, not caring to obey the process, proceedings, decrees and sentences of the Ecclesiastical Judge: Whereupon the said official hath requested us to send forth our Warrants for the attacking of the said Roger Hudson, and to proceed against him according to the power committed to us by a Statute made to that purpose in the 27th year of the reign of Henry VIII, late King of England. These are therefore in his Majesty's name strictly to charge and command you to attack the body of the said Roger Hudson, and bring him before us to find sufficient sureties bounden by Recognizance to yield due obedience to the process, proceedings, decrees and sentences of the said Official in the case aforesaid, according

(i) Besse, i, 161.

(k) Idem. 171.

to the tenour of the said Statute : And if the said *Roger Hudson* shall refuse or neglect to do so, that then you convey him to his Majesty's gaol at Durham, there to be kept without bail or mainprize until he shall enter into Recognizance as aforesaid. Given at *Durham* under our hands and seals the 11th day of March, Anno rni. *Caroli secundi nunc Regis Angliæ, &c. tricesimo, Anno dom. 1678.*

Joseph Stokel,

John Morland.

“ To the bailiffs, constables and other his Majesty's officers in the County Palatine of Durham, more especially to the Constables of *Norton*, and to every of them.”

Thus committed, the poor man was closely confined eleven weeks ; in which time for want of air he fell sick. The gaoler moved with compassion gave him some liberty, and he began to recover. But the Vicar complained against the gaoler at the next Assizes, when he was reprimanded by the Bench, and (as it was reported) fined £20. After which the gaoler kept him very close, and he soon fell sick again. Robert Selby, a physician of Durham, applied to the under sheriff, but not prevailing he wrote to the *Vicar*, representing the Prisoner's case, and that it was probable a little fresh air might preserve his life, but received from him this answer : ‘ Sir, I hope I am and desire to continue a tender-hearted man : yet I would not have you or others judge me a soft fool, and one easily to be wheedled out of his right reason and senses by little phantastick Bugbears. If Roger Hudson were not able to pay (though a Turk) I know what I have to say ; but if either you or he pretend conscience for non-payment of just debts or dues, you must pardon me if I have as little credit for and give as little respect to that coynage and cozenage, as to one that picks a purse or cuts a throat by the same pretences.’

The poor sufferer after about five years' imprisonment *died, a victim to this Prosecutor's vengeance.* Being dead, he was buried in Woolen, as the Law directed, but his sister having omitted to make affidavit thereof till a day or two after the time limited by the Act, the Vicar got a warrant from the Justices to make distress for £5, the penalty of the Law in that case ; half of which fell to the share of the Informer.

1680. Richard Watson was now gratified, in company with six other Friends, *by being distrained on for a Meeting*, the total amount, £109 14s. 4d. But he was not to come off so lightly *for his liberty of speech* ; as the following curious Commitment shews.

‘ In plenâ Sessione pacis, tent. apud Dunelm in Com. Dunelm. decimo quinto die Januarii, Anno rni Caroli nunc Angliæ, &c. 30mo.

‘ Forasmuch as information is given unto this Court upon oath, that Richard Watson, of Norton in this county, yeoman, hath lately spoken divers words tending to the breach of the peace of this kingdom and the disturbance of the Government, These are therefore in his Majesty's name to will and require you, that forthwith upon the receipt hereof you apprehend the body of the said Richard Watson, and bring him before George Morland Esq. one of his Majesty's Justices of the peace for this County, then and there to answer to such matters and things as on his Majesty's behalf shall be objected against him : *And in the mean time shall be of the good behaviour* towards our Sovereign Lord the King, and all his liege people. Which if he shall refuse or neglect to do, that then you do carry him to the Common gaol at Durham, there to remain *till he shall willingly*

do the same. Herein you are not to fail at your perils. Given in the open Sessions abovesaid. P. CUR. [By the Court.]

'To the Bayliffs, constables and other his Majesty's officers for this County, and especially to the Constables of *Norton*. Exam. p. Fra. Crosby, Dep. Cler. Pacis, Dunelm.'

After five weeks imprisonment he was brought to the *Quarter Sessions*, where the Chairman was said to blush at the extrajudicial manner of his commitment, and, *after a charge not to go to any more Meetings*, [Comp. Acts, v, 40] dismiss him without fees. We find him, however, once more in the like scrape in 1681, in company with five others: the distrains, in all, £68. (l)

Lincolnshire: 1678. "From Thomas Robinson of Brant Broughton, for being at a meeting at Beckingham on the 24th of the First Month 1677—8, were taken four fat bullocks worth £34 10s., by warrant from Christopher Nevil of Harmston, Justice of the peace. And by another warrant from the same Justice, for a fine of £40 for another meeting at the same place, on the 31st of the First Month 1678 [a week after the former] he had taken from him eighteen of his best young sheep, a pair of steers, four draught bullocks, and four fat bullocks, worth £44 11s. [The reader may be enabled from these data to guess at the value of the seizure at the *present prices*—which must have exceeded £100.] The four fat bullocks were sold by Thomas Kelsey, the Constable, to John Cupp a butcher; who hearing on what account they were taken, declined his bargain. Then, all the ten steers and bullocks were drove to Grantham market, but nobody would buy them: thence they were driven to Sleeford, where one Parker bought the four fat bullocks for £27, but when he understood they had been taken by the Act, he also threw up his bargain. Then they drove the beasts to Lincoln, but could find no chapman: for the people looking on them as the spoil of conscience, would not buy them. At length, the Constable drove them all to Sir Christopher Nevil, the Justice by whose warrant they had been taken; but he, *after keeping them fourteen days*, and finding no purchaser, and being unwilling to take them himself, restored them to the right owner, on consideration that the same, or others of like value would probably be upon the land at any time.—The eighteen sheep, worth about £14, were sold privately, out of the market, to a poor man of Grantham for £10. 7s." The chief promoter of this prosecution, priest of Brant Broughton, quickened the Constable's movements by the following letter:

"Brant-Broughton April 9th, 1678. Thomas Kelsey: I cannot but wonder that any King's officer should be so backward in executing the King's laws, as I find you to be: Methinks you should have gone to Sir Christopher Nevil, had you had no other inducement thereto save only civility to Sir Francis Fane, who desired you so to do: You cannot now, as you did then, pretend the want of an horse. I have sent my man on purpose to join with you in giving information to the Justices, concerning the late conventicle held at Broughton; and if you refuse to act, I have ordered my man to make his complaint to the Bench. If your Landlord, Mr. Pierpoint, be informed how you and others have behaved yourselves in this business, I know he will not thank you for your remissness; for whatever his tenants at Broughton may be, sure I am, he is a person more zealous for the Church. No more at present, from your friend JOHN CHAPPLE."

By such menaces, and sometimes by rigorous fines at Quarter sessions, were the officers intimidated when inclined to forbearance towards a neighbour, or uneasy in mind at the nature of the work they had to do. And so far did compassion extend with some of them, as to induce the taking a sufficient portion of the property seized upon themselves at its value, and paying the fines demanded. (m)

(l) Besse, i, 180, 182, 183.

(m) Idem, i, 354.

London and Middlesex: 1677—8. "On the 13th of the month called January, 1677, John Pye, Hugh Lamb, Daniel Duke, James Beech and John Spence, were indicted for being at a Meeting in Westminster, and convicted by the oaths of *John Goodwin and Scarlet Rose*, informers: But upon a rehearing, they proved, by substantial evidence, that they were at distant places at the time the Meeting, for which they had been convicted, was held; the informers manifestly appeared to be perjured, and the Justices granted an Order for apprehending them, for fear of which they absconded and fled."

Thus I find it in the Sufferings: but there is something about the record, which induces me to think the proceedings (though real, as I do not doubt) to have involved a legal stratagem, contrived on purpose by the Church-party to get rid of two infamous *alias*-named scoundrels for whom they had no further occasion; by setting them on, with a list of wrong names to prosecute!

An attempt was now made to prevent the Quakers from interring the dead bodies of their friends, after their own manner; for which purpose they had a piece of ground near *Bunhill fields*, at which one Richard Carter usually officiated as grave maker: Against him, at a Sessions at Hicks's Hall, a presentment was laid before Charles Lee, Knt. William Bowles, Knt. John Phillips, one of the Auditors of the Exchequer, and other Justices, for having by force and arms, in a certain *unusual* and unlawful place *commonly* called the Quaker's Burying-ground, unlawfully and unjustly buried the body of 'Mary Knight, late of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, *Spinster*, otherwise called [having been married too, it appears, in our way] Mary Knight wife of George Knight, of the same place, yeoman [the maiden name either not obtained, or the flaw of omitting it overlooked]. And proceeding to state that the said Richard Carter had unlawfully and unjustly buried, in the same place, the dead bodies of *very many other persons*, at least one hundred [so much for the 'unusual' place] and charging him with being a person ill affected towards the authority of our Lord the King; and contriving and intending the laws and ancient customs, and good rule and government of our Lord the King—to violate and pervert, and his authority to diminish and extinguish.

All which legal fiction, 'though it issued only in some personal trouble and charge to the poor grave-maker, plainly discovers to what a pitch of malice and mischief the blind and furious zeal of superstitious ignorance can hurry men.'

"*John Field*, of the parish of Anne and Agnes Aldersgate, was prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical Court for *teaching School without a license from the Bishop*; and because after admonition he desisted not, was for his 'Contumacy' committed to Ludgate prison on the 9th of Dec. 1678, where he was confined twenty nine weeks: and though sick, could not obtain leave either to go home, or to a Friend's house near the prison for the recovery of his health—the *severity of Ecclesiastical censure not admitting of any such mixture of mercy!* (n)

Nottinghamshire: 1676. "One John Sayton was informed against, and fined £20 by Justice Thoroton, for being at a meeting in the parish of Blythe at a time when he was at a distance of more than sixty miles from thence. He appealed to the Quarter Sessions, and with much difficulty obtained a hearing of his case. The jury, finding the matter clear, brought in a verdict for the appelland; where-

(n) Besse, i, 441, 442, 443.

upon *Peniston Whaley*, one of the justices, ordered them to go out again; but one of them answered, 'We are agreed, and have well considered the matter:' whereupon the justice in a rage flung off the bench, and said, 'You deserve all to be hanged;' adding, that they 'were as bad as highwaymen;' and said, 'he hoped the king would take away juries; for this' said he, 'will not do.' Thus *Sayton* was acquitted, and the jury dismissed, to make room for another more agreeable to the purposes of the court.

"Next morning another jury was impanelled, and another appeal of the like nature came on. The case was that of *William Hudson*; whom the evidence could not prove to have been at the meeting he was charged with; and though eight of the jury were pickt men, known to be against the appellant, yet the other four stood out, and no verdict was agreed on till about eight at night; when one of those four being taken ill, and needing refreshment, '*Justice*' *Whaley* told them, *if they did not agree they should be kept there till they died; and as one of them died the court would choose another, till they were all dead.* They were overawed into a compliance, and after the court was adjourned, privately gave a verdict against the appellant. When one of the jury said he would gladly do equity, *Justice Thoroton* replied, 'You have nothing to do with equity.'

"On the 26th of November, 1676, certain informers came to a meeting at *Blythe*, and finding no preacher there resolved to make one. So they came out again, and consulted with their associates; one of whom, *Edward Butterworth*, goes into the meeting, and demurely seats himself there till the informers came again; then *Butterworth* stood up, and said 'Blessed are the peace makers,' and some other words: upon which *Thomas Sharp*, one of the informers, laid hold on him, pulled him out of the meeting, and delivered him to the constable; who carried this pretended preacher before *Justice Sands*; when *Sharp* appeared to make information against him. But the justice observing the fellow's behaviour, suspected him, and examined him, *where he lived?* He answered, at *Broughton* eight miles from *Lincoln*. The justice ordered him to be brought again next day, when *Sir Ralph Knight* being also present they again examined him; and he still asserted that he lived at *Broughton*. *Sharp* the informer, being also examined upon oath, affirmed that he never saw the man before in all his life. But between these two examinations, the following Certificate had been procured, and was produced before the Justices, viz.

'This may certify whom it may concern, that we whose names are underwritten do testify that *Edward Butterworth* and *Thomas Sharp*, of our town of *Newark*, are very well acquainted and near neighbours, living together in our town and both in a street: most of our town well know it: *John Milner, Thomas Merryweather.*'

'Upon this, the Justices ordered *Butterworth* to find sureties for his appearance at Sessions, or else to be sent to *Nottingham gaol*; but as the Constable was conveying him thither he made his escape. About three days after, he came to the Justices and two of the [customary] Informers with him, who were bound for his appearance at Sessions—but we do not find any further proceedings in this affair." (o)

I have gone back a year or two for this case, and shall here take leave of this County, as to Sufferings; it appearing that, after this period, they were pretty much confined to *Tithes in kind*, taken at discretion from the crops of the occupiers of the Land.

Somersetshire: 1678. "*John Whiting* of *Naylsey*, was prosecuted in the Bishop's Court at *Wells* for *Tithes*, at the suit of *Edward Ancketyll*, Priest of *Wraxall* and *Naylsey*; The SCHEDULE stated as follows: '*Imprimis*, The said *John Whiting* had, held and possessed in the said parish of *Wraxall* and *Titheable-places* thereof, the years and months libellate, all or some of them,

seven acres of ground, which he sowed or caused to be sown with *Wheat*, each acre yielding five hundred bushels, each bushel worth 8s. and the tithe after that rate.

Item. The said John Whiting had in the said parish *eight acres* of ground which he sowed or caused to be sown with *Oats*, each acre yielding eight hundred bushels, and each bushel worth 4s. 6d. and the tithe after that rate.

Item. The said John Whiting had *five acres* of ground, which he sowed with *Barley*, each acre yielding four hundred bushels, and each bushel worth 5s.

Item. The said John Whiting was and is an Inhabitant and Parishioner of and in Wraxall aforesaid, and *ought to receive* the Sacrament of the Lord's supper yearly at Easter, and *ought to pay* the Parson, or his assigns, the sum of 6d. in money, at the feast of *Easter* yearly [for 'the body and blood of Christ' so purchased!]

Note : According to this schedule, the whole corn for one year came to 3340*l.* and the tithe of it to 334*l.* But if for two years, (the time libelled for) the whole corn must come to 6680*l.* and the tithe to 668*l.* Whereas in truth the said John Whiting had not a grain either of Wheat or barley, and all the corn he had growing was worth but about 10*l.* and the Tithe of it came to about 20s."

For refusing to answer to his adversary's libel upon oath [he should have sent him, had it been published then, a copy of *Bore'em and Bother'em*, in the Bath guide!] the said John Whiting was excommunicated, and carried to the Sheriff's ward in Ilchester gaol; where and at the Friery he found about thirty of his Friends, some of whom had been many years there on the like account: but, in this instance, in better lodgings than often fell to the lot of their fellow-sufferers for the Testimony. We shall have to notice him here again shortly, on other business. (p)

Of the singular places in which Friends met, at that period, I find an instance in the fines imposed this year on a number of them 'for a Meeting held in the *Abbey-kitchen* at Glaston.'

Warwickshire: 1678. John Marshall of Ipsley died, and by his last Will appointed a kinsman of his dwelling in Southwark his Exor. for the benefit of his only child. He had been *excommunicated* in the Bishop of Worcester's Court for not paying 3s. 6d. towards the repairs of the Parish church. The Wardens of Ipsley *got an administration out of the Bishop's court to the effects of the deceased* (for this demand of 3s. 6d. and costs); and taking advantage of the Exor's absence, seized and carried away property to more than sixty times the amount. (q)

Wiltshire: 1678. Ralph Withers, of Bishops-cannings, was excommunicated and imprisoned, without any presentment or citation that he knew of, for no other cause than his being married in another manner than the Liturgy of the Church of England directs. (r) [Compare Vol. 1, p. 359.]

Yorkshire: 1678. Peter Acklam was prosecuted on the Statute of 20*l.* per month, *by a person generally reputed to be much inclined to Popery*, and was thereupon imprisoned at York. On occasion of his trial at the Assizes, one of the Judges had reflected on the Quakers, as if some of them had been convicted Jesuits. John Whitehead and Thomas Thompson, upon this, wrote to the Judge, requesting the names of the parties so convicted, and the place where, 'as it might be a great inducement to many, to disclaim their principle and join with the Church of England, who have always believed that people not to be influenced by any such persons.' On the other hand, should he not be able to make the charge good, they reminded him that he had *stained his honour* by uttering such

(p) Besse, i, 611.

(q) Idem. 767.

(r) Besse, ii, 45.

a slander against an innocent people; and that, where his words should have been as Oracles, upon the seat of judgment.

And the frequent prosecutions of this people on the Statutes made against Popish recusants, caused divers of them to draw up and subscribe a paper, intituled,

A Representation presented to the Members of Parliament for Yorkshire; being as follows, viz.

Friends, According to the due respect and honour that we bear unto authority we have at this time *made our appearance with the rest of our neighbours, in order to elect persons to sit in Parliament* as the Representatives of this County: and *you being now elected, we look upon it our duty to acquaint you with our grievances,* desiring that ye would endeavour to redress them. There are divers of our Friends have been and still continue under deep sufferings, both in persons and estates, by such laws as were made against Popish recusants; although it is very well known, and we hope you are fully satisfied, *that we are not Papists.*

Therefore we do require that you would consider the unreasonableness of our Sufferings in this case, and use your endeavours to remove this and all other [our] heavy yokes of suffering, that we suppose ye are not ignorant have lain upon us for divers years; and that only for the exercise of our conscience toward God in matters of religion. So that we, as well as others of the King's subjects, may enjoy our rights and liberties both as Men and Protestant Christians, we living honestly and peaceably within his dominion. And to this our loving and Christian request some of us, in behalf of the rest, have subscribed our names this 3rd day of the First Month called March 1678: John Fisher, Thomas Aldam, James Armstrong, John Burloe, Thomas Hutchinson, Henry Dickinson, John Killam, William Shaw, John Woodhouse, Thomas Killam, John Burgess, John Leppington, William Worfalke, Thomas Taylor, Henry Jackson, George Hutchinson, James Harrison, Thomas Mason, George Shaw, John Aldam. (s)

ART. II.—*Remarks on Scripture Passages.* Continued.

Luke vi, 41. "And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, and perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"

The literal meaning of our version, a beam or large piece of timber in the *eye*, is so absurd even in a figure, that I can hardly persuade myself we have the text rightly rendered. It is true, the Greek word is *dokos*, a beam or staff: but may not this be a term (rather than a name) for a piece of wood *made straight to serve for direction*; whether in building or in action. It is apparently from *dokēō*, I teach: as our seamen say of a rope that it is *taught*, when it is well stretched between two fastenings. May not the Syriac then, in which our Lord spake, have a term here, rendered by the Greek *dokos*, to denote the sensible idea of *direction*? A thing not more strange than our saying of a person 'he has a *stitch*' when the muscles are involuntarily drawn together. On this supposition it will denote an obliquity of the axis of vision, a *cast* of the eye, a *squint*, in the faultfinder—and the meaning will be 'Trouble not thyself with the mote in thy brother's eye, till thou art cured of the squint in thy own.' As to the *mote* we have no difficulty, but may safely take the literal meaning: for it would not be to a brother, a casual helper, but to a surgeon, that the party would

(s) Besse, ii, 143, 144.

be applying in the case of a speck on the cornea, as some understand it.

‘And how comes it that thou discernest so well the mote in thy brother’s eye, and art not sensible of the beam [the staff *pointing wrong*] in thy own?’

Ver. 49. ‘And the ruin of that house was great.’

Very probably referring to some recent instance of the thing described.

Luke vii, 24. ‘What sort of person was he to whom ye went out into the wilderness—a man of temporizing principles, of vacillating conduct—a luxurious, an effeminate man? These ye might indeed have found in the court of Herod, but *here* a prophet—yea, I tell you more than a prophet. And of all *men* living [*periphrasis*, those born of women] there is not one greater than John the Baptist—yet the least in the kingdom of heaven [having attained to the new birth and become a child of God] is greater than he.

Ver. 29, 30. Do not these two verses form a *parenthesis* in the middle of the relation, by the Evangelist, of what our Lord said on this occasion: a speech in which he sets forth the very opposite feelings with which he was heard at that instant by the penitent who had, and by the impenitent who had not, come under the baptism of John? It should therefore begin ‘For all the people that heard him, &c.’ which would show the parenthesis.

Luke ix, 18. Would not this admit of being rendered thus, And it came to pass as he was retired for prayer, his disciples being with him, he asked them, &c.? The present involves a contradiction in terms, not very pleasant to read.

Ver. 58. ‘The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the son of man hath not where to lay his head!’

A simple and pathetic reflection of the Great redeemer, on his own state of poverty and comparative destitution: but which has been spiritualized in sermons, till a reader of our own society can scarce find the literal meaning in it.

Ver. 60. Christ undoubtedly knew the state of mind of the friends of the party at the time; and that his going back to his home would endanger his resolution, through their remonstrances. It is possible, however, that he suffered him to fulfil that very natural wish; taking this emphatic warning with him.

Luke x, 42. I agree with those who make the *one thing needful* here to be merely a single dish for dinner: and do not love to hear it exalted (like the ‘wisdom that is profitable to direct’ already treated of) to a higher place in our divinity than it merits.

Luke xi, 7. The Greek *ta paidia*, the young folks, standing as well for servants as children, may not the meaning be, ‘The servants are gone to rest, and I am also in bed; I cannot rise and give thee.’ The master would probably retire last. The vulgate has it: *jam ostium clausum est et pueri mei sunt in cubili: non possum surgere et dare tibi.* Where the excuse is, that the lads were gone up to their room; [he could not send *them*] and he himself could not [be expected to] rise and attend to the request.

Ver. 34. 'The light of the body is the eye: therefore when thine eye is single, thy whole body also is full of light; but when evil, thy body also is full of darkness.'

Here is a singular mixture of the literal and the spiritual, the figure and its application. The candle in the preceding verse, was the figure simply; and the mention of it there seems to have prepared the way for this sentence, and to have made it intelligible as applied, obliquely, to the will or *intention* and its effects on the understanding, of man. But in verse 36, we have a repetition and a truism, which may be attributed to human hesitancy in making the record, and which does not probably reflect the mind of the Great master in that passage. Is it a confused gloss on verses 33, 34; taken into the text? It comes *out of place* after the concluding caution in verse 35.

Ver. 48. 'Truly ye bear witness that ye allow the deeds of your fathers: for they indeed killed them, and ye build their sepulchres!'

Is not the meaning thus, 'They killed, you bury them: they opposed and put them down, you keep them there.'

Ver. 49. 'Therefore also said the Wisdom of God.' *Purver's* note is, 'Christ; so termed by Luke, as [by Paul] 1 Cor. i, 24,' We must take this passage in connection with Matt. xxiii, 34, where our Lord puts it beyond a doubt that it was *He* would send them. But, with regard to this expression, does he refer to a prophecy not now extant, designating, to this office of sending, the Wisdom of God as a person—or is it a form of speaking which implies, that thus hath God in His wisdom decreed? Our Lord may have spoken of himself in this office, both in the first and in the third person, and with equal propriety in each.

Luke xii, 6. This is plainly an allusion to the practice, yet found in markets, of selling small birds, as larks, by the string containing so many for so much. The neuter diminutive, *strouthia*, may perhaps be considered as applicable to small birds of any kind sold for food.

Ver. 42. Considering that Peter was about to be set over the household upon the departure of his Lord, the force and propriety of the caution here given him, will be strikingly apparent.

Ver. 49. How wonderfully abrupt and full of fire is this speech! I *came* to send fire on the earth [as if that moment accused as an incendiary] and care not though it were already kindled!

Ver. 52, 53. 'Five in one house divided, three against two and two against three.' How do we make out the parties? There are 1. the father, 2. the son, 3. the mother, 4. the daughter, 5. the son's wife. The two on one side are, 1. the father, 2. the mother,—the three on the other 1. the son against the father, 2. the daughter against the mother, 3. the son's wife against the same. It is the aged and those in parental rule (the traditional believers) that are opposed by the young and zealous, enlightened further. How wonderfully verified since, in the history of many sincere converts, in *Christian* families, to the true doctrine of Christ! *Shall* should be *will*, here also.

Luke, xiii, 31, 32. 'Get thee out and depart hence, for Herod will kill thee.'—'Go ye and tell that fox' &c.

An insidious message, intended to make Jesus afraid, that he might so banish himself; met by a direct and bold reply, characterizing the man who sent it: 'Go now, tell that fox what I am doing; that I may go on casting out devils and doing cures, to day and tomorrow, and the third day [by which time an order might come back from Herod] *be made an end of*:—*teleioumai* Gr. Nevertheless I must [stay here and] do what I am doing, to day and tomorrow and the day following: for it cannot be that a prophet perish any where but in Jerusalem—[the very city in which he might expect honour and safety!] I have noticed elsewhere the pathetic expostulation with his country which follows. *Ed.*

ART. III.—POETRY:—*Old age with a good conscience.*

Nec pietas moram
Rugis et instanti senectæ
Affert:—

Horace.

"*Old age* knocks at the gate? Say, not at home."
'Tis of no use (quoth *Conscience*)—in he'll come!
All's well, if to receive him you're prepared,
By loss of goods nor threat of ouster scared.
I've often told you, how, three years or more,
With this intent he's lurk'd about the door.
Remember, in your service I've not slept,
But at my post a constant vigil kept:
And, to be short, I'd have you give him, now,
Polite reception: make your civilest bow.
You'll miss, I hope, that posse in his train
Of Gout and gravel, rheum and ache and pain.
As you have kept the *House* in decent order,
I fear no warrant issuing 'gainst the *Warder*.
A tax-collector, now and then, may call,—
Give him his dues: they're stated ones and small.
A *grinder* more or less will ne'er be thought
Exaction, when you've lost the occasion for 't.
Your *lights* may here and there be stopt. What then?
At *Memory's* clear taper light again.
Of thatch you are despoil'd—your *locks* decay:
Age reverence brings; tho' time steal these away.
If by a friend you'll be advised then, meet him:
Rise from your chair, and *at the threshold greet him.*" W.

"Lord! to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal
Life." John vi, 68

O whither shall the hungry soul
For nourishment repair?—
Thine only, Lord! the quick'ning words
Of Life eternal are.

Thou art the Rock of ages, whence
 The heavenly waters flow'd,
 That thro' the weary wilderness
 Refresh'd the pilgrims' road.

Then grant that in this Vale of tears
 Thy grace my steps may guide,
 Thro' all its slippery ways protect,
 And for my wants provide.

And when my longing eye shall see
 The Land of Promise near,
 May my worn spirit bow to thee,
 Thy word that spirit cheer.

W.

ART. IV.—*An Epistle from Friends of Pennsylvania and Jersey to Friends in Britain, 1683.*

The following Epistle, which bears date near the close of the year 1683, O. S. appears to have been sent by William Penn, and the leading Friends associated with him in the care of the Church in Pennsylvania, to Friends in Britain generally; for their information as to the state and prosperity, religious and civil, of the newly settled Colony.

I have taken it from the MS. collection of the Penington family, so often before used in this work. I find it without a descriptive address—but the tenour of it warrants my considering it as sent (not to the Yearly Meeting but) to be copied, and dispersed among Friends at large. The Reader who may be surprised to see “the City of *Philadelphia*” mentioned so early, may learn from Clarkson, who gives his authorities (in his *Life of Penn*, i, 417) that nearly *three hundred houses* were already built on the site, according to the plan laid down by the founder, and that the population of Philadelphia of all descriptions amounted to *two thousand five hundred persons*. *Ed.*

“Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, 17 of 1 mo. 1683.

Dear and Beloved Friends and Brethren,

In ye everlasting kindred of ye heavenly truth of our God, we who are therein as flesh of your flesh and bone of your bone, send you ye salutation of our endeared love, Friends, Brethren and Sisters, Parents and Children, Masters, Mistresses and servants, your whole families, whether ye be little children, young men, or Fathers in ye honourable truth, ye God of eternal love and power y^t visited and gathered us in our own land and kept us while we lived in it, who hath brought us safely into this part of his own earth, and y^t so unutterably appears to us and amongst us in all our assemblies, to refresh, bles and establish us, hath laid it upon us in ye name of many friends present at a select meeting of Elders and faithful Brethren of Pennsylvania and Jersey, at ye City of Philadelphia (where ye glory of ye Lord did wonderfully overshadow us) to greet you all in ye Lord Jesus Christ, and to let you know how it is wth us both inwardly and outwardly, and blessed be ye God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob, y^t called us not hither in vain: and this was ye testimony of life in our living assembly through many faithfull Brethren, y^t God was wth us and is wth us yea he hath made our way for us, and proved and confirmed to us his word and faith-

fulness, for he hath adorned this wilderness wth his presence, and contented our hearts in his providence; yea established our hearts wth his goodness, and while this humility, this brokenness, this self-abasem^t dwells wth us, shall it not go well wth us? yea and with all y^t so dwell. Our God hath engaged us, yea he hath overcome us wth his antient glory, y^e desert sounds, y^e wilderness rejoyces, a visitation inwardly and outwardly is come to America, God is Lord of all y^e earth and at our setting of y^e sun will his name be famous; friends we rejoice in his salvation, we see his work, we are in our places, and God wth us, and much here is to do for him, and it is in our heart to deliver up our days and lives and strength to him, and we pray God [to] be kept, and you to pray for us. O remember us for we cannot forget you, many waters cannot quench our love nor distance wear out y^e deep remembrance of you, in y^e heavenly truth we pray God preserve you in faithfulness, y^t discharging y^r places and stewardships, ye may be honoured and crowned, wth y^e reward of y^m y^t endure to y^e end. And though the Lord hath been pleased to remove us far away from you, as to y^e other end of y^e earth, yet are we present wth you in y^t w^{ch} fills all things: we suffer, we rejoice, we sympathize wth you, your exercises are ours, our hearts are dissolved in y^e remembrance of you, Dear Brethren and Sisters in this heavenly love, and y^e Lord of heaven and earth, who is y^e father of our family, keep us in his love and power, and unite comfort and build us all more and more to his eternall praise, and our rejoicing.

“And now dear Friends, know y^t God’s truth is in its authority amongst us, yea and a terrour to y^e wicked, and a praise to y^m y^t do well, and God daily gives y^e faithful dominion over ye sp^{ts} of y^e people, and they y^t are not subject (for love) to y^e truth in y^mselves, are subject to its heavenly authority in those y^t fear God, and y^e dominion under this part of y^e whole heaven is a giving to ye saints of y^e most high, and our part of y^e kingdoms of this end of y^e world growing to be y^e kingdoms of the Lord and his Christ, whose authority is setting up within and so without, y^t we may be a society complete in him throughout, as well in body as in soul and sp^t, w^{ch} are his, so will y^e creation be delivered, and y^e earth obtain her sabbaths again. For our meetings more especially of worship, there is in west Jersey one at y^e falls of the river Delaware, another at Burlington, one at Assisconck, one at Rancocas, one at New-town and one at Salem,* and two half year meetings, one at Burlington and one at Salem, to w^{ch} y^e half yearly meetings of friends in East Jersey are joyned, who also have a yearly meeting of themselves, a men and women’s meeting and a yearly meeting at Shrewsbury,* (and 3 men and womens meetings one at Burlington, one at Newtown and one at Salem).

“In Pennsylvania, there is one at y^e falls, one at y^e Governour’s house, one at Colchester river, all in y^e County of Bucks, one at Tawlony [Trelawny] one at Philadelphia, both in y^t County, and at Darby at John Blimstons, one at Chester; one at Ridley at John Symcocks, and one at W^m. Ruses in Chichester in Cheshire. There be 3 monthly meetings of men and women for truths service, in y^e County of Chester one, in y^e County of Philadelphia another, and in y^e County of Bucks another, and intend a yearly meeting in y^e 3^d m: next. And here our care is as it was in our native land, y^t we may serve the Lords truth and people, and keep w^t in us lies our holy profession from y^e reflection of y^e enemies thereof, and our desires are y^t as we are joined of the Lord, and so one people, by his own power we may live in this dear and near relation, and have a mutual regard to y^e honour of y^e Lords truth both here and there, and in order to y^e same, y^t there may be free communication and holy advices and correspondencys, w^{ch} on our p^{ts} we intend (y^e Lord willing) to observe and tenderly desire y^e same from you, y^t we may be comforted and edified in each other, to y^e praise of y^e name of the great Lord of our heavenly family, particularly as we on y^e Lords behalf do agree y^t if any shall leave these p^{ts}. and incline homewards, they shall have a certificate of their clearness in respect of conversation, credit, marriage and unity amongst

us, or else y^t you shall have cause of shyness towards y^m: so we intreat of you, y^t all desiring to come into these parts, may be cautioned to observe that good and comely care, as they hope to be received and helped of us. And such as are certified of by y^e faithful of y^e meetings where they have lived, to be clear in life, credit, marriage, engagements and unity among God's people, where they inhabited, we shall embrace and assist them as Brethren in y^e service of love. And for outward condition as men, blessed be God we are satisfied, y^e countries are good (y^e land y^e water y^e air) room enough for many thousands to live plentifully and y^e back lands much the best, good increase of labour, all sorts of grain, provision sufficient, and by reason of many giving y^mselves to husbandry, there is like to be great fullness in some time, but they y^t come upon a meer outward account must work or be able to maintain such as can, fowl, fish and venison are plentiful, and of pork and beef is no want, considering y^t about 2000 people came into this river last year. Dear friends and Brethren, we have no cause to murmur, our lot is fallen every way in a good place, and y^e Lord God is and grows among us, and we are a family at peace within ourselves, and truly great is our joy therefore. So in y^e unchangeable love and life of truth, into wch we have been with you baptized, and so made to drink into one pure and eternal fellowship, where our souls dwell and feed together before y^e Lord, we once more salute you and embrace you, remaining, and praying y^t we may remain therein.

Your true, tender and faithfull Brethren,

William Penn	John Southwort	Thomas Bracy
Samuell Jennings	Wm. Yardley	Ino. Songhurst
Christopher Tailour	Ino. Symcock	Griffith Jones
James Harrison	Thomas Fitswater	Wm. Clayton
John Kennell	Lewis David	Rob. Wade
Robert Stacy	Henry Lewis	Thom. Ducket
Isaac Marriot	Wm. Howell	Nich. Walne
Arthur Cook	Thomas Winn	Ino. Blumston
Wm. Frampton	Benja. Chambers."	

Subscription for Joseph Lancaster.

In my Second Volume, p. 31, I gave notice of an intention on the part of the Friends of Joseph Lancaster, to raise by subscription a sum, out of which might be provided for this eminent and most meritorious man, who is struggling with adversity in declining age, *an Annuity for life*. I have now before me a printed List of Subscriptions to this object, containing about *three hundred and fifty names and descriptions* (some of the latter covering many names not furnished) with an amount of Contributions, in the whole, of £970. 0s. 1d.: by a moderate addition to which the sum of £100 per annum may be secured for his use. The *Dukes of Bedford and Somerset*, with *Hudson Gurney, Esq. M. P.* handsomely led the subscriptions: and a band of *men of the SISTER ISLE*, who have benefited by the System of Mutual Instruction, (in an equally liberal style) brought up the rear with their *pounds apiece* up to seventy, and twenty-five pounds beside in smaller sums, through the hands of his old Scholar, *Maurice Cross, SHEFFIELD* was also liberal *through the Master of the Lancasterian School, Charles Oaks*; and sent us five and twenty pounds. I have much pleasure in recording these facts, and anticipating the accomplishment of this desirable object for my old friend 'the Luther of the Schools!' Eighth Mo. 20th, 1834. *Ed.*

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YORKSHIREMAN,

A

RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY JOURNAL

BY A FRIEND.

No. LV.

PRO PATRIÆ.

1834.

ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrines and practices of the Quakers.*

(Continued from p. 90.)

A. D. *The Duke of Monmouth courts popularity, and is looked to 1680. for the support of the Protestant interest.*

I have introduced this piece of history for the sake of the following from *Whiting*, one of our own authors.

“In the Sixth month this year, came down the Duke of Monmouth in his progress to the West: he came through Ivelchester, with some thousands on horse-back attending him; the country flocking to him and after him; the eyes of the nation being towards him, as the hopes and head of the Protestant interest at that time, in opposition to the Duke of York and the Popish party. We [the Friends prisoners at Ivelchester, see p. 89] stood in the Friary gate, as he rode through the town; and as he passed by, taking notice of so many quakers together with their hats on, he stopped and put off his hat to us; and our Friend John Anderdon had a mind to speak with him, and tell him we were prisoners for conscience sake; *but had a stop in his mind, lest there should be an ill use made of it*, in [charging us with] applying to him, and making him too popular:—the Court having a watchful eye over him. However, we could not but have a respect to him for his affability; and therefore were the more concerned when his fall came.” *Memoirs, &c.* p. 65.

I have heretofore asserted the loyalty of the Quakers to the government under their deepest sufferings; and we have, here, another fact in proof of it. For had not Friends in this part of the island been restrained by principle, such was the treatment they were receiving from the Magistracy, it is not to be thought but that many of them would have been implicated (though, probably not in arms) in the support of this adventurer, and in the risings which followed.

VOL. III.

O

A. D. The province of *West New Jersey* colonized; chiefly by Quakers, with a Quaker government and constitution.

New Jersey (or *Nova Cæsarea*) was granted by Charles II to his brother the Duke of York; who sold it, in great part, immediately to the Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, then members of the Council. This was in 1664: in the subsequent hostilities it fell into the hands of the Dutch, but was restored at the peace in 1674 to the English. In 1675, the Lord Berkeley sold his share of the province to John Fenwick, a trustee of the estate of Edward Byllinge, both Quakers: with whom, in consequence of a dispute between Fenwick and Byllinge (settled in Friends' way by arbitration) were afterwards joined in trust, Gawen Lawrie, Nicholas Lucas and *William Penn*. This arbitration, and the subsequent trust, appear to have been Penn's introduction to the knowledge and colonization of his own province, Pennsylvania. (a)

Acting under this appointment, Penn appears to have come to an agreement with Sir George Carteret, that he should take for his share the *Eastern* and more peopled part of the province; the Creditors of Byllinge, and their assigns, retaining the Western. Of this portion, now named West Jersey, a *tenth* was given up in 1676 to Fenwicke, who went over and took possession. The remaining *ninety* parts were offered for sale, and settlers invited to the Colony; Penn taking care to provide the outline of a Constitution for their government. Many accepted the terms; and, under the auspices of the new Legislator, several vessels filled with Emigrants had already arrived out.

"Among the purchasers of the West Jersey lands were two companies, one made up of some Friends in Yorkshire (b) the other of some Friends in London, each contracting for considerable shares; for which they had patents. The nine Commissioners sent out in 1677 by these Proprietors, landed two hundred and thirty settlers, mostly quakers, and some of them men of good estates. While the vessel lay in the Thames with them, Charles II came alongside in his barge, and being informed whither they were bound, asked if they were *all* quakers and gave them his blessing!" (c)

Had he been prepared to accord to them their liberty of conscience, they had probably staid in England:—as it was plainly a part of Penn's object, to secure to his friends an asylum from a persecution, which at that time looked as if it would prove interminable. Much as governments may and do err, *in this thing*, there is ONE who overrules all; and who is seen to bring out of the partial evil a general and permanent good. No thanks meanwhile to the actors of the wrong!

These Commissioners, conceiving that the Duke of York had conveyed the powers of government along with the soil, to the Proprietors, waited on Major

(a) *Proud*: Hist. Pennsylvania; Introduction.

(b) Thos. Hutchinson of Beverley, yeoman; Thos. Pierson of Bonwicke, yeoman; Joseph Helmsley of Great Kelke, yeoman; George Hutchinson of Sheffield, distiller, and Mahlon Stacy of Hansworth, tanner. For the sum of £3500, the amount of debts due to them from Byllinge, these parties received *ten* out of the *ninety* parts of the province of West Jersey, reserved by the Trustees.

(c) *Smith*: Hist of New Jersey, Chap. vi.

Andros (who had come out Governor of New York in 1674) to let him know they were going to administer. He treated them civilly; but asked if they had any thing from his master, the Duke. They replied, nothing in particular. He told them, if he should surrender without the Duke's order, it would be as much as his head was worth. And they continuing to urge it, he clapt his hand on his sword, and told them, *that* should defend the government from *them*, till he received orders from the Duke, his master, to surrender it. But upon further remonstrance softened, and agreed to grant separate commissions in the Magistracy to the several Proprietors, to be held until they should hear from the Government at home. And Fenwicke, neglecting to procure his, was sent for to New York a prisoner for the contempt.

A. D. 1681. *Samuel Jenings* (of whom p. 24) receives a Commission as Deputy-governor of West New Jersey. He calls an Assembly and with them agrees upon certain *fundamentals of government*, as follows:

' Province of West-New-Jersey, in America, the 25th of the 9th month called November, 1681.

' Forasmuch as it hath pleased God to bring us into this province of West-New-Jersey, and settle us here in safety, that we may be a people to the praise and honour of his name, who hath so dealt with us—and for the good and welfare of our posterity to come: We, the governor and proprietors, freeholders and inhabitants of West-New-Jersey, by mutual consent and agreement, for the prevention of innovations and oppression, either upon us, or our posterity, and for the preservation of the peace and tranquility of the same; and that all may be encouraged to go on cheerfully in their several places; we do make and constitute these our agreements, to be as fundamentals to us, and our posterity, to be held inviolable; and that no person or persons whatsoever, shall or may make void or disannul the same, upon any pretence whatsoever.

' 1. That there shall be a general free assembly for the province aforesaid, yearly and every year, at a day certain, chosen by the free people of the said province, whereon all the representatives for the said province shall be summoned to appear, to consider of the affairs of the said province, and to make and ordain such acts and laws as shall be requisite and necessary for the good government and prosperity of the free people of the said province; and (if necessity shall require) the governor for the time being, with the consent of his council, may and shall issue out writs to convene the assembly sooner, to consider and answer the necessities of the people of the said province.

' 2. That the governor of the province aforesaid, his heirs or successors, for the time being, shall not suspend or defer the signing, sealing and confirming of such acts and laws as the general assembly (from time to time to be elected by the free people of the province aforesaid) shall make or enact, for the securing of the liberties and properties of the said free people of the province aforesaid.

' 3. That it shall not be lawful for the governor of the said province, his heirs or successors, for the time being, and council, or any of them, at any time or times hereafter, to *make or raise war upon any account or pretence whatsoever, or to raise any military forces within the province aforesaid; without the consent and act of the general free assembly, for the time being.*

' 4. That it shall not be lawful for the governor of the said province, his heirs or successors, for the time being, and council, or any of them, at any time or times hereafter, to make or enact any law or laws for the said province, without the consent, act and concurrence of the general assembly: And if the governor for the time being, his heirs or successors, and council, or any of them, shall attempt to make or enact any such law or laws, of him or themselves, without the consent, act and concurrence of the general assembly; that from thenceforth, he, they, or so many of them, as shall be guilty thereof, shall upon legal conviction,

be deemed and taken for enemies to the free people of the said province ; and such act so attempted to be made, to be of no force.

‘ 5. That the general free assembly, from time to time to be chosen as aforesaid, as the representatives of the people, shall not be prorogued or dissolved before the expiration of one whole year, to commence from the day of their election, without their own free consent.

‘ 6. That it shall not be lawful for the governor of the said province, his heirs or successors, for the time being, and council, or any of them, to levy or raise any sum or sums of money, or any other tax whatsoever ; without the act, consent and concurrence of the general Assembly.

‘ 7. That all officers of state or trust, relating to the said Province, shall be nominated and elected by the general free assembly for the time being, or by their appointment ; which officer and officers shall be accountable to the general free assembly, or to such as the said assembly shall appoint.

‘ 8. That the governor of the province aforesaid, his heirs or successors, for the time being, or any of them, shall not *send ambassadors, or make treaties, or enter into alliances*, upon the public account of the said province, without the consent of the said general free assembly.

‘ 9. That no general free assembly, hereafter to be chosen by the free people of the province aforesaid, shall give to the governor of the said Province for the time being, his heirs or successors, any tax or custom for longer time than for one whole year.

‘ 10. That liberty of conscience, in matters of faith and worship towards God, shall be granted to all people within the province aforesaid, who shall live peaceably and quietly therein ; and that none of the free people of the said province shall be rendered incapable of office in respect of their faith and worship.

‘ Upon the governor’s acceptance and performance of the proposals herein before expressed, we the general free assembly, proprietors and freeholders of the province of West-New-Jersey aforesaid, do accept and receive Samuel Jenings, as Deputy Governor. In testimony whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal, the day and year above written,

‘ Samuel Jenings, Deputy Governor.

Subscribed also, Thomas Olive, Speaker.’ (d)

Between the 21st and 28th of November, 1681, this Assembly *had passed six and thirty laws* for the province—among which (in substance) are the following,

That lands legally taken up, and held, planted and possessed seven years [previously] should not [now] be subject to alteration : That all officers of trust should subscribe to do equal right and justice : That no person should be condemned or hurt without a trial of twelve men ; the party arraigned to except against thirty five, or more upon valid reasons : That in every Court, three Justices, or Commissioners at least [should] sit and assist the Jury in cases of law ; and pronounce the judgment of the Jury [say the *Court*] : That false witnesses be fined, and disabled from being after admitted in evidence, or into any public office in the province : That persons prosecuting for private wrong (murder, arson, and theft excepted) might remit the penalty or punishment, *either before or after condemnation* :—That felons should make restitution fourfold ; or as twelve of the neighbourhood should determine ; and such as abuse or hurt the person of any be punished according to the nature of the offence : That whosoever sold strong liquors to the Indians should forfeit for every offence the sum of three pounds. (e)

That the hand of Penn was in this constitution cannot be doubted : and the vigour of Jenings appears, in the prompt enactment by the

(d) Smith, Chap. vii.

(e) Idem.

Assembly of so many useful laws. Neither of them perhaps had considered, that in restraining the Governor from making war or concluding treaties 'without the consent and act of the general free assembly for the time being,' (as also in the pardon of offences, by private persons, after sentence given) the King's prerogative, so far as in his officer residing, was invaded, and a foundation laid, it might be, for dissatisfaction at home. They might have effected the object as well by refusing the necessary supplies.

A. D. 1681. The province of *East New Jersey* purchased by a company consisting mostly of Quakers: of which [1683] Robert Barclay is made Governor.

East Jersey was by the last Will of its proprietor, Sir Geo. Carteret, ordered to be sold at his death, to pay his debts.—He died in 1679, and it was accordingly disposed of and conveyed to twelve persons—their heirs and assigns, by indenture of lease and release bearing date the 1st and 2nd of Feb. 1681—2.—The names of the twelve proprietors were *William Penn*, Robert West, Thomas Rudyard, Samuel Groome, Thomas Hart, Richard Mew, Thomas Wilcox, Ambrose Rigg, John Haywood, Hugh Hartshorne, Clement Plumsted and Thomas Cooper." (f) These twelve proprietors soon took in twelve others, among whom were, James *Earl of Perth*, Barclay the Apologist, and Edward Byllinge (of whom hertofore as a Proprietor of West Jersey) also Gawen Lawrie, who was made Deputy-governor in 1683, under Barclay. (g) They published an account of the country with proposals to settlers,—their plan became popular, and many, especially of the Scotch, resorted thither: and to these proprietors the Duke of York made a fresh grant of East Jersey, bearing date the 14th of March, 1682. The twenty four now established a *Council of proprietors*, to consist of at least one third of the number, acting in person or by proxy: with power to appoint and displace officers, to demise lands, allot properties, examine titles, and sue trespassers—in effect, to manage the property on their joint behalf. (h)

(f) Proud: Hist. of Pennsylvania, *Intr.*

(g) *Smith's New Jersey*, p. 175. Note. Aarent Sonnemans, one of these proprietors, lost his life in Barclay's company soon after: and, the accident not being very clearly related by others, I shall here give an account of it from John Barclay's 'Memoirs, &c. of Friends in Scotland.' *Ed.*

Robert Barclay having staid most of the summer (of 1683) in London, was travelling homeward, in company with Sonnemans (who is described as his intimate friend, and an eminent merchant in Holland) his own wife, and his brother in law Molleson, when upon the 8th August they were attacked in Stonegate-hole Huntingdonshire, by highwaymen. "One of them (says the relater, Barclay's grandson) presented a pistol to [at] my grandfather: he took him by the arm very calmly, asking him, how he came to be so rude, for he knew his business [to-wit, without that indication.] The fellow, trembling, dropt the pistol out of his hand upon the ground in great surprise, and did not so much as demand anything. But his brother in law was rifled: and poor Sonnemans was shot through the thigh, (it was thought more by accident than design) who being with some difficulty brought to Stilton, died in a few days of his wound. I had the above accounts from my grandmother; who likewise told me, that she observed my grandfather, that morning before they were attacked, more pensive than usual; and that he told her it was his opinion some unusual trial or exercise was to befall them that day; but when the affair happened, he enjoyed a remarkable serenity." p. 443,

(h) *Idem.* 157.

“ Upon the whole, there were at this time supposed to be about seven hundred families settled in the towns of East Jersey; which reckoning five to a family were three thousand five hundred inhabitants; besides the out-plantations, which were thought to contain half as many more.” (i)

A *George Keith* from Scotland (not the person afterwards so troublesome to Friends) came out as settler about 1682, and became Surveyor-general of the province.

1682. In September this year, William Penn, having obtained a grant of Pennsylvania from the Crown, in consideration of a debt of £16000 due to his Father the Admiral at his decease, sails with a number of settlers for his Province.

The deeds of Lease and Release from the Duke of York, of the *Province and territories* granted to Penn, bear date the 21st and 24th of August, 1682—the *Charter* from the *Crown*, the fourth day of March 1681, O. S. : five months before. As the Charter is an important document, and explains many particulars for itself, I shall here give it entire.

“ The Charter of Charles the second, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, &c. unto William Penn, proprietary and Governor of the province of Pennsylvania,

“ Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to all, to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

“ Whereas our trusty and well-beloved subject William Penn, Esquire, son and heir of Sir William Penn deceased, (out of a commendable desire to enlarge our British empire, and promote such useful commodities, as may be of benefit to us and our dominions, as also to reduce the savage Natives, by just and gentle manners, to the love of civil society, and Christian religion) hath humbly besought leave of US, to transport an ample colony unto a certain country, herein after described, in the parts of America, not yet cultivated and planted; and hath likewise so humbly besought our royal Majesty to give, grant and confirm all the said country, with certain privileges and jurisdictions, requisite for the good government and safety of the said country and colony, to him, and his heirs for ever.

“ *Section I.* Know ye, therefore, that we, (favoring the petition and good purpose of the said William Penn, and having regard to the memory and merits of his late father, in divers services, and particularly to his conduct, courage and discretion, under our dearest brother James Duke of York, in that signal battle and victory, fought and obtained, against the Dutch fleet, commanded by the Heer Van Opdam, in the year 1665: In consideration thereof, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion) have given and granted, and, by this our present Charter, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, all that tract, or part, of land, in America, with the islands therein contained, as the same is bounded, on the East, by Delaware river, from twelve miles distance northward of New-Castle town, unto the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, if the said river doth extend so far northward, but if the said river shall not extend so far northward, then, by the said river, so far as it doth extend; and from the head of the said river, the eastern bounds are to be determined by a meridian line, to be drawn from the head of the said river, unto the said forty-third degree. The said land to extend westward five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the said eastern

(i) *Idem.* 161.

bounds; and the said lands to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, and, on the south, by a circle, drawn at twelve miles distance from New-Castle, northward and westward, unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of northern latitude; (*k*) and then by a straight line westward to the limits of longitude above mentioned.

“*Section II.* We do also give and grant unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, the free, and undisturbed use, and continuance in, and passage into, and out of all and singular ports, harbours, bays, waters, rivers, isles and inlets, belonging unto, or leading to, and from, the country, or islands aforesaid, and all the soils, lands, fields, woods, underwoods, mountains, hills, fenns, isles, lakes, rivers, waters, rivulets, bays and inlets, situated, or being within, or belonging to, the limits, or bounds, aforesaid, together with the fishing of all sorts of fish, whales, sturgeon, and all royal, and other fishes, in the seas, bays, inlets, waters, or rivers, within the premises, and all the fish taken therein; and also all veins, mines, minerals and quarries, as well discovered as not discovered, of gold, silver, gems, and precious stones, and all other whatsoever, be it stones, metals, or of any other thing or matter whatsoever, found, or to be found, within the country, isles, or limits, aforesaid.

“*Section III.* And him, the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, we do by this our royal charter, for us, our heirs and successors, make, create, and constitute the true and absolute proprietary of the country aforesaid, and of all other the premises; saving always to us, our heirs and successors, the faith and allegiance of the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, and of all other proprietaries, tenants and inhabitants, that are, or shall be, within the territories and precincts aforesaid; and saving also unto us, our heirs and successors, the sovereignty of the aforesaid country; to have, hold, possess and enjoy the said tract of land, country, isles, inlets, and other the premises, unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, for ever, to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, kings of England, as of our castle of Windsor, in the county of Berks, in free and common socage, by fealty only, for all services and not in capite, or by knight service: yielding and paying therefore to us, our heirs and successors, two Beaver skins, to be delivered at our castle of Windsor, on the first day of January, in every year; and also the fifth part of all gold and silver oar, which shall, from time to time, happen to be found within the limits aforesaid, clear of all charges. And of our further grace, certain knowledge, mere motion, We have thought fit to erect, and we do hereby erect, the aforesaid country and islands into a province and seignory, and do call it Pensilvania, and so from henceforth will have it called.

“*Section IV.* And, for as much as, we have hereby made and ordained the aforesaid William Penn, his heirs and assigns, the true and absolute proprietaries of all the lands and dominions aforesaid, Know ye, therefore, that we (reposing special trust and confidence in the fidelity, wisdom, justice and provident circumspection of the said William Penn) for us, our heirs and successors, do grant free, full and absolute power, by virtue of these presents, to him and his heirs, to his, and their deputies and lieutenants, for the good and happy government of the said country, to ordain, make and enact, and, under his and their seals, to publish any laws whatsoever, for the raising of money for public uses of the said province, or for any other end, appertaining either unto the public state, peace or safety of the said country, or unto the private utility of particular persons, according unto

(*k*) Note. The North boundary of Maryland was to be the South of Penn's grant. The patent for Maryland (which was older) expressed only *the fortieth degree*, without specifying beginning or end. The Lord Baltimore, the Proprietary of Maryland, claiming *the whole of that degree*, here clearly included in Pennsylvania, it occasioned a dispute of many years' continuance; and which was settled (in 1732) with the cutting off of fifty three miles of its original Southerly extent, from the grant to Penn. The province, as thus left, contained about 41,000 square miles, or near 26 millions of acres; at the rate, according to the amount of the debt due to the Admiral, of about Seven acres for a penny! See Proud, i. 188. *Ed.*

and immunities, according to the merits of the inhabitants, and the fitness of the places, and to do all, and every other thing and things, touching the premises, which to him, or them, shall seem meet and requisite; albeit they be such, as of their own nature might otherwise require a more special commandment and warrant, than, in these presents, is expressed.

“ *Section XI.* We will also, and, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do give and grant licence, by this our charter, unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, and to all the inhabitants and dwellers in the province aforesaid, both present, and to come, to import, or unlade, by themselves, or their servants, factors, or assigns, all merchandizes and goods whatsoever, that shall arise of the fruits and commodities of the said province, either by land or sea, into any of the ports of us, our heirs or successors, in our kingdom of England, and not into any other country whatsoever: and we give him full power to dispose of the said goods, in the said ports; and, if need be, within one year after the unloading of the same, to lade the said merchandize and goods again, into the same, or other ships, and to transport the same into any other countries, either of our dominions, or foreign, according to law; provided always, that they pay such customs and impositions, subsidies and duties for the same, to us, our heirs and successors, as the rest of our subjects of our kingdom of England, for the time being, shall be bound to pay, and do observe the acts of navigation, and other laws, in that behalf made.

“ *Section XII.* And, furthermore, of our ample and special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, we do, for us, our heirs and successors, grant unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, full and absolute power and authority, to make, erect and constitute, within the said province, and the isles and inlets aforesaid, such and so many sea ports, harbours, creeks, havens, keys, and other places, for discharging and unloading of goods and merchandize, out of the ships, boats, and other vessels, and landing them unto such, and so many places, and with such rights, jurisdictions, liberties and privileges, unto the said ports belonging, as to him and them shall seem most expedient; and that all, and singular the ships, boats and other vessels, which shall come for merchandize and trade, into the said province, or out of the same, shall be laden, or unladen, only at such ports, as shall be created and constituted by the said William Penn, his heirs, or assigns, (any use, custom or thing to the contrary notwithstanding.) Provided, that the said William Penn and his heirs, and the Lieutenants and Governors, for the time being, shall admit and receive in and about all such havens, ports, creeks and keys, all officers and their deputies, who shall, from time to time, be appointed for that purpose by the farmers, or commissioners, of our customs for the time being.

“ *Section XIII.* And we do further appoint and ordain, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, that he, the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, may, from time to time, for ever, have and enjoy, the customs and subsidies, in the ports, harbours and other creeks, and places aforesaid, within the province aforesaid, payable, or due for merchandize and wares there to be laded and unladed, the said customs and subsidies to be reasonably assessed, upon any occasion, by themselves and the people there, as aforesaid to be assembled, to whom we give power by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, upon just cause, and due proportion, to assess and impose the same: saving unto us, our heirs and successors, such impositions and customs, as, by act of Parliament, are, and shall be, appointed.

“ *Section XIV.* And it is our farther will and pleasure, that the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, shall, from time to time, constitute and appoint an Attorney, or agent, to reside in, or near our city of London; who shall make known the place where he shall dwell, or may be found, unto the clerks of our privy council, for the time being, or one of them, and shall be ready to appear in

any of our courts, at Westminster, to answer for any misdemeanor, that shall be committed by, or any wilful default, or neglect, permitted by the said William Penn, his heirs or assigns, against the laws of trade and navigation; and after it shall be ascertained, in any of our courts, what damages we, or our heirs, or successors, shall have sustained by such default, or neglect, the said William Penn, his heirs, or assigns, shall pay the same within one year, after such taxation, and demand thereof from such attorney; or in case there shall be no such attorney by the space of one year, or such attorney shall not make payment of such damages, within the space of a year, and answer such other forfeitures and penalties, within the said time, as by acts of parliament, in England, are and shall be provided according to the true intent and meaning of these presents; then it shall be lawful for us, our heirs and successors, to seize and resume the government of the said province or country, and the same to retain, until payment shall be made thereof: but notwithstanding any such seizure, or resumption of the government, nothing concerning the propriety, or ownership, of any lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, goods or chattels of any of the adventurers, planters or owners, other than the respective offenders there, shall any ways be affected or molested thereby.

Section XV. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that neither the said William Penn, nor his heirs, nor any other, the inhabitants of the said province, shall, at any time hereafter, have or maintain, any correspondence with any other king, prince or state, or with any of their subjects, who shall then be in war against us, our heirs and successors; nor shall the said William Penn, or his heirs or any other inhabitants of the said province, make war, or do any act of hostility against any other king, prince, or state, or any of their subjects, who shall then be in league or amity with us, our heirs and successors.

Section XVI. And because, in so remote a country, and situate near many barbarous nations, the incursions as well of the savages themselves, as of other enemies, pirates and robbers, may probably be feared; Therefore, we have given, and, for us, our heirs and successors, do give power, by these presents, to the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, by themselves, or their captains, or other their officers, to levy, muster and train all sorts of men, of what condition soever, or wheresoever born, in the said province of Pennsylvania, for the time being, and to make war, and to pursue the enemies and robbers aforesaid, as well by sea as by land, even without the limits of the said province, and, by God's assistance, to vanquish and take them; and being taken, to put them to death, by the law of war, or to save them, at their pleasure; and to do all and every other thing, which unto the charge and office of a captain general of an army belongeth, or hath accustomed to belong, as fully and freely as any captain general of an army hath ever had the same.

Section XVII. And furthermore, of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, we have given and granted, and, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, full and absolute power, license and authority, that he, the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, from time to time hereafter for ever, at his or their own will and pleasure, may assign, alien, grant, demise, or enfeof of the premises so many, and such parts and parcels to him, or them, that shall be willing to purchase the same, as they shall think fit; to have and to hold to them, the said person, or persons willing to take and purchase, their heirs and assigns, in fee simple, or fee tail, or for the term of life, lives, or years, to be held of the said William Penn, his heirs, or assigns, as of the said seignior of Windsor, by such services, customs, or rents, as shall seem meet to the said William Penn, his heirs, or assigns, and not immediately of us, our heirs, or successors.

Section XVIII. And to the same person, or persons, and to all and every of them, we do give and grant, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors

licence, authority and power, that such person or persons, may take the premises, or any parcel thereof, of the aforesaid William Penn, his heirs, or assigns, and the same to hold to themselves, their heirs and assigns, in what estate of inheritance soever, in fee simple, or in fee tail, or otherwise, as to him the said William Penn, his heirs or assigns, shall seem expedient; The statute made, in the parliament of Edward, the son of King Henry late King of England, our predecessor (commonly called the statute, "Quia Emptores Terrarum," lately published in our kingdom of England) in any wise notwithstanding.

"Section XIX. And by these presents, we give and grant licence unto the said William Penn and his heirs, and likewise to all, and every such person, or persons, to whom the said William Penn, or his heirs, shall, at any time hereafter, grant any estate, or inheritance, as aforesaid, to erect any parcels of land, within the province aforesaid, into Manors, by and with the licence, to be first had and obtained, for that purpose, under the hand and seal of the said William Penn, or his heirs; and, in every of the said Manors, to have and hold a Court-Baron, with all things whatsoever, which to a Court-Baron do belong, and to have and to hold View of Frank Pledge, for the conservation of the peace, and the better government of those parts, by themselves, or their stewards, or by the lords for the time being, of the manors to be deputed, when they shall be erected, and in the same to use all things belonging to the View of Frank Pledge. And we do further grant licence and authority, That every such person, or persons, who shall erect any such manor or manors, as aforesaid, shall, or may, grant all, or any part of his said land to any person, or persons, in fee simple, or any other estate of inheritance to be held of the said manors respectively, so as no further tenure shall be created, but that upon all further, or other alienations thereafter to be made, the said lands so aliened shall be held of the same lord and his heirs, of whom the aliener did then before hold, and by the like rents and services, which were before due and accustomed.

"Section XX. And furthermore, our pleasure is, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do covenant and grant to and with the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, that we, our heirs and successors, shall, at no time hereafter, set, or make, or cause to be set, or made, any imposition, custom, or other taxation, rate, or contribution whatsoever, in and upon the dwellers and inhabitants of the aforesaid province, for their lands, tenements, goods, or chattels, within the said province, or in and upon any goods and merchandizes within the province, or to be laden, or unladen within the ports, or harbours of the said province, unless the same be with the consent of the Proprietary, or Chief Governor, or Assembly, or by Act of Parliament in England.

"Section XXI. And our pleasure is, and, for us, our heirs and successors, we charge and command, that this our declaration shall from henceforth, from time to time, be received and allowed, in all our courts, and before all the judges of us, our heirs and successors, for a sufficient lawful discharge, payment and acquittance; commanding all the officers and ministers of us, our heirs and successors, and enjoining them upon pain of our highest displeasure, that they do not presume, at any time, to attempt any thing to the contrary of the premises, or that does, in any sort, withstand the same; but, that they be, at all times, aiding and assisting, as is fitting, to the said William Penn, and his heirs, and unto the inhabitants and merchants of the province aforesaid, their servants, ministers, factors and assigns, in the full use and fruition of the benefit of this our charter.

"Section XXII. And our farther pleasure is, and we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, charge and require, That if any of the inhabitants of the said province, to the number of twenty, shall, at any time hereafter, be desirous and shall, by any writing, or by any person deputed by them, signify such their desire to the bishop of London, for the time being, that any preacher, or preachers, to be approved of by the said bishop, may be sent unto them, for their instruction; that then such preacher, or preachers, shall and may reside within the said province, without any denial, or molestation whatsoever.

"Section XXIII. And, if perchance hereafter any doubt or question should arise concerning the true sense and meaning of any word, clause, or sentence, contained in this our present 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 favourable unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns: Provided always, no interpretation be admitted thereof, by which the allegiance due unto us, our heirs and successors, may suffer any prejudice or diminution; although express mention be not made, in these presents, of the true yearly value, or certainty of the premises, or any part thereof, or of other gifts and grants, made by us, and our progenitors, or predecessors, unto the said William Penn: Any statute, act, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restraint, heretofore had, made, published, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding. In Witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent: Witness Ourselves, at Westminster, the fourth day of March, in the three and thirtieth year of our reign, Annoque Domini one thousand six hundred and eighty one.

By writ of Privy Seal,
PIGOTT."

The King's declaration, dated the 2nd day of April, 1681, followed the Charter, describing the grant, and requiring the obedience of the persons settled or inhabiting there to the Proprietary and Governor. And Penn having immediately published, together with these documents, such an account of the province as could then be given, and invited settlers, three ships sailed for Pennsylvania from London and Bristol this year; and colonization, thus begun with spirit, was continued in the succeeding years. (g)

1683. The colony of West-New-Jersey having now become populous, the Assembly chooses Samuel Jenings Governor and speaker: Commissioners and magistrates are also chosen, who qualify by a written engagement for their offices.

"William Penn having now a colony of his own to settle, was obliged to give up his management of W. New Jersey.—He had sent to it about fourteen hundred people,—the town of Burlington had been built, farms had risen up out of the wild waste, roads had been formed. Religious meeting houses had been erected, in the place of tents covered with sail cloth, under which the first settlers worshipped: a respectable Magistracy had been established. The Indians in the neighbourhood, had been turned into friends and benefactors. Such was the situation of W. New Jersey when he took his leave of it, and therefore it was with the less regret he left it to attend to his own concerns." (h)

These Indians had not been (it is well known) friends and benefactors to all former comers. Here are some traits of their character!

In 1671, an extraordinary Council was held at New York under Governor Lovelace; *Tashiovycon* having killed two dutchmen, colonists, at the island Matinicunck on Delaware. It appears that he committed the murders, with an associate, because as he said, the *Manetta* [Spirit] of the Christians had killed

(g) Proud: Hist. Pennsylvania, i, 189, 193. (h) Clarkson: Life of Penn, i, 280.

his sister. The Council having resolved upon a war unless the murderers should be delivered up, the Indians becoming uneasy at the prospect, promised within six days to bring them in, alive or dead. 'Accordingly *two Indians*, sent by the Sachems to take them, coming to Tashiowyca's wigwam in the night, one of them his particular friend, *him* he asked if he intended to kill him. He answered *No—but the SACHEMS have ordered you to die*. He demanded what his *brothers* said. Being told *they* also said he must die, he then, holding his hands before his eyes, said *Kill me*. Upon this the other Indian, not his intimate, shot him in the breast. They took his body to Wickaco; and afterwards hung it in chains at New-castle. The English gave the Sachems for this, five match coats. The other murderer hearing the shot, ran naked into the woods: and what came of him afterwards appears not. The Indians summoned many of their young men, and before the English, told them that now they saw a beginning of punishment, and all that did the like should be so served.' (i)

The engagements in writing, to the due discharge of their offices (in lieu of an Oath) by the Governor and Magistrates, were respectively as follows.

"I Samuel Jenings, being elected governor of the province of West Jersey, by the general free assembly thereof, sitting at Burlington, the eleventh day of the third month, in the year 1683, do freely and faithfully promise (according to the best of my ability) to act in that capacity according to the laws, concessions, and constitutions, as they are now established in the said province.

Samuel Jenings, Governor.

"*The engagement and promise of the council elected by the assembly.*

"We underwritten being elected and chosen by the general free assembly, members of council, to advise and assist the governor in managing the affairs of the government, do solemnly promise every one for himself, that we will give our diligent attendance from time to time, and him advise and assist to the best of our skill and knowledge, according to the laws, concessions and constitutions of this province; and do further promise not to reveal or disclose any secret of council, or any business therein transacted, to the prejudice of the public. *Witness our hands the 15th day of the third month, Anno 1683.*

Thomas Budd,

John Skeen,

John Gosling,

Thomas Olive,

William Biddle.

Thomas Gardiner,

Henry Stacy,

James Nevill,

Elias Farre.

"*The engagement and promise of the commissioners, justices, and other officers, elected as aforesaid.*

"We whose names are hereunderwritten, being by the general free assembly, chosen to officiate in our several trusts, commissions and offices for the year ensuing; do hereby solemnly promise, that we will truly and faithfully discharge our respective trusts, according to the laws, concessions and constitutions of the said province, in our respective offices and duties, and do equal justice and right to all men, according to our best skill and judgment, without corruption, favour or affection. *Witness our hands this 15th of the third month, 1683.*

"*Justices.* Thomas Olive, Richard Guy, Andrew Wade, Andrew Thompson.

"*Commissioners.* William Biddle, John Gosling, John Skeen, Mahlon Stacy, Thomas Olive, James Nevill, Francis Collins, Thomas Budd, Thomas Gardiner, Mark Newby.

"*Recorder.* Thomas Revell.

"*Sheriff.* Benjamin Wheat.

"*Surveyor.* Daniel Leeds."

(i) Smith: New Jersey, p. 72.

ART. II.—*Remarks on Scripture Passages.* Continued.

Luke xviii, 8. ‘Nevertheless, when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?’

This has always struck my mind as one of the most interesting passages in the New Testament. It follows immediately after the plainest prophetic intimations of the second coming of Christ in person; no more as the messenger of reconciliation, but as the minister of God’s vengeance; and himself, now, the Judge of his judges. It is also plainly enough intimated elsewhere in Scripture, that in this coming he shall not be as in the former, alone—subject to the conditions of humanity, and of the necessity of calling to him, and instructing, and sending forth Apostles to teach his doctrine, and martyrs to advocate his cause. It shall be with thousands of his Saints—with clouds [of witnesses] so that every eye shall see him, and they also [the Romans] who pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of Him! Jude 14: 1 Thess. iii, 13.

Thus coming (the question is put by Himself in prophecy beforehand) shall he find faith on the earth? Will any be left, of those who believe in his name?

The Apostle Paul, in his First to the Thessalonians, shews that he himself *at that time* expected the second coming of Christ, to happen during his own ministry—and that they who should be then living, of his followers, would be caught up, together with the dead in Christ now awakened by the trump of God, the voice of the archangel and the shout of the Lord himself, to meet Him in the air. But he corrects this opinion, *as to the time only*, in the Second to the same church; having had now a further insight into the future, and perceiving that some were taking advantage of his former prophecy (or declaration) to utter terrific denunciations of the last day, as already at hand. He warns them not to be easily shaken in mind [disturbed] or troubled, by communications in the spirit, or messages or letters, *as from him*, to this effect—and then opens to them the nature of the Apostacy, which would precede that day; *and which has already happened*. The text becomes, therefore, one of the greatest importance and interest to us rightly to understand. If we consider Christ as coming, without full power and attendance, *as the Judge of quick and dead*, it would be discouraging indeed to his faithful followers, *yet left on the earth*, to contemplate such a question in prophecy. If on the other hand we view him as, now, accompanied by the whole Church triumphant in heaven, the prospect is bright enough for these; and the event glorious enough to God’s name and service, and dreadful enough to the wicked, to make it a matter of small consideration whether there shall be left at that time a believer on earth, or not!

The use to be made of this is, however, that we ourselves look to our own standing—that, so, we may be found among the few (if few they should prove) who may in that hour be so suddenly called on, and in so awful a manner, to meet their God!

Luke xx, 18. ‘Whosoever shall fall upon that stone shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.’

Here is, again, a mixture of the exposition with the doctrine ; of the person with the figure. The literal and obvious expression of the latter would be, ' Whatsoever falleth on that stone, it will be broken ; but on whatsoever it shall fall, it will grind it to powder.' A stone of that solidity and hardness, that it might well claim (though neglected by the builders at first) a place on the top of the *donjon* ; and to form the very pinnacle of the church.

Luke xxi, 25. ' The sea and the waves roaring.' Great fluctuation in the affairs of the world ; shown by the apt metaphor of the sea in a storm.

Ver. 32. ' Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, till all be fulfilled.' Supposing the Apostle Paul to have read or heard of this, and to have understood it of the generation of men living at the time of our Lord's ministry, he might very well infer that the accomplishment of the prophecy, contained in Ver. 27, of the coming of the Son of man in a cloud with power and glory, must be now near at hand. See 1 Thess. iv, 16. But is it necessary that this text be so understood ? It saith not this race of men, but ' this race,' simply : and might it not apply to the the ' chosen generation ' the ' royal priesthood ' of the elect of Christ—who were never to pass away, till all should be accomplished, that had relation to God's offers of mercy in the new covenant ? Christ saith immediately, ' my words shall not pass away '—as if the doctrine together with the believers, had made the whole subject before him, in these expressions. Comp. 1 Peter ii, 9 : 2 Peter iii, 3-10.

Luke xxii, 20. ' This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you.'

The expression here is strongly elliptical : and requires, according to the belief of the Society of people called Quakers, to be thus filled up. [The wine contained in] this cup is [a symbol of the benefit you derive from] the New Testament [or Covenant, ratified] in my blood, which is [now to be] shed for you.

Agreeing with that declaration made by Christ in the 53rd, and confirmed in the following verse, of the Sixth of John ; ' Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have not the life *spiritual* in you. And with that other, in verse 63 of the same : It is the spirit that quickeneth ; the flesh profiteth nothing : the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life.

Luke xxiii, 30. ' To seek shelter in caverns and crevices ; being willing rather to perish there, than come forth to meet the danger without.'

Ver. 31. If they thus burn the green wood what will they do with the dry ?

The person who had done his country the most eminent services that had ever been rendered to any nation, was now given up as a criminal to the Gentile Romans—at a time when the voice of the people might and should have saved him. For which, the nation was shortly afterwards to be delivered to the same power, for destruction, and dispersion through the whole world ! *Ed.*

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PRO PATRIA.

1834.

ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrines and practices of the Quakers.*

(Continued from p. 110.)

A. D. 1680-3. Continued severe suffering by informations and prosecutions for Meetings, with continued applications to the King, the Parliament, and Officers of State for relief, *to the end of this reign.*

It would exceed my limits to detail these proceedings as I find them recorded, chiefly by *Whitehead*, the most strenuous and successful of the applicants to the government in the sufferers' behalf; himself by turns among the Sufferers. (a) He was concerned with other friends (as Lawrence Steel and Charles Jones, from Bristol; Gilbert Latey and William Crouch, of London) in 1st. a laborious attendance on a Committee of the House of Commons, in support of 'A Bill of ease to all Protestant dissenters,' and which contained a *Declaration of allegiance*, &c. to be made and subscribed by Friends, in lieu of the mischievous *Oath*. He makes honourable mention of Lord *Finch* (afterwards Earl of Nottingham) and *Sir Christopher Musgrave*, as shewing themselves friendly and favourable to the intended relief—which was frustrated by a dissolution. It was however resolved by the House, 10th Jan. 1680, 'That it is the opinion of this House, that the prosecution of Protestant dissenters upon the Penal Laws is, at this time,

(a) Christian Progress; 513, 541, 547, 559.

grievous to the subject, a weakening of the Protestant interest, an encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.' (b)

"Another instance of the said Parliament's design and endeavour to remove persecution, was the passing a Bill in both Houses intituled, 'An Act for the repeal of a Statute made in the 35th year of the reign of Queen Eliz.'—and taking notice thereof in the ensuing Parliament at Oxford, in the vote, 24th die Martii 1680-1, *That it was not presented to his Majesty* (as the rest of the Bills were) *for his Royal assent.*—How this Bill came to miscarry we did not hear found out, *whether designedly mislaid or stolen*, was questioned.—It was a pity it was not presented and passed, as both Parliaments desired.—However, it was a mercy of God to the nation, to raise up a contrary spirit to that of persecution, *even in the Parliament*, in those days." (c)

3. Next, he records at length 'The humble petition of above a thousand prisoners, commonly called Quakers, *to the King*,' requesting relief;—of which it is supposed Whitehead was the organ; though he mentions not the time and manner of its presentation. (d)

4. In an application through the interest of Prince Rupert, the Lord President and the Lord Chancellor, *to the King and Council*; before whom, along with the Friends from Bristol, he was heard on the subject of the outrageous conduct of Sheriffs *Helliard* and *Knight* at Bristol, under the Conventicle Act. (e) The King at the hearing shewed himself rather weak and petulant; choosing to see them with their hats on; jeering them about the conscience that lay in a hat; and asking them if they could not, at Bristol, 'procure a London jury' to acquit them. However the cause of the sufferers was earnestly pleaded; and George Whitehead took leave with these words, *I pray God preserve the King and direct you his Ministers to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with God.* (f) The whole present effect was, an Order to the Magistrates to allow the Friends *more prison-room*: which was complied with. The date, 17th of 12th Mo. 1681-2.

5. After a prosecution, and conviction in two £20 penalties, for *preaching* in Westminster, which were levied on his goods, we find him advocating, towards the end of the year 'the case of the prisoners commonly called Quakers, in *Norwich, Gloucester, Bristol, Yorkshire, and Northampton*,' by petition to the King through the Earl of Rochester and the Lord Privy Seal. The latter defeated an application to the Council this time, on the ground of its informality; but Whitehead and Latey had an audience of Charles in the 'Long Gallery leading from the Park to the King's Lodgings.' They told him his subjects at Norwich were 'buried alive, in a low nasty dungeon, twenty seven steps deep under the Guildhall of the City.' This took some hold; and by the King's direction Judge *Hugh Windham* gave order for a view of their prisons, and *affidavits* thereon. But when they were presented to him, he refused to receive them, and accused Friends of riotous and routous Meetings; standing up with his arms a-kimbow, and his

(b) Christian Progress; 497. (c) Idem. 498. (d) Idem. 502.

(e) Besse, i, 54-68. (f) Christian Progress, 504.

hands on his sides, with, ' You'll know the law better than I, I warrant you; but I'll have you to know, you shall not be masters over the law, but the law shall be master over you, so long as I live.' [Which was but 'a short space' after!] However he grew more mild at last, and directed them to the Lord Keeper; to whom they went, and met with the 'riotous and routous' charge here also, the Judge having probably outrun them to his friend. They fairly 'reasoned the case with him a little while;' and left him the documents to be shown to the King: but (g)

6. The case being delayed (it was supposed through the false representations of Sheriff *Stebbing*s of Norwich) the same two Friends went to Hampton-Court, and on the 25th of the Second Month, 1683, had an audience. It was stormy weather, and the hearing *sub dio*; yet their hats were now gently removed, and hung on the pales of the fence before the court. The king (after hearing them awhile) again fell upon this subject; and shewed his learning besides about Thou and Thee; with the 'Yeah' of the seaman, calling from the mast head to be heard on deck: adding, 'The words Thou and Thee might have been better translated out of the Greek, *You*.' Against which heathen innovation however, may heaven defend us still! But the friends were not so to be put by, 'We gave affidavits to the Lord Keeper, which we hope were delivered to the King.' K. 'Yes, yes: I'll take notice of their case, and it shall be called on in Council.' G. L. 'We accept as a great favour that we have this admittance to be heard, and pray God to preserve and direct the king, &c.' G. W. [to the Nobility, &c. present] 'And we acknowledge all your civilities and kindness towards us.' G. W. to the king, in withdrawing, '*We hope the king will be mindful of our suffering-Friends at Norwich.*' (h)

"Howbeit (adds Whitehead) after so great endeavour and long solicitation, our said suffering friends in Norwich were continued prisoners until the next Assizes that summer; and then were released (pursuant to the king's promise and instruction, as 'twas concluded) to the great comfort and relief of them and their afflicted families."

7. In an 'Address presented at Windsor Castle, the 8th day of the Sixth Month called August, 1683, by George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, Gilbert Latey and Francis Camfield, (i) and read distinctly to the king and the duke, in the presence of many more of the nobility; disclaiming all resentment on account of the persecutions endured, and all participation in plots against the King, his brother, or any person on earth; and pressing earnestly on the king's attention the suffering case of Friends.

Which having been read, Francis Camfield, an 'ancient Friend,' very weightily reminded Charles of the mercy of the great God to him in his great deliverances, preservation and restoration; desiring that, as the Almighty had shown mercy and compassion to him, in his afflic-

(g) Christian Progress, 524. (h) Idem. 532, 536, (i) George Fox, who had been one to propose the address, does not appear to have been present.

tions and straights, he would show the like to his afflicted people. And concluding with a prayer for him, the king said, 'I thank you.'

"The king at that time (says Whitehead) appeared seriously affected with our complaint and sufferings; and soon after, we were told by a great person that he said to a duke that stood by, 'What shall we do for this people?—The prisons are filled with them.' And the duke, to divert him from his concern therein, drew him into other discourse." (k)

8. And lastly, the 15th of the 11th Month 1683, Geo. Whitehead and Alexander Parker, with the concurrence of William Mead and others, attended the King with a petition.

"Which he received in the Long Gallery, and George Whitehead spake a few words to him on this wise: We entreat the king to excuse our importunity, for our extremity is the cause thereof; We pray the King tenderly to consider our suffering condition and afford us relief; accounts being returned from the Sheriffs, of our friends in prison &c. To which he answered, Well, Well, Well! And perceiving the King then in some haste, George Whitehead told him, if he pleased, we would acquaint the Lord Sunderland (being Secretary of State) more fully with our case, that he might inform the King thereof: to which the King answered, *Do, Do.*

After that, notice was given us—1. That the King said something must be done in this case. 2. That he was reading our paper. 3. That the King and the Duke of Ormond were discoursing about the quakers. 4. And that he then sent for the Earl of Sunderland.—But alas! the King's time was but short: he was then near his end, and did not live to relieve us."—

The following reflexions of this indefatigable advocate for the Society appear to me worthy of insertion here, the length to which I have gone already notwithstanding.

"I humbly thank the Lord my Heavenly Father, and praise His Worthy Name, in remembrance how he enabled me to be resigned to his Will, in suffering both in person and estate; and how well my dear wife was given up to suffer with me for the blessed TRUTH's sake, in those days.

"Our being shut out of our Meeting-houses for *divers years*, in and about the cities of London and Westminster, and our meetings kept in the streets in all sorts of weather, winter and summer, was a trial and hardship upon us, even upon old and young, men and women. But that trial was not so great as to have our estates and livelihoods exposed to ruin by a pack of ravenous informers: altho' twas no small hardship to our persons, to be kept out of doors in the streets in the great severe and long frost and snow in the year 1683, for about three months together: when the River *Thames* was so frozen up that horses, coaches and carts could pass to and fro upon it, and a street [of booths] be erected and stand over it." (m)

He takes thankful notice of the preservation of the health of himself and many more in these circumstances, and says,

"We had in those days some opportunities (and were permitted) to publish the Truth openly in the Streets; and also to make public supplication to God. But more frequently not permitted, but pulled away by force (by the Trained-bands or officers) and either sent to prison, or turned into the Meeting house (n) and there detained under guard till the Meeting was ended in the street. Thus were Ministers and others among us often served, and scarce suffered many times to

(k) Christian Progress, 516. (l) Idem. 546. (m) "1683, was the coldest winter in England and longest hoar frost known in the memory of any living." *Hist. of the Air, Weather, &c.*, i, 377 (n) Made into a post and guard-house for the purpose, by forcible entry and possession.

declare two or three sentences without being haled away. However, we saw it our duty, in the fear of the Living God, to keep our Meetings, and patiently to wait upon him : being not called to strive with our adversaries, or their servants whom they employed ; but in faith and patience to bear all, believing that, in due time, thereby we should obtain the victory. It was often then before me, that the Lamb and his faithful followers should have the victory ; which was matter of comfort to me, many times : Glory be to his name for ever !

“ In those days I clearly saw, *that the testimony required of us to bear was not so much in words, declaration, or ministry, as to stand our ground in faith and patience* ; and to travel in spirit, with secret breathing and earnest supplication unto God to plead our cause : it being his own cause for which we suffered—and therefore we patiently committed it to him that judgeth righteously.” (o)

A. D. 1684. *Accession of James II.*

William Penn, who had lately come back from America, on the affairs of his province and to use his interest in favour of his suffering friends, was now about the Court ; and gives the following rather homely account of this event, and of the death of Charles II. It is in a letter to Thomas Lloyd, whom he had left President of his Council.

“ The King is dead and the Duke succeeds peaceably. He was well on the First-day night : about Eight next morning, as he sat down to shave, his head twitched both ways or sides ; and he gave a shriek and fell down, and so remained some hours. They opportunely blooded and cupped him, and plied his head with *red hot frying pans* [to blister the skin, I suppose, by the near approach of a heated surface]. He returned, and continued till Sixth-day noon, but mostly in great tortures. He seemed very penitent, asking pardon of all, even the poorest subject he had wronged, prayed for pardon, and to be delivered out of the world—the Duke appearing mighty humble, and sorrowful.—

“ Severities continue still, but some ease to us faintly promised.—Be careful that no indecent speeches pass against the government ; for the King going with his Queen publicly to mass in Whitehall gives occasion.—He declared he concealed himself [as a member of the Romish Church] to obey his brother, and that, now, *he would be aboveboard* : which we like better, on many accounts.—*I was with him, and told him so* ; but withal hoped we should come in for a share [of the indulgence thus granted to himself]—He smiled, and said he desired not that peaceable people should be disturbed for their religion.—And, till his coronation, no hopes of release [from prosecution, for conscience towards God] and till the Parliament, no hopes of any fixed liberty.” (p)

Whiting mentions the King's death in the following terms :

“ The latter end of this year, 1684 (O. S.) the sixth of the 12th month, king Chas. 2nd. died. I was at my guardian's, Edmund Beake's, at Portshead, when the news of it came ; at which I was sorry, in consideration of the state he died in, and the persecutions that had been acted in his reign. I went next morning to visit a fellow-prisoner, Robert Bullock, then at his home at Clapton, very pensive, and perhaps more sorrowful for the king than the mourners (as Abraham Cowley said of Oliver Cromwell) *considering the state of things, and the suffering condition he had left us in.*” (q)

He proceeds to recapitulate SIX GREAT PERSECUTIONS IN THIS REIGN ; besides all the rest between while : viz. 1. In 1660, for meeting and for refusing to swear : eleven score of the society prisoners at Ilchester (his own mother one) 500 in Yorkshire and about 5000 (he thinks) in all England. 2. In 1662, on the Act 13 and 14 Chas. 2nd. made against us in particular : abundance of Friends taken up at meetings and imprisoned, as well as for refusing to swear.

(o) Christian Progress, 544. (p) Clarkson's Life of Penn, i, 431.

(q) Memoirs, p. 257.

3. On the Act of banishment, 1664, (pretended against seditious conventicles) many tried and sentenced to banishment, and sent away. 4. In 1670 on the new Act, of like purport with this. 5. Renewed and continued on *meetings* with as great rigour and violence as before, in 1675 and 1676: and, 6. More vigorously revived and carried on, from 1682 to the time of the king's death. In which later persecutions, the informer getting one-third, and often more, of the excessive penalties, 'a great many loose, prophane, lewd fellows of the baser sort, of indigent fortunes, having spent their own estates, or what they had, were thereby encouraged to ruin their neighbours; and abundance of havoc and spoil was made on friends' goods, in most if not all the counties of England.'" (r)

The duke of Monmouth's rebellion. The new government solicited for relief.

I shall here again quote Whiting, to shew the conduct of Friends, so far as we have it on record relating to individuals, in this emergency: as also a little of that of their persecutors.

"I had intended this spring to have proceeded in marriage with my dear friend S. Hurd [he had now been about six years in custody, excommunicated for tithes, but not a 'close prisoner'] having proposed it to the Monthly Meeting she belonged to,—and went to my own Monthly Meeting on the north side of Meudip—for a certificate, which I afterwards had: but the troubles breaking out prevented it one year longer.

"We heard there of the Earl of Argyle's landing in Scotland, I went from Hollotrow home to Naylsey, and was at my own house when the duke of Monmouth landed at Lime in Dorsetshire, the 11th of the 4th month.—I had intended to return to Ivelchester—and as I rode into Wrington, a market town four miles from my house, there was a watch set at the cross; and as I came towards them, I heard one of them say to another, Go forth and stop him and ask him whither he is riding. So he came and stood with a halbert in my way, and bid me stand. Well said I, and what then? He asked me whither I was riding—I told him, southward: which though directly towards the duke, without asking me any further questions, he wished me a good journey and so let me pass. At which I could not but smile to myself, to see how easy theywere to let any pass that way; for indeed the hearts of the people were towards him, if they durst have shewed it: but that he might not think I was going to the duke, I told him there was a fair at Somerton that day, and thither I was riding. So to Somerton I went very quietly—where I met with my dear friend, Sarah Hurd, at her father's who dwelt there; and heard how some of the duke's men had been at Ivelchester to free some of the duke's friends, who came down from London to meet him, and were taken up on suspicion and imprisoned there; and *withal freed all they found prisoners there on account of conscience*, and among the rest some of our friends, but they took little notice or advantage of it, but went in and out as at other times."

The 'Sixth day' following he went to his Quarterly Meeting at Gregorystoke, 'where we heard (he says) how the duke was come with his army to Taunton, but six miles off, and how the country flocked in to him.' Next day to Taunton, to try to bring off with him a Friend of the name of *Scott*, a *horse dealer*, (the only quaker I read of who acted inconsistently) who had gone out with his horses to the duke to deal; and who could not be persuaded to return home. He proceeds;

"I did not go out of my way to see the army, which lay in a field hard by the town; which I account a great preservation. And soon after the duke and Lord Grey came forth and took horse (their horses being held in the street all the time) and rode down the street the same way as we were to go home: and two great

guns were haled down before them, to plant as they said at the town's end, it being reported that the duke of Albermarle (Lord-lieutenant of the county of Devon) was coming against them. *So we took horse and rode down after* [a very serious *imprudence* however, but Civil war was in those times no such extraordinary matter!] and when we came to the town's end, the street was so full of people, that I thought it impossible to get through the crowd.—Looking about to see the Duke I asked somebody which was he: he shewed me him just at my right hand. So I stopped a little to take a view of him, and thought he looked very thoughtful and dejected in his countenance, and thinner than when I saw him four years before.—I spoke a few words to him: which I do not mention out of vanity, but to show how narrowly I escaped a snare at that time: to the Lord's protecting hand of Providence I ascribed it, in my preservation.—

“Next day I went to my friend's at Long Sutton; where and at Somerton I mostly staid till after the duke's defeat at Sedgemoor: [it] being a time of great exercise with her [she] having several relations [not Friends] out in the duke's army—as three brothers in law, an uncle and several kinsmen, and her brother Glisson, a baptist, came and would have had me gone out also, and take up the sword till the work was over. Which if I had, I might have suffered, as he did: but through the mercy of God, whose holy name I magnify and adore in my preservation, I knew my place and principles better than so.

“And there came down the queen's guards (as they said) under the Lord Churchill, into the parish, and terror marched before them; for we could hear their horses grind the ground under their feet almost a mile before they came. And it was reported there were six houses to be burnt, of which my friend S. Hurd's was one; there being a Papist in the parish, a base wicked fellow who owed her money, and was thought to be a very ill instrument by informing, so that she was in great danger; but through the Lord's mercy was preserved. For when they came to the cross near her house, they enquired for Captain Tucker's who was out with the duke, and went and ransacked his house, cutting and tearing the beds, hangings and furniture to pieces; shaking out the feathers, and carrying away the bedsticks and what else they could; letting out the beer, wine and cyder about the cellar, setting fire to a barn that joined to the dwelling-house, to set that on fire also; but being a stone tiled house it did not burn that: and so, making what spoil and carrying away what they would or could, they returned to Somerton, where the Earl of Feversham lay with the King's army, but two miles off.

“And the Seventh day before the fight came down the Earl of Pembroke, with the Wiltshire troops of horse, and made dreadful work in the parish, taking several prisoners and threatening to hang some, to the terror and affrighting of the inhabitants. Four of the troopers lay at my friend's house, and were pretty civil; but there was one of the rest, an ensign, who was exceeding wicked, threatening and terrifying the poor people in a dreadful manner; and would have questioned me who I was, and what I did there, but I answered him so boldly that he grew quiet; and at last, after he had wearied himself, called for a cushion to lay under his head, and so went to sleep on one of the shop counters all night; as if he could trust himself no where so safe as there: and next morning they went away towards Bridgewater, where the duke with his army was.

“And the next day after the defeat of the duke's army at Sedgemoor, near Weston-Zoyland, many being killed, and the rest scattered, and flying for their lives, several of the country gentlemen, who hardly dared appear before, came about in pursuit of the duke of Monmouth's men. And Sir Edward Phillips, judge of the Sessions, as aforesaid (s) came to my friend's house at Long Sutton, and sat and slept in his chair while his men went a hunting about the fields to take men; and several were brought to my friend's door, and sent to prison in droves,

(s) Memoirs, p. 224: See also Besse, i, 625.

as if it had been to get their horses; for which some of them paid dear after King William came in. As to brother Scott—being taken and put into Weston steeple-house, with many more, the night after the fight, in order to be hanged next day (*as many were*) he got out of the little north door, while the watch was asleep, and so escaped with his life; lying in corn fields by day and going by night, till he got home, and so lay about till after the general pardon. But many were hanged in cold blood by that cruel, inhuman, bloody wretch, Colonel Kirk, the shame of mankind; and some were hung in chains naked, to the terror and shame of the country.” (t)

John Whiting now returned to his prison at Ilchester; where one of the keepers immediately picked a quarrel with him, about some friend's books that were sent to an Inn for him (no unusual thing, before that time) pretending there might be treason in them. Fourteen of the prisoners were now shut up in one room; being mostly on the floor close together, a row on each side feet to feet—the *same rent demanded as when they dwelt in hired houses, and had the liberty of the town*. A contest now began between the brutal jailors and the friends, who refused to pay in such circumstances; in the course of which it fell to the lot of this friend to lie in a ward of the prison, on straw, in the heat of summer, hand-bolted to his friend and ‘yoke-fellow’ (as he pleasantly calls him) John Hipsley, till the iron stripped the skin off both his wrists. This continued above three weeks; and then (with a change of the hand fettered, and perhaps of linen) about two weeks longer; of which time he says, through the goodness and mercy of God, who was near them and sustained them with the comfort of his Holy Spirit, they enjoyed their health very well, though thronged up close among the Monmouth's men, with one sick of a fever near them. The cruelty of the keeper being at length wearied out, they were let up to their friends as before. And now for the tragic conclusion, as to the poor adherents of Monmouth.

“The Assizes began in the Seventh month, both at Taunton and Wells, by special commission to that tyrannical judge, George Jeffrys, Lord Chief Justice &c. for the trying of the duke of Monmouth's men (for the duke they had taken and beheaded before) where there were above five hundred prisoners from the several gaols of the county, and many were had in carts from Ivelchester to Wells. Most of them were condemned, even by wholesale, Jeffrys making what haste he could, not regarding how he threw away men's lives, or ran over them, to hasten home to the king at Windsor, to be made Lord Chancellor; having done the work he was sent about. Of which he was admonished, as I have heard, by a sober man, before he went the circuit, *to show mercy, as he expected it another day*: which he then slighted, but wished afterwards, in his agonies, that he had taken his advice.

“Many were executed and their heads and quarters set up on trees, poles, &c. in most of the highways of this county, Dorset and Devonshire, to the terror of travellers, being dreadful to behold—and many were transported. Some wheeled out of their lives, and others terrified to confess in hopes of pardon and then hanged, whom otherwise they could have had little against [the conduct of the county-clerk in this particular falling under Whiting's own notice in gaol]—some hanged for a little hay, or letting them have a little victuals, which perhaps was not in their power to hinder.—There were eight executed, quartered, and their bowels burnt in the Market-place before our prison window. I went out of the

way because I would not see it, but the fire was not out when I returned : and they forced poor men to hale about men's quarters like horse-flesh or carrion, to boil and hang them up as monuments of their cruelty and inhumanity, for the terror of others : *which lost King James the hearts of many.*"—(s)

This simple recital of facts may suffice, without any comment on my part, to show that the Quakers had great reason to entertain the apprehensions many of them did, of the ruin of the Protestant interest (at least that of the dissenters generally) under the new king, who was known to be a Papist. The event was ordered far better for them than they expected—but not suddenly: they had yet much to do to obtain a respite.

ART. II.—*The OLD ADVICES of the Society of Friends : With remarks on some changes made therein.*

[1. From 'Extracts from the Minutes and Advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London, from its first institution : Printed by James Phillips : 1783.']

"A Memorial of some necessary advices recommended to ministers, and, in the love of the gospel, to be communicated to the several meetings of ministers and elders in Great Britain and Ireland, as caution and counsel.

"1. Against undue and restless behaviour under the ministry of any friend, whilst in the unity of the body.

"2. That all be cautious of using unnecessary preambles, and laying too great stress on their testimony, by too positively asserting a divine motion, and frequently repeating the same; seeing no such pretensions will obtain credit when it is not manifestly so; and where it is, the baptizing power of truth accompanying the words, is the best evidence.

"3. Against misquoting and misapplying the holy scriptures; and it is desired that all those concerned be frequent in reading them.

"4. To be careful how they fall on disputed points in their testimony, and making such objections as they do not clearly answer; and also against giving repeated expectations of coming to a conclusion, recommending the people, &c.

"5. Against hurrying meetings towards the conclusion, by unnecessary additions, when the meeting was left well before.

"6. Against unbecoming tones, sounds, gestures, and all affectation; which are not agreeable to Christian gravity.

"7. Against undertaking or running into employments they have no knowledge or experience of, as some have done, to their own hurt, the injury of others, and the reproach of their religious profession; but to employ themselves in business that they are acquainted with, to avoid an idle life.

"8. Not to speak against persons, or report things on hearsay, but to treat with the parties concerned, and thereby prevent sowing discord.

"9. That their apparel, and the furniture of their houses, their tables, and way of living, may be with decency, moderation, and temperance, that they be good examples to others.

"10. Against men and women travelling as companions in service, to avoid all occasions of offence thereby.

(s) Whiting: *Memoirs*, &c. p. 304—9, 321.

" 11. To beware of too much familiarity, tending to draw out the affections one of another, to their hurt.

" 12. That ministering friends be careful not to hurt one another's service in publick meetings, but every one have a tender regard for others; that nothing be offered with a view to popularity, but in humility, and the fear of the Lord.

" 13. Against running, in their own wills, to disturb or interrupt any people in their worship; or presuming to prophesy, in their own spirits, against any nation, city, town, people, or person.

" 14. That ministers, when they travel in the service of truth, be careful not to make their visits burthensome, or the gospel chargeable.

" 15. That none shew or expose manuscripts, so as to give expectations of their being printed, before they are approved by the second-day's morning-meeting of ministers and elders in London.

" 16. That ministers and elders be careful to keep their whole conversation unspotted, being examples of meekness, temperance, patience, and charity.

" And lastly, As prayer and supplication to God is an especial part of his worship, it must be performed in spirit and in truth, with a right understanding seasoned with grace. Therefore let ministers be careful how and what they offer in prayer, avoiding many words and repetitions, and not to run from supplication into declaration, as though the Lord wanted information: and let all be cautious of too often repeating the high and holy name, or his attributes, by a long conclusion; neither let prayer be in a formal and customary way, to conclude a meeting, without an awful sense of divine assistance attending the mind. 1775."]

[2. From the 'Extracts, &c. Second Edition. Printed and sold by W. Phillips, George Yard, Lombard Street: 1802.' p. 148.]

" *General Advices.* It is agreed, that the following advices be read at least once in a year, in the men's and women's quarterly and monthly meetings, and in preparative meetings.

" Friends are advised

" I. To observe due moderation in the furniture of their houses; and to avoid superfluity in their manner of living:

" II. To attend to the limitations of truth in their trade, and other outward concerns:

" III. To be careful to place out children, of all degrees, amongst those friends whose care and example will be most likely to conduce to their safety; to prefer such servants and apprentices as are members of our society; and not to demand exorbitant apprentice-fees: lest they frustrate the care of friends in these respects:

" IV. To endeavour to make way for their servants to attend meetings, and to encourage them therein:

" V. To guard carefully against the introduction of pernicious books into their families:

" VI. To make their wills, and settle their outward affairs, in time of health:

" VII. To refrain from being concerned in lotteries: which this meeting considers as a species of gaming.

" VIII. Finally, it is recommended that all friends watch over one another for good; that when occasions of uneasiness first appear in any, they may be treated with in privacy and tenderness, before the matter be communicated to another. Thus the hands of those concerned in the further exercise of the discipline will not be weakened by a consciousness of their having themselves departed from the true order of the gospel. And friends every where are advised to endeavour to maintain "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." Eph. iv, 3. 1791.

'Good advice' has the fate, I believe, of being more often given than taken. There are, however, certain points of duty and conduct,

on which it may be expedient to offer *advice*, rather than to make *rules*: and, in forming the Collection for the use of our Members first above cited, the Yearly Meeting of 1782 judiciously set forth 'as caution and counsel' what I have here preserved. I say 'preserved,' because the Old books of Extracts (which had never been on sale) were called in upon the issuing of the new, and converted into waste paper; and are now, I suppose, in very few hands.

Of the caution and counsel here given to *Ministers*, the heads 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16 were retained, in substance, in the Edition sanctioned by the Yearly Meeting of 1801. There were made at this time, however, beside a number of changes merely verbal, *the following substantial omissions*. In 2, of the words, 'Seeing no such pretensions will obtain credit when it is not manifestly so; and where it is'—[latter part *changed to*, 'the baptizing power of truth, accompanying the words being the true evidence.'] Here the conclusion of an enlightened judgment, before admitted as competent in the case, is set aside, and *feeling* substituted in its place: as if all ministry that drew forth evidence of having *moved the affections* of the audience (or of some part of it) must needs be, therefore, *true Gospel ministry*.

In 4, of the words 'recommending the people, &c.' The Committee of revision of 1801, might choose not to take upon it to supply the lacking part of the sentence; which I doubt not was the text Acts xx, 32, become by constant repetition burthensome to some elder's ear: and which text the scribe, who in 1783 put in ' &c.' perhaps meant to have supplied from the Testament at leisure, and did not.

In 10, of the words 'tending to draw out the affections one of another' [changed to 'which biasing the judgment and producing an undue attachment, tends to hurt.'] As if the 'familiarity' objected against had been merely that of common friendship, and confined (or not) to either sex.

Of the whole head 15, omitted, I may treat in another place.

In 16, of the words, 'and not to run from supplication into declaration, as though the Lord wanted information'—a caution, the *soundness* of which at least will not be disputed; though the wording of it might have been improved. I may here add (in my limited circle), my own testimony against *accusing prayers*; in which is found more of the spirit of jealousy concerning some in the congregation, than of charity towards all. The concluding words of 16 are now changed to the following—'nor without an awful sense of Divine *influence*.' I believe that public prayers among us have been more put by than helped, by this obscure requisition.

But the most important change remains to be noticed. The heads 7, 8, 9, are *entirely omitted*: although no *advice* that could be given (so it seems to me) could be more seasonable, or more in its place. It should appear that some active disciplinarian, conceiving that here was something which would do the *laity* good also, among us, had resolved upon making it the foundation of a separate portion of advice for *them*, to be read at the close of Monthly Meetings; where the Ministers also might share in it, and, so, *originated the* 'GENERAL ADVICES.'

These are attached, in the Edition of 1802, to the Queries. They contain matter not so fit to enter into these, and yet very proper to be brought periodically under the notice of our members. In the Edition lately published called 'Rules of discipline' (†) they merge into a very decent *homily*, placed conspicuous at the front of all that had been our worthy predecessors', in the book: the substance of most of the old (and somewhat secular) advice being here incorporated (in altered terms, again) in what seems more like an exhibition of the 'Whole duty of Man.' I confess the Old 'General Advices' were always with me a favorite part of the discipline: they came in at the end of a laborious sitting, like the cup of coffee and the thimble-full of noyau after a Swiss dinner; and I would not have lost them for much: they wanted only the 7th head expunged, it being (thanks to the upright Lord *Bexley*, I believe) now happily obsolete;—or the substitution for it of the following: 'To avoid being concerned in indirect transactions of whatsoever kind in the *public funds*: which, &c. Luke, v. 39.' I shall have a few remarks yet to make (should time and space allow it) in this publication, on other recent changes in our Code of discipline. *Ed.*

ART. III.—*Remarks on Scripture passages.* Continued.

John i, 15. 'John bare witness of him and cried, saying; This was he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me: for he was before me.'

There is a point and a significancy in this passage which, I think, has been overlooked. We have the declaration of the Baptist in the three other Evangelists, that Christ was preferred before him, *as the mightier personage*—but he is here made to assert his *pre-existence* also. He seems to allude to some prophecy of his, in which, after the obscure manner usual with the prophets, he had spoken of some one (not then named, or plainly pointed out) *who coming after him, should yet be found to have gone before him*. This riddle he now expounds, and applies the prophecy to Christ—adding emphatically, For he *was* [in being] before me.

The Reader should have been advertised by Italic type that the word 'preferred' is not in the original. It supplies a sense, indeed, which seems to put a distinction between the latter and the former clause—but which may justly be disputed, as foreign to the text; inasmuch as it brings in a third party, making the comparison, and giving the preference to one over another: whereas the mysterious parallel runs between the Christ coming *after* John in the work of the ministry, and the Christ *preceding* John in the Spirit; and of course in the Godhead, which is Eternal. 'He that cometh after me goes

(†) Rules of discipline of the Society of Friends, with Advices: being Extracts from the Minutes and Epistles of their Yearly Meeting held in London, from its first institution. Third Edition: London: Darton and Harvey, Gracechurch-street, 1834.

before me: for he was, before I had a being.' The *Vulgate* says, here, *Hic erat quem dixi, qui post me venturus est ante me factus est: quia prior me erat.* The *punctuation* (here rectified) makes the sense doubtful, which otherwise would be strictly what I have given above. The Greek verb in the former clause has a fuller sense than in the latter; implying not merely being, but *birth* also.

Ver. 21. 'Art thou that prophet?' It might have been, more closely, Art thou the prophet? The reference would have been plain, still, to some known *character*, antecedent or predicted, most likely the one promised Deut. xviii. 'The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him shall ye hearken,' &c. The Baptist appears to join with his countrymen, in putting the character here described upon some eminent *person*; and, knowing that himself was not that one, he disclaims it.

But is it clear that Christ in his individual person was here intended? I think it applies rather to the *prophet* of the LORD (whosoever he might be) in every age from Moses to Christ. For the passage follows immediately after a prohibition of the use of divination, and of the resort to such as might have the help of familiar spirits; and to the practices of the heathen in enchantments, and the like. Instead of these, they were, on pain of God's displeasure, to consult the *prophet* whom He should raise up. And then follows the punishment assigned to the *pretender* to the character of 'that prophet;' and the test whereby to discover him.

It may be thought that the application of this promise made by the Apostle Peter, in the Acts Ch. iii, ver. 22-26, fixes this character upon Christ. And so it may be admitted to do—but not exclusively as regards all time: Jesus was intitled to claim under it, as *the prophet* of the Lord in that age; manifested to be such by sufficient evidence of signs and wonders, and deeds of power, even to those who were not willing to receive him as *the Christ*. And this preeminence excluded John the Baptist, who was sensible of the thing and at once acknowledged it: 'And he answered, No.'

There is a peculiar beauty in the lowliness of the Baptist's profession. He does not so much as make himself (what he is elsewhere declared to be, Mal. iii, 1: Matt. xi, 10, &c.) the messenger sent before, to prepare the way; but (adopting the terms of Isaiah) the *voice*, merely, of one sent to proclaim the order, 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God.' Yet did Christ himself pronounce him the greatest *man* of that age!

John ii, 4. 'Woman, what have I to do with thee?' I should have thought the mere literal sense more becoming, What *is that* to me and thee? [What is the wine to us?] But I observe Dr. Willan says (in the 'United Gospel,' edited in the joint names of himself and wife) *ti emoi kai soi* was a proverbial interrogation in most of the ancient languages: applicable to those who assume undue advantages, or interfere with the privileges of others: but does not appear to have been always vituperative.' And he gives a number of instances, both in Holy Scripture and in profane writers. I have read somewhere, too,

that *gunai* would have admitted of a rendering more accordant with our feelings of polite tenderness. Perhaps our next Versionists will take the whole into consideration: not passing over, however, the plain fact that the mother of our Lord *was*, on this occasion, disposed to put him upon the exercise of his known miraculous powers, in aid of scanty housekeeping—whence, probably, the gentle and tender momentary repulse which followed. ‘I did not know that I should be wanted for such a service’—appears to me the sense.

Ver. 20. ‘Forty and six years was this temple in building.’

Purver renders thus, ‘Forty six years this temple has been building;’ adding in a Note, ‘As it still continued; for which look into the Chronology:’—In his Chronology he refers to *Josephus*; who says of the times under Nero, a little before the war began between the Jews and the Romans, *Jam illo tempore absolutum erat templi ædificium.* ‘The building of the temple was now finished.’ And he proceeds to speak of another project which the Jews had for employing the hands thus thrown out of work. *Antiq. Jud. Lib. xx. Cap. ix.* To judge by the Common Translation, it had already received its completion, when our Lord was thus replied to by the Jews.

Ch. iv, ver. 14. ‘Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst.’—Shall thirst no more after the *knowledge* of the true God and his worship. It is not to be supposed our Lord could mean that he should have no further desire after his favour and presence. The poor Hindoo idolaters are never satisfied, now, when once troubled in conscience, without going from teacher to teacher, and from one kind of penance to another; till upon obtaining this knowledge that thirst ceases.

Ver. 27. ‘His disciples—wondered that he talked with the woman.’

We may gather from this, that our Lord was at no time left alone by those whom he had called, save when he himself dismissed them; or was disposed to retire for meditation and prayer. Otherwise, he must frequently have entered into conversation with strangers. And that his behaviour towards these was regulated by the strictest propriety—so that the conversing familiarly with a female, engaged in an ordinary occupation, excited surprise as an exception to his usual rule of conduct: but it was an exception under peculiar circumstances, and leading to a most important result.

Ver. 35. ‘Lift up your eyes and look on the fields; for they are white, already, to harvest.’ No doubt with the garments of the people coming out of the city to hear the stranger, and showing white from a distance on the way. Christ anticipated the harvest his disciples, as well as himself, should reap from these, in a spiritual sense; and he sets before them, in the following verses, the cheering prospect of successful labour in the Gospel, to be followed by an Everlasting reward. *Ed.*

ART. IV.—POETRY:—*Specimen of the Poetry of Lady Guion: with remarks.*

It is well known to most readers of Religious publications, that the amiable and pious Lady Guion wrote, during her long imprisonments on account of her faith, a number of small poems. Cowper has given excellent translations into English verse of thirty-six of her pieces: but he has passed over one, which I find so well rendered in the Second Volume of her 'Life,' in English, (Ed. 1772) that on this account, and to do justice in respect of *talent* to her character, I am disposed to give a place, here, to an Extract. The *subject* is moreover peculiarly interesting, in this day of Gospel labour and missions; as it seems to have pointed, in the spirit of prophecy, to the enlargement of the Church by the numerous conversions since effected in Greenland, and the 'Western hemisphere,' by the Moravians and others. Whether (as seems to be obscurely hinted in the foregoing part) this Lady too *had a call to preach the Gospel* to the 'distant nations' here addressed (the following of which was frustrated, through implicit obedience to her spiritual director in the Church of Rome) is a question which, I suppose, it is quite impracticable for us now to determine. *Ed.*

" " Oh grant new pow'rs, I pray'd, my Love supreme,

For promulgation of the worthiest theme:
Nor longer leave my fervour thus confined,
Since thy refulgence on my soul has shined!
Thy boundless goodness now my soul surveys,
'Tis lost in wonder, and 'tis fill'd with praise,
Rapt with thy beauties, and exempt from fear,
I must resound them, tho' the worst I bear.'

" Ye sever'd isles, and *Hyperborean* plains,
Whose floods lie fetter'd in their icy chains,
Whose piercing blasts deprive your dreary glades
Of the sweet fragrance of the Southern shades,
To you, tho' distant, in his name I call;
Oh live devoted to the LORD of ALL.
Your gates immortal (*) to his grace unfold;
And ye'll exult in blessings yet untold,
In the high glories of perpetual hills,
In the sweet solace of celestial rills.

" If no repugnance intercept the rays
Which rise to bless you with the best of days,
All wants redress'd a brighter Sun will glow,
And endless love in blissful union flow,
Your hearts and hands in generous acts employ,
And crown your labours with transcendent joy.

" Ye stately fabricks in th' enamel'd fields,
Where *art* improves what lovely *nature* yields;
Ye beauteous hills for pearly fruits renown'd,
Ye crowns of vines which deck their summits round,

* Psalm xxiv, 7.

Ye wide canals which cost amazing toil,
 Ye streams which murmur o'er the flow'ry soil,
 Oh since your Lords, decoy'd with earthly views,
 Neglect the Giver, and the gifts misuse,
 Since peace fraternal yields to selfish strife,
 And grateful virtue to luxurious life,
 I leave, lamenting, your infected state,
 And waft my words to regions less elate.

“Ye then who hold yon *Western Hemisphere*,
 Or whose long darkness ends your frigid year,
 Within your breasts your Author's love inclose,
 To thaw your ice, and melt your chilling snows.
 He courts a refuge in your nations. Chuse
 Him for your LORD, nor offer'd bliss refuse.
 His due reception renders every place
 Fair in his sight, and honour'd with his grace.
 He lifts aloft, and wings to bliss from woe
 A race of rebels in the world below,
 Broke from the bonds of dastard fear and shame,
 By virtue fervent with celestial flame.

“Ye fruitless tracts, whose hapless throngs are thin,
 Oh, if he shield you from the shafts of sin ;
 His perfect goodness if your tribes revere,
 And to his laws, in spotless lives, adhere ;
 Then all its wildness will the waste forego,
 Then clustering grapes for noxious brambles grow.
 But righteous judgment will at last surprise,
 If mortals, call'd, the gracious call despise.”

The Professions new robed.—‘*Church, Army, Physic, Law ;*’ Cowper.

The Soldier, methinks, should in sables be drest
 And the trappings of misery wear :
 Death marches before him in pomp—or, at best,
 Want and sorrow come close in his rear.

The Priest—when 'tis true that *he* brings the glad news
 Of redemption from thralldom and woe,—
 May the scarlet and plume (all Joy's livery) use,
 And with music accompanied go.

The Lawyer (had I but the robing of him)
 Should betray his equivocal case ;
 Black one side, white the other (ambiguous trim !)
 Each client should stare in the face.

The Doctor, who does just as much good as harm,
 A facetious and gossiping blade !
 Let *Materia Medica* keep his blood warm,
 Of all hues—and too ancient to fade !

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ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrines and practices of the Quakers.*

(Continued from p. 121.)

A. D. *Quietism* prevails on the Continent: The ‘Short and Easy 1685. Method of Prayer’ in circulation: *Molinos*, author of the ‘Spiritual Guide’ imprisoned at Rome.

The writings of Molinos and Guion having, together with those of Fenelon, obtained considerable acceptance among Friends, I must here take some notice of the doctrine and practice of the Quietists; and distinguish between this, and the doctrine and practice of George Fox, and the early Friends.

Lady Guion, the author of the publication above-mentioned (‘*Moyen court et facile de faire oraison,*’) became about this time the leader of an extensive connexion of pious persons in France and Switzerland. She says of herself: ‘The Lord made it known to many persons, that he designed me for a Mother of a great people, but a people simple and child-like. They took the intelligence in a literal sense, and thought it related to some institution or congregation. But it appeared to me [to denote] nothing else than the persons whom it pleased God I should afterwards win over to him: to whom I should serve as a mother; [God] through his goodness giving them the same union of affection for me as that of children for a parent (but an union much deeper and stronger) and giving me all that was necessary for them,

VOL. III

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to bring them to walk in the way by which he would lead them.' [Isa. xxxv, 8-10.] (a)

This way was the path of inward and spiritual devotion; the habit of retiring from worldly cares and the objects of sense, to cultivate an acquaintance with the Holy Spirit in the heart; and offer up secret prayer on that altar; where Christ himself officiates, unseen. The world, and the Church, so called, have denominated this Quietism: *Molinos* had taught it, long before, in his 'Spiritual Guide;' a work approved at its publication by several celebrated doctors, and sanctioned by the Inquisition itself; and which, in less than six years, passed through above twenty editions in different languages. His followers abounded in Italy, Spain, France, and the Netherlands; and their sentiments had prevailed so far at *Rome*, that, when the Inquisition at the instance of the French court (moved by the Jesuits), had resolved on the destruction of the sect, it was found that the *Pope* himself was implicated (*Molinos* had been his intimate friend, and had lived with him for years together in the Vatican) and *Innocent XI* had to undergo an examination of 'heretical pravity' as a mere member of the Church; being, *as its Head*, of course infallible! We need not wonder that, in less than a month after this, near two hundred persons many of them of the first rank in society (and of the best lives) were cast into prison, to the consternation of pious people over almost all Italy. (b) *Molinos* (who was a *Spaniard* and a priest) had been a man of irreproachable manners, but little addicted to superstition and ceremony: he was at length condemned and imprisoned for life, and the sect put down. (c)

The celebrated *Fenelon*, archbishop of *Cambray*, became (in common with many persons of the highest worth in *France*) a convert to the doctrine of *Guion*. This sect, however, was so closely pursued on the part of the French ecclesiastics by censure and imprisonment of the leaders, that at length it also gave way, and disappeared. *Madam Guion* died in peace and at liberty, (in entire forgiveness of her persecutors) in 1717. She had been carried from prison to prison for ten years together in order to shake her resolution; from *Vincennes* to *Vaugirard*, from *Vaugirard* to the *Bastille*. Yet the verity of her answers, the purity of her manners, and the uniformity of her conduct, all along, forced from a numerous assembly of prelates, under the direction of the celebrated *Bossuet*, Bishop of *Meaux*, her adversary,

(a) *Guion's Life*, Ed. 1772, vol. i, p. 261. (b) *Idem*. ii, 316. (c) He died in the Inquisition at an advanced age, 1696, having shown a becoming equanimity under so great a reverse—for during twenty years they had regarded him as a saint, at *Rome*. There was a concourse of the people procured, to witness his condemnation at the *Minerva* (the *Pope* granting a plenary indulgence on account of it) and the popular feeling was turned, by calumnies, so strongly against him, that the guard had to keep off the mob. Approaching the little cell, in which he was to be shut up for the rest of his life, he entered it with great tranquility, calling it his closet. Then, taking leave of the *Friar* who had attended him, he said, 'Farewell: at the day of judgment we shall see each other again; and then it will appear on which side the truth is, whether on your's or mine!'

a testimony to her character; in which they professed a veneration for her *life*, while they condemned her principles and her doctrine! (d)

The following sentences, taken from an Abstract of her 'Short and Easy Method of Prayer,' may serve to show what those 'principles' were, and on what account so many Ecclesiastics had become her enemies. I do not think myself obliged to exhibit some weaker (but still innocent) passages, which I find intermixed. These spiritual fancies, together with her notorious insubordination to rule and discipline, as a member of the church of Rome, were probably made use of by the priests as strong points in their charge against her. She had, then, no course left but to submit, or leave them.

"Prayer is nothing else than the application of the heart to God, and interior exercise of divine love. St. Paul advises to *pray without ceasing*. 1 Thes. v. 17. And our Lord saith. 'What I say unto you I say unto all, watch and pray.' Mark xiii, 33, 37. All then may practise prayer, and all ought to do it.—

"Come all ye who are athirst to these living waters, and waste not your precious time in hewing to yourselves broken cisterns, which cannot hold these waters. Jer. ii, 13. Come, O ye hungry hearts, who find nothing to content you, and ye will soon be fully satisfied. Come, ye poor and afflicted, who are laden with pains and grievances, and ye will be relieved. Come, ye that are sick to your best Physician, and be not afraid of addressing him by reason of your manifold maladies. He will make them all turn to your advantage in the highest relation.

"Come, O ye children, to your Father, and he will receive you with open arms of love. Come, ye poor wandering and lost sheep, return to your Shepherd; Ye sinners, to your Saviour; Ye stupid and ignorant, to an all-wise instructor; Ye who look upon yourselves to be good for nothing, far from being incapable of prayer, ye are the most fit for it. Come all, without exception; for Jesus Christ invites you all.—

"[Prayer is] the foundation of worship, and support of the spiritual life: For the great means of becoming perfect is to walk in the presence of God. Prayer only procures us the lively sense of that presence, and does it continually.

"Ye must learn then the prayer which can be practised at all times, when ye go out and come in, when your hands are employed in their lawful occupations, the prayer which all ranks of men, and which women and children can practise: Not a prayer of the head, but of the heart; a prayer which nothing can interrupt but depraved affections.

"At first it is difficult to continue inward with God, by reason of the habit which the soul has contracted. But when it grows naturalized thereto, by following the draughts of divine love, it is then very easy: as well because it becomes habituated to it as because God, who desires nothing else of his creatures but to communicate himself to them, sends it abundance of grace, and an experimental enjoyment of his presence.—

"As to those who know not how to read, they are by no means on that account to omit the exercise of prayer. Jesus Christ [the word] is the great book, written within and without, which will teach them all things. Let them learn this fundamental truth, that the kingdom of God is within them, and there to be sought.

"Be patient in Prayer. If ye wait long in patience, in a resigned humble mind, for the return of your Well-beloved, this is an excellent prayer, and will be followed with the best of consequences.—

"In regard to practice, our own will ought to be entirely lost in the Will of God, all our own inclinations, how good soever they may appear, to be renounced even at the first perception of their beginning to rise; to have no will of our own

(d) Idem. ii, 265.

either for body or soul, for blessings temporal or eternal: to give the present moment still to God, forgetting the past, and leaving the future wholly to his Providence; content with the actual moment, which brings with it the eternal order of God, and is an ineffable declaration to us of his will; to attribute nothing to the creature, to look at all things in God, and as coming from him, except our sins.—

“Jesus whom he follows as the Way, hearkens to as the Truth, and is animated by as the Life, John xiv, 6. imprinting himself on the soul, makes it bear all his states, as St. Paul writes of himself, ‘I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus.’ Gal. vi, 17. He often gives the soul herein a resignation of the views of its states. We must give all our application to whatsoever shall please him, whether light or darkness, strength or weakness, sweets or bitters; desiring only to continue steadfast with him, to cleave closely to him, and abide annihilated before him.

“Now this is the only short and sure way of acquiring virtue; because, God being its principle, he who possesses God possesses every virtue. All virtue which is not from this principle is but like a garment, which is often put off, and does not last long. This is the only essential real and permanent virtue which, like the beauty of the King’s daughter, (Psa. xlv. 13.) has its spring and seat within. God, with whom faithful souls are united, makes them practise every kind of virtue. They think of nothing else but what may please their Well-beloved. Oh did this love prevail, how easily would the whole church be reformed! But it never can be, without it.—

“Let the soul arrived here rest in stillness, wherein it enjoys an inestimable happiness; at so wonderful a blessing it is astonished; and a heavenly conversation is carried on within, which that without does not interrupt. Every virtue flows agreeably and naturally in this soul; it practises them easily and with alacrity. It has a spirit of life and of fruitfulness, which gives it all the readiness of love for whatever is good, and a rejection for whatever is not so. Let it then continue faithful and fixed in this disposition, and beware of seeking any other whatsoever, this being the most perfect in which all religious duties can be attended.—

“The Prophet Habakkuk crieth out, ‘The Lord is in his holy temple; let all the earth keep silence before him.’ The eternal essential word speaketh in the sanctified temple of the soul. Choose therefore to hearken diligently to this word, that ye may not speak of yourselves, but wait till this word speak through you, that ye may thereby minister grace to the hearers. Eph. iv, 29

“There are many places in scripture which exhort us to hearken to God, and to be attentive to his voice. Exterior silence is very necessary to cultivate the interior, and indeed it is impossible to become spiritually minded without the love of retirement and of silence. Wherefore God saith to us, by the mouth of his Prophet, ‘I will allure her, and bring her into the wilderness, (or draw her into solitude) and speak comfortably unto her’ (or as in the margin, speak to her heart.) Hosea, ii, 4.

“Self-examination ought to be frequently practised, with prayer to God that he may search us, and shew us our defects; then to be followed with fidelity, in giving them up to be cured by him, in the way of the cross.

“Let us beware lest self-love deceive us herein. It calleth good evil and evil good. Isaiah, v, 20. When we abide herein exposed to the eyes of God, then the sun of righteousness shines, and shews us even to the least atoms. God does not fail to reprove the soul for all its faults. No sooner has it committed any, than it feels an inward burning, which reproaches it therewith. It is then an examination which God himself makes, who lets nothing escape, but by his divine light discovers it. Ever bear with dutiful patience and gratitude his fatherly corrections, joining repentance with amendment of life.

“The soul now lays aside all selfish prayers to God, such as formerly it used to make, learning to desire, and to pray, only that his pure and holy will may be

done, how great a cross soever to its own; or having lost its own will in his: And herein his good spirit helpeth our infirmities—and maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered. Rom. viii, 26—

“The Son of God hath life in himself. John, v, 26. He alone it is who communicates it. We must then make room for this life to flow into us, which cannot be done but by the evacuation and loss of the life of Adam, or of corrupt self; as St. Paul assures us, ‘If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: Old things are past away; all things are become new, and all things of God.’ 2 Cor. v, 17.

“Actions done from a divine principle are divine actions; whereas the actions of the creature, how virtuous or good soever they may appear, are only human actions. Martha did such things as were good; but, because she did them in her own spirit, Christ reproved her for them. The spirit of man is restless and bustling. He does little, though he appear to do much. Mary ceased in appearance to act, to let herself be moved by the spirit of Jesus. She might seem to be inactive and lifeless, but it was that Jesus Christ might live and act in her. It is equally necessary for us to renounce ourselves, and our own operations, in order to follow him.

“St. Paul assures us, ‘that if any man have not the spirit of Christ he is none of his; and that as many as are led by the spirit of God are the sons of God;’ that this is not the spirit of bondage to fear, but the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father; and which beareth witness with our spirits that we are the children of God; being delivered from the bondage of corruption into their glorious liberty. Rom. viii, 9, 14, 15, 16. Thus moved by the spirit of Christ, we partake with him in his filiation or sonship; and this spirit in us never asks or prays for any thing but what is conformable to the will of God.

“Why then should men load themselves with a superfluity of cares, or fatigue themselves with external performances, wasting their strength, their time and treasures therein? When the Almighty has so emphatically remonstrated with us hereupon, and invited us to the internal substance, by his prophet, ‘Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? and your labour for that which satisfieth not? Hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness.’ Isaiah, iv, 2. In order to hearken thus to him, all flesh must be silent before the Lord. Zech. ii, 13. We ought to resign ourselves entirely, and fear nothing in so doing: since he takes so special care of such as confide in him, as he has fully assured us; ‘Can a woman forget her suckling child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, they may forget, yet will not I forget thee.’ O words full of consolation! Who after this shall fear to resign themselves to God?—

“The design of God being to restore the soul to its original entire purity, it is necessary that divine justice, as a consuming fire, should take from it all that is terrestrial, carnal, and of its own activity; in order to render it conformable to God, and uniform with him.—It must therefore continually advance, faithfully following his guidance, leaving all things which would in any wise retard, or stop it in its progress; leaving all the inns, all the practices, and past experiences, which are to be quitted when the signal for it is given.* So shall we be fitted for beatitude, or to enjoy God both in this life and the next.

“O the blindness of men who think highly of their own wisdom and knowledge! How true it is, my God, that thou hast hid thy secrets from the wise and prudent; and revealed them unto babes! Matthew, xi, 25.”

* After her first entrance upon an entire dedication of herself to God, she for a considerable time practised very great bodily austerities; but, on being farther enlighter'd, she quitted them, to proceed to labour for the good of others, and to expose herself to sufferings from other quarters. So in the course of her life, we find, she left behind her sundry other things she had before been in the practice of, as the invocation of Saints, in order to pray to God only; the saying over by rote her vocal prayers, in order to pray with the spirit and with the understanding also, &c.

That *Quakerism* is not *Quietism*, but that it includes and goes beyond it, must be evident to those who have carefully compared the more considerable writers of the two sects. The inward path of faith and prayer, aided by the exclusion of the objects of sense, *even of those invented for the purpose of worship*, was no new thing long before the times of St. Theresa and Molinos. The question for us, seems to be, not whether we shall use retirement and abstraction, as a means of conversion to God and in aid of our devotion, but how far this habit may profitably be carried: and whether, if beyond the point of entire submission to the will of God in our sanctification, and a constant watch against evil thoughts, and the motions of sin in our members, it may not be in excess. For there is danger of the *new* self becoming here an idol: being indulged, too much for the right discharge of our active duties, in spiritual raptures, and the constant looking for visions, and revelations in the exclusive behalf of the parties concerned.

No one appears to me to have been more in earnest, more watchful over himself, and more given to retirement for meditation and prayer, than our honourable elder George Fox, *in the early days of his conversion*; but no sooner did he obtain the victory of faith, and become enlightened respecting his duty—no sooner did he see clearly the blood of the New Covenant, and how it comes into the heart, to sprinkle from dead works and enable to serve the living God, (e) than he became attentive, in an uncommon degree, *to every thing of a moral and religious nature that was passing around him*.

And how did *he* proceed 'to serve the living God?' By drawing persons into a corner, there to eat their morsel alone, content in a secret communion with their Redeemer, and leaving the world to its own ways and worships? By giving all subjection and honour to the hypocrites of the day, the readers of Moses in every synagogue; the dealers in all possible ordinances and ceremonies, for their own advancement and gain? By *suffering* all things (and counting it all joy) for the profession of the truth, but doing nothing in opposition to the spirit of the age, in its behalf? No: he pursued a course the very opposite—he went every where, *proclaiming war against those things from which Quietism is content simply to abstain*. He opposed wrong practices *by an active testimony*. He refused subjection to that which he disapproved, though he could not hope to put it down; and took, in person and estate, the consequences of this boldness, in heavy sufferings; to be recompensed by future liberty, and enjoyment in the truth. His faithful friends trod in all his steps: they partook of suffering with him; and with him inherited the reward!

Of Molinos, it is by no means certain that he retracted *his* doctrine; but *Fenelon*, over-awed by Pope Innocent XII. and the Inquisition, or as yet in darkness respecting the true authority of the Church, condemned from his pulpit, officially, the very sentiments which he cherished for himself to the end of his days; and *Guion*, having submitted implicitly her writings to the disposal of her Ecclesiastical

(e) Journ. 14, 17; and comp. 1 John v, 4; Heb. ix, 14; x, 22.

superiors, remained the same inward, spiritually minded worshipper still. They had a full persuasion of the truth as regards this thing, and desired only to enjoy their belief and practice for themselves; but they had *no TESTIMONY* (it is plain) to hold up, in the manner in which Quakerism displayed it, *against the superstitions of the age*. I say nothing here of the practice of *war*, and of *swearing*, as opposed by us. It may be (nay, let us charitably conclude it was so) that to deny these things as not required of them.

These people were undoubtedly serviceable to each other, in promoting sincere religion and holiness, among themselves: they exemplified it, also, in charity and good works towards others: but their influence was chiefly *personal*; and their work, (thus confined to their own times) expired with them. Let us be careful not to confound this principle and practice (which includes an implicit submission to the authority of an apostate church,) with that which our early friends held and walked in; and which it is our duty to propose to ourselves and hold forth to others. Let us hold fast the inward and passive, but strive also to add to it (that which spreads wider and endures longer) the active experience, and full result, of the doctrine of Christ—*a moral reformation in the earth*. ‘If they shall say unto you, Behold he is in the desert—go not forth; Behold he is in the secret chambers,—believe it not.’ Thus Christ in prophecy, concerning the monkery and mysticism of the earlier times. But of that corrupt system of show and performance, of exaction and misrule, against which our first friends were plainly required to bear witness unto the death, he says by his apostle, ‘Come *out of* **BABYLON**, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues; for her sins have reached to heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.’—The Quietists were content to worship God in spirit *within her*. It may be, I repeat it, that *this* call was not extended to them. It is loud enough to us; if we duly regard what has passed, and is passing, in the churches of Christ.—Let us, then, see that we obey it; ‘for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her.’ (f)

A. D. 1685-6. *King* JAMES, upon the solicitation and petition of Friends in London, releases great numbers of the Society from prison throughout England. A stop is also put to the proceedings of Informers in and about London; and to numerous prosecutions under the Penal Statutes, in the Country.

“What care, industry and methods were used and taken to procure the same, and how granted and obtained, I may give some relation of [says *Whitehead*] in this historical account.—(g)

“In order to give the King to understand the heavy unmerited sufferings, persecutions and oppressions we were left under by his brother, K. Chas. 2, and which were still continued, increased and renewed upon us, 1. Our dear friends, *Gilbert Latcy, Alexander Parker* and myself presented him the Case of 1460 of our Friends, then prisoners.

[The List of these comprehends forty counties, with numbers in each varying

(f) Rev. xviii, 4—8. (g) Christian Progress, 570.

from a single prisoner to 279, the amount for *Yorkshire*: next to which in amount appear *Bristol* and *Devon*.] (h)

2. "Our beloved Friend Robert Barclay and myself, made application to the King, for the *Liberty of our Consciences*; that we might be freed from all those severe persecutions we were exposed to, and suffered under; I having then a large opportunity to discourse the King upon that point, and to remind him of K. Chas. 2nd's 'Declaration for Liberty to tender Consciences,' 1672.

3. "Upon farther solicitation and petition, a Commission was obtained from the King, directed to Sir Robert Sawyer, the Attorney-General, to issue out warrants to release so many of our Friends out of the prisons in England and Wales, as the King could legally discharge, *being under process as his prisoners*. All which the Lord enabled me earnestly to solicit, and pursue with great industry, until our friends were released.

4. "The Informers (as yet) continuing eagerly to make spoil and havock upon our goods (thereby seeking our ruin) for our innocent religious Meetings; which they hunted and haunted up and down, in City and Country, I was greatly pressed in spirit to make complaint to the King, by way of petition against them, and their injurious and unwarrantable proceedings against us.

"Whereupon the King gave order to summon these Informers, in and about London, to appear before two of his Commissioners, appointed to hear and examine our complaints face to face; that they might see how matters of fact, to-wit, their excessive spoil upon our Friends' goods, their bearing false-witness and forswearing themselves (as many of them had done, in several cases against divers persons) could be proved and made out, according to our complaints; and to make report thereof to the King.

"All which was proved, and made evidently appear before the said Commissioners, at two sundry meetings at *Clifford's Inn*, to the Informer's own faces, to their great confusion and shame, and to the weakening their hands and abating their Prosecutions; so as by degrees they came to be stopt: especially after the said Commissioners had made their Report to the King: and divers of the Informers were prosecuted by other dissenters for perjury [a proceeding then out of the power of Friends] and some of them stood in the pillory for the same.

5. "Particular application being made to the king for a *Noli prosequi*, or a stop to be put to the Processes, *Qui tam* writs, &c. out of the Exchequer, &c. (which were commonly issued out) against some hundreds of our Friends in many parts of the nation, for £20 *per mensem*, and two-thirds of Estates, made forfeit to the king and prosecutors, for being absent from Parish Churches, (so called) upon old Statute laws made against Popish recusants—a Commission was obtained from the King to put a stop to those Exchequer writs, Processes and Estreats: *which being stopt prevented the ruin of many families*. To effect this relief, I earnestly solicited, and laboured early and late, as if it had been to save many lives; until one time I was almost disabled by a fit of sickness, but the Lord restored, revived and helped me: Blessed be his name for ever!"

After so clear a Summary of the proceedings, which the Author afterwards details at large, it will be needful only to subjoin some dates and documents, for the Reader's satisfaction.

The audience to which Barclay was admitted, took place 'on the 26th of the Third month, called May, about Four in the Afternoon.' He was taken as a companion by Whitehead, 'he being more particularly acquainted with the King; and the King having a particular respect to him, from the knowledge he had of him in Scotland:' but he does not seem to have said much *on this occasion*. (i)

(h) Christian Progress, 574.

(i) Idem. 578.

In the course of his pleadings, Whitehead says to the King 'We are inclinable to present an account of our Sufferings to the PARLIAMENT, wherein we desire the king's favorable concurrence, and therefore thought it meet to acquaint the king first with our intention: for we are willing and desirous that he should be acquainted with all public applications we make to the Parliament.

K. *What is it?* G. W. 'Tis a plain account of our sufferings in matters of fact, of the same kind with that we lately gave to the king, with some reasons offered for the repeal of the Conventicle Act.

K. *Let me see it, and I'll give you my opinion concerning it.'*

Here the audience was at end; the Friends, professing their intention to produce it, humbly thanked him and withdrew,—Barclay well satisfied with what had passed. In fact, the 'plain account' was ready, and is found at length in Whitehead, with this title, '*To the King and both Houses of Parliament, The suffering condition of the peaceable People called Quakers, only for tender conscience towards Almighty God, humbly presented.*' It states the present number of prisoners at 1383, in England and Wales—above two hundred of them women—many under sentence of *Premunire*, and more than three hundred near it—that above three hundred and twenty had died, in prison and prisoners, since 1660—and near one hundred of them 'by means of this long imprisonment (through two such hard winters) since the account delivered to the King and Parliament in 1680.' (d)

On the 1st of the Fourth Month, accordingly, Whitehead and Latey got access to the King, with the papers containing their case at length, and 'a Summary or Abstract thereof.' James chose the latter for his own use; and told them they might present their Case to the Parliament when it might please them.

The next thing we meet with is the *King's warrant to Sir Robert Sawyer*, as follows. (e)

JAMES R.

Whereas we are given to understand that several of our subjects commonly called *Quakers*, in the *Schedules* hereunto annexed, are either convicted, or upon process in order to their conviction of *Premunire* for not swearing; or indicted or presented for not coming to *Church*, or convicted for the same; and several of them have been returned into our Exchequer, and in charge for £20 *per mensem*, according to the Statutes in that case provided; and some of them lie in prison upon writs *de excommunicato capiendo*, and other processes for the causes aforesaid; and We being willing that our said subjects, and other our subjects commonly called *Quakers*, who are or have been prosecuted, indicted, convicted or imprisoned for any of the causes aforesaid, should receive the full benefit of our *General pardon*, which we have been pleased to grant to our Loving subjects by our *Royal proclamation* (f) with all possible ease to them, Our Will

(d) *Idem*. 580.

(e) *Idem*. 588.

(f) Thus were the sufferers for conscience towards God confounded with those who had been in arms against the King—the one probably as obnoxious to a servile and most corrupt Court as the other. *Whiting*, whom we left a prisoner under excommunication (pa. 120) says of this act: 'But as for us, we remained prisoners all the winter; and on the 16th of the 1st Month 1685-6, King James

and pleasure is, and We do hereby authorize will and require you, to cause such of our Subjects commonly called Quakers who are in prison for any of the causes aforesaid, to be *forthwith discharged out of prison*; and forthwith to stop and discharge, or cause to be discharged, by giving your consent on our behalf, all Fines, forfeitures or sums of money, charged upon any of our subjects commonly called Quakers, for not coming to Church, or set upon them upon any process for the same; as also all Processes, indictments, presentments, and convictions for any of the said causes; by entering *noli prosequi*, or otherwise as you shall judge necessary for rendering that our *Pardon* most effectual and beneficial for our said subjects: and for so doing this shall be your Warrant.

Given at our Court at *Whitehall* the 15th day of March 1685-6 in the Second year of our Reign.

To our trusty and well beloved our Attorney General,

By his Majesty's command,

Sunderland, P.

King James issues an Order for limiting *Ecclesiastical prosecutions*.

I find in *Sevel* the following Warrant to the Clergy, which he calls a 'Proclamation;' and says it was 'the King's first step towards liberty of conscience, as well for Papists as other persons mentioned in the Schedule,— which put an effectual stop to persecution, and the power of the Informers was thereby very much broken.' (g)

JAMES R.

Whereas our most entirely beloved brother, the late king deceased, had signified his intentions to his Attorney General, for the pardoning such of his subjects who had been sufferers in the late rebellion [i. e. in the time of the Commonwealth] for their loyalty, or whose parents or nearest relations had been sufferers in the late rebellion for that cause, or who had themselves testified their loyalty and affection to the government, and were prosecuted, indicted or convicted for not taking or [for] refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, or one of them; or had been prosecuted upon any writ, or any penalty, or otherwise, in any of the Courts of Westminster-Hall, or in any of the Ecclesiastical Courts, for not coming to Church, or not receiving the sacrament: And whereas the several persons, whose names are mentioned in the *Schedule* annexed to this our Warrant, have produced unto us Certificates for the loyalty and sufferings of them and their families: Now, in pursuance of the said will of our said most dear Brother, and in consideration of the sufferings of the said persons, Our will and pleasure is, that you cause all process and proceedings *ex officio*, as well against the said persons mentioned in the said *Schedule* hereunto annexed, as against all other persons as shall hereafter be produced unto you, to be wholly superseded and stayed; and if any of the said persons be deemed or pronounced excommunicated, or have been so certified or are in prison

put forth his proclamation of general pardon; which *though it had many exceptions in it*, yet it reached the case of most of us; and freed abundance of *Monmouth's* men, who had lain at hide, in woods and places, till they were almost starved, many of them; and might as well have been pardoned before winter, if some had endeavoured it as much as they did to take away their lives.' He proceeds to state that, at the Assizes beginning at Wells the 30th of the same month, they (the Friends remaining prisoners, to the number of sixteen, of from one to fifteen years standing, his own near seven) presented to Chief Justice Herbert and Judge Wright a paper stating their case, with the several causes and times of their imprisonment; in consequence of which they were discharged—and he came at length to that happy end of this long durance (for so the event seems to have proved to him) *his marriage*. *Memoirs*, 332, 341. (g) *Hist.* vol. ii, 417.

upon the writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, for any of the causes aforesaid, Our pleasure is, that you absolve, and cause such persons to be absolved, discharged or set at liberty, and that no process or proceedings whatsoever be hereafter made in any Court against any of the said persons for any cause beforementioned, until our pleasure therein shall be further signified.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, this 18th of April, 1685, in the First year of our reign.

To all Archbishops and Bishops, to their chancellors and commissioners, and to all archdeacons and their officials, and all other ordinaries and persons exercising Ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

By his Majesty's command,

Sunderland.

In perusing this ill drawn, undigested instrument, it might seem at first that the exemption had been given to certain persons, not because of, but as a pardon for, their past acts of loyalty and attachment to the Royal cause! However, the pretext of *loyalty* was found (it seems) now convenient, to cover what would otherwise have been an *actual grant of liberty of conscience to all the king's subjects* without distinction—who are at length obscurely and clumsily brought in by intimation: but only on obtaining and producing Certificates of their attachment to the Royal interest. And it is only by the insertion of this clause, as it were by the bye and incidentally, that the meaning becomes clear, and the instrument consistent with itself. I do not believe that the people called Quakers derived any benefit in a direct way, from *this* Order.

ART. II.—*Remarks on Scripture Passages.* Continued.

John vi, 15. 'When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force, to make him a king, he departed again into a mountain, himself alone, ver. 30, 41. They said therefore unto him, What sign shewest thou then, that we may see [it] and believe thee—what dost thou work? *Our fathers* did eat manna in the desert: as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat.'

The disposition which prevailed at this moment, *to force Jesus to take the command of the people in some enterprise*, was probably grounded on their expectation of such a temporal abundance, under his rule, as they had just seen exhibited by miracle: with the aid of which they might prevail even against their Roman lords. He charges them, in ver. 26, with a selfish motive of this kind in following him, And presently, finding their purpose defeated, they begin to undervalue the miracle itself—recollecting that their forefathers had been fed in the desert with 'bread from heaven'—in their esteem a greater miracle than his.

That which Christ here put from him, and which on all occasions *he* disclaimed—an interference in the affairs of Civil governments and a participation in the contests thence arising,—has not been in like degree forborn by his professed followers, since. How often have we beheld the 'Church' (or that body which has assumed the name) not merely aiding, but urging on the State in wars: and its officers, not

content with prayer in behalf of their party, taking the sword, or (which is as efficacious to animate the soldier) bearing the ensign of their cause and order, and going personally into the battle! The nature, however, of the work which the blessed Saviour came to do, and the character which he sustained in the days of his appearance in the flesh, are alike unchangeable: the sure record of his words and actions remains to us, and witnesses effectually against such as thus depart from the highway, cast up by his mediation for the ransomed and redeemed of the Lord to walk in. Of this it is emphatically declared that it shall be called 'the way of holiness,' that 'the unclean shall not pass over it' seeing 'he shall be with them' who go by it; and who, though 'fools' in respect of worldly prudence, 'shall not err therein.' Moreover it shall be a peaceable journey, 'No lion shall be there, nor any ravenous beast shall go up thereon, it shall not be found there: but the redeemed shall walk [not fight and intrigue] there; and the ransomed of the Lord shall return [by this way] and come to Zion [the city of his solemnities] with songs, and with everlasting joy upon their heads: they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing [caused by former experience of the blindness of error, and the unfaithfulness of men even to their better knowledge] shall flee away!' Isa. xxxv. 8-10.

Ver. 32. Whatsoever contributes to Divine strength within us, to the renewal of the spiritual life, may very fairly be termed 'bread from heaven.' It is the Truth of God, become power and principle in men. On which subject compare the following scriptures: 1. Our Lord's own declaration, 'Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God; founded on that of Moses, in Deut. viii, 3, where he spiritualizes the manna, on which they were subsisting outwardly. 2. The whole doctrine of this Chapter of John, from verse 35 to 38; and especially the concluding sentence of the Chapter ver. 63. 'The words that I speak unto you they are spirit, and they are life.' The doctrine, received into the believing heart and conscience (according also to the parable of the sower, *sowing the word*, Mark iv, 14) becomes the means of the individual's fruitfulness in good works, *through his faith*. Yet would not the very words Christ himself spake, *merely stored in the memory and repeated*, do the like for any one; or through him for another. There must be the co-operation of God's Omnipresent Spirit with every act of faith, to secure the sanctification of the soul. Nor can any thing, short of a measure of the real experience of this work, enable any so much as to conceive aright concerning it.

Ver. 68. 'Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of [the] *Eternal life*.' What could be more apposite than this reply, to the main proposition of our Lord in the previous discourse? Peter had fully comprehended the meaning and felt the force of that expression, My words they are spirit, and they are life. Yet when he had, with his usual earnestness committed the twelve to the sentiment contained in his own confession, Christ lets him know, by a public exception

as to one of them, that to this individual *the words had passed without the accompanying experience.*

Ch. vii. Ver. 4. 'For there is no man that doeth any thing in secret, and he himself seeketh to be known openly.'

This seems to convey the sense, that no person having a treasonable or mischievous project in hand, will be much in public while it is preparing. 'If there be no harm in all this, shew thyself to thy countrymen.' Thus would calumny have fixed that upon him, which the imprudent zeal of a multitude, desiring to be freed from religious and civil thralldom, had offered before,—the assumption of the temporal kingdom of Israel at that season. *Ed.*

ART. III.—POETRY:—*Recollections in Westmorland.*

Introduction. The verses here introduced to the notice of my Readers have already been printed: but it was many years ago, and in a Provincial Magazine. They were composed, (not in a garret in town but) *bonâ fide* in the Mail Coach, in my return from the beautiful scenery they describe. In the summers of my youth it was my practice, when both mind and body had been worn by toil, to break away, and forget the 'house of bondage' of my many engagements, in some distant part of the island: or to retire with my family to the sea-side. On the present occasion, I took the York coach at Stamford hill near London, the 23rd of the Seventh Month, at eight in the morning, and arrived in that city the 24th, about half past five in the evening. What this journey of 200 miles will come to, in point of expedition, bye and bye, is hard to say—but it is already shortened (since 1807) by about ten hours! The only new thing to me on the road was the view of the little town of Stevenage, Herts, recently in great part burnt down. The ruins made but a very inconsiderable figure, compared with those of a London conflagration. The wood frame and thatch with all the interior being consumed, the gable and chimney of each cottage alone indicated where it had stood; while the picture of desolation was completed by the ruins of orchards and gardens, which could not so suddenly be restored. Many trees were reduced to stumps of charcoal, and a vast number scorched and withered, by the flame. The preceding dry season of about eight weeks, which doubtless facilitated this accident, I found had extended all over our Eastern side of the island. I traced the marks of large rain-drops in the dust through the day, a shower having 'gone our road'—but it was not till we arrived at Newark that we encountered rain. Here, after distant lightning in the night, and a sunrise among the most beautiful for colours that I have seen, we fell among thunder-showers; and on our arrival at York found that the streets had been flooded.

At York, beside other engagements, I visited the 'Retreat:' and spent two hours with that excellent man and eminent scholar Lindley Murray. My next object was, *the General Meeting for Ackworth School*, which I attended on the 29th and 30th. On these two days about an hun-

dred and fifty friends dined, *at their own expence*, at the long tables used by the children: beside the ordinary hospitality of the house, partaken of by a suitable number, and never stinted to the worthy. The principal feature of the business was, the raising the age for the admission of scholars, from eight to nine. This was done on account of the great number of children of late years on the list; in order that the preference might rest with those most fit, in point of age, for the intended benefit. *Now*, that we have enlarged our school in the South, and founded others, we have room for rather more than apply.

Having engaged with my Friend William Allen to join his family in a party to the Lakes, I went, after some further time passed with my relations hereabouts, to Settle; where, on the 3rd of the Eighth Month, we commenced a tour, which kept us pretty constantly in motion till after the 20th. In this time we ascended in succession Pennigant, Ingleboro', Whernside, Helvellyn, Saddleback, and Skiddaw*—taking on the summits of these, and on other stations, the Barometrical measures (not then so common) which, compared with others at the foot, and joined with the known levels of Canals &c, serve to determine the height of such summits above the nearest Sea. We proved also for ourselves, on some of them, the lower temperature of water, boiled under the diminished atmospherical pressure: not forgetting of course, to use our eyes on the surrounding prospects: nor passing wholly by the natural curiosities, and other objects of attention to travellers, in this part of the Island. In viewing the operation for smelting lead at Alston Moor, we found the description of that rambling bard Goldsmith so well verified here, that we were persuaded he must have seen it himself:

*Thus artists melt the sullen ore of lead
By heaping coals of fire upon its head!
Taught by the heat the metal learns to glow,
And, pure from dross, like silver runs below.*

It may be questioned, after all that has been done, in different parts of Europe, to effect reforms by violence, whether we have any better method than this *of mending the evil manners of the age!*

But it was not *things* alone that engaged our notice: we had also much of pleasant intercourse with persons. Not to name (as they would not desire it) all who extended towards us the genuine hospitality of the country, I may mention, first, our Friend Thomas Clarkson, whom I 'boarded' in his boat on Ullswater, and who rendered us all the helps of a guide, thereabouts: then, Thomas Wilkinson, one of *our* poets (now alas! in the decrepitude and mental decay of old age) with whom I went to see *May-brough* and *Arthur's round table*—two ancient remains, the degradation of which to the level of 'dirty acres,' by the enclosure of Yanwath Moor, he has since feeling lamented in a pamphlet, intended to save to the cottager (if it may be) some part

* Pen y Ghent, *British?* Ingle-brough (Ingle-ton is at the foot): *Quern-side?*: Hel-vellyn, the hill of vallies: Saddle-back, from the form of the top: Sky-daw? from its aerial tints: Catchedicam (joining Helvellyn) seems to be the Cats' head in Cam!

of his remaining right of Common. Lastly, John Gough, *our* blind mathematician and natural philosopher, (now deceased) with whom I had afterwards correspondence, and as it proved also friendly controversy, on a point of science attended to by us both.

The short tribute to the Emont arose out of our visit to the bard at Yanwath; but it would have been due to the stream itself, independently of his little domain by which it flows. I find in my notes of one evening the following allusion to it, 'Had a charming walk up the *Emont* from Patterdale, as far as Hartop Hall, passing the small lake of Brother-water with a fine wooded hill on our right. This winding valley, among bold conical mountains, is one of the most pleasing solitudes I ever entered.'

But it is time to let the piece speak for itself. I shall therefore omit the mention, not so fitting in this publication, of heights and temperatures, of the misty skreen on the summits intercepting and then opening our prospect, of showers seen afar off and then encountered in their passage, of the clouds surmounted and left with the rainbow and the thunder in the vale below, of laborious ascents, and somewhat perilous descents to good quarters, a hearty meal and good night's rest; and shall conclude with the acknowledgment that this season of bodily exertion and mental recreation ended, by favour of Divine providence, in my return home in safety and with renewed health. *Ed.*

Recollections in Westmoreland. 1807.

Region of cloud-capt hills! whose ample forms
Rise, like some ocean vex'd by surly storms,
While deep in each recess sweet vallies lie,
And midst thy billows every blast defy;
Pleas'd have I view'd thee, from the mountain brow,
And seen the varied landscape stretch, below,
To where the vast horizon melts away,
Half lost, beneath the fervid glow of day,
And thence, with downward step, have sought the shade,
Tracing the torrent to the wild cascade.

Some jutting rock here yields a giddy stand,
While twisted branches fill the grasping hand.
Majestic sight! and scarce from terror free;
The very waves pause here, as they would be
Excused the shock, yet ever, from above
Press'd onward, o'er the mound embodied move,
Then plunge, and rise in many a circling wreath,
And boil and fluctuate in the gulf beneath:
White flies the foam; a dewy mist hangs round;
Air labours, tremulous, with the deaf'ning sound;
Fails the tired eye, and shakes, beneath, the ground!

But sooth'd anon, the waters cease to roar,
Steal to the smooth lake and reflect the shore,
While nature's image, faithfully portray'd,
Shews all her features, but in deeper shade:

Downward the trees, on rocks inverted, grow,
Blue distant summits pierce the skies, below.

I gaze, 'till whispering down the steep defile,
Light airs forbid the lovely tints to smile ;
Then turning, tread the woody shelter'd glen,
Explore some cot, the cheerful haunt of men,
It's inmates greeting, pass the open door,
Share their blithe chat, and freely offer'd store.
Nor mean, O Westmorland ! thy shepherd's fare,
Nor cold his welcome, Luff* shall witness bear ;
Content gives plenty and he's proud to spare.

Sweet scenes ! be peaceful still ; for now my mind
Quits you, to dwell on treasures left behind ;
The home I left, by London's murky towers,
To breathe, amid these wilds, a moon of hours.
'Tis past, and thought is there ! At once I see
My life's dear partner haste to welcome me,
My children press to share the wonted knee.

Turn then, far-wand'ring feet ; your aid supply,
Ye sprightly steeds ! while on swift wheels I fly
Thro' the long distance, till the moment come
To greet the inmates of my peaceful home.
Freely, for these alone, th' exchange I meet
Of balmy landscapes for the noisome street.
These absent, Eden's self not long could please ;
No desert but would hold a charm, with these.
Nature, abroad, delights the gazing eye,
But for the heart at home reserves the tie :
There flow her tranquil joys, and please the more
For absence past and toil and travels o'er.

Farewell to the Emont. 1807.

Flow on sweet stream, with lucid wave
Thy rocks and pebbly shallows lave,
And thro' thy winding way
The cup of health convey,
Though not for me :
Yet, while beside Thames' prouder stream
Home-bound I dwell, shall mem'ry's gleam
Thy peaceful banks reveal,
As, oft, in thought I steal
To visit thee !

* Captain Charles Luff of Patterdale.

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PRO PATRIĀ.

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ART. I.—*Some further account of James Nayler, with a specimen of his Writings :*

(See Volume First, p. 308, 354.)

On referring to what is inserted in the *Chronological Summary* respecting James Nayler, the subject appears to have been left somewhat short of the desirable information; and the two parts, of which the short notice consists, to have been by an oversight transposed in point of time. I shall here therefore make some use of the *Life of Nayler*, annexed by Jos. Gurney Bevan to his 'Refutation of some of the more modern misrepresentations of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers' published in 1800. It seems but due to such of my readers as have not seen this work, to remove, out of the way of their acceptance of my own, the apparent stumbling-block of a 'blasphemous' leader of the original society; in whose communion Nayler preached, disputed and, having fallen, was restored and died.

James Nayler, born 1618, was first a private soldier in the army of Fairfax, then a quarter-master under Lambert; and thus passed about eight years of his early life from 1641, being by profession an Independent. I have a portrait of him, presented to me by the late William Dillwyn, in which, though much of the upper part is concealed under a slouched hat, the nose, mouth, and lower parts of the countenance evince much boldness and determination of character. He must have been about thirty three years of age (having quitted the army on account of illness) when, upon some conference with Geo. Fox at Wakefield, he joined the quakers. He was soon after induced, by what he believed to be a voice from heaven, to leave his home and

family, and preach the new doctrine. This was in 1651; and in the Eleventh Month of that year we find him arraigned, at the Quarter Sessions at Appleby, on a charge of ‘blasphemy:’ that is (according to the Indictment itself) for having said that Christ was in him, and that there is but one Word of God. The Commonwealth preachers, who had promoted this accusation, failed of proving the blasphemy; yet appear to have obtained his detention in prison for about twenty weeks afterwards. He now published, jointly with Fox, a vindication of their doctrine; in one of the papers relating to which we find the following statement of his own. “Concerning Jesus Christ, who is the eternal Word of God, by whom all things were made and are upholden, who was before all time, but manifested in time for the recovery of lost man, which word became flesh, and dwelt among the saints, who is the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever; who did and doth dwell in the saints; who suffered and rose again, and ascended into heaven, and is set on the right hand of God; to whom all power is given in heaven and in earth; who filleth all places, he is the light of the world; but known to none but those who receive and follow him; and those he leads up to God, out of all the ways, works and worships of the world; by his pure light in them, whereby he reveals the man of sin, and by his power casts him out, and so prepares the bodies of his saints a fit temple for the pure God to dwell in, in whom dwells no unclean thing. And thus he reconciles God and man, and the image of God which in [is] purity and holiness is renewed; and the image of Satan, which is all sin and uncleanness, is defaced [he doubtless meant, *effaced*]. And none can witness redemption further than Christ is thus revealed in them, to set them free from sin: which Christ I witness to be revealed in me in measure.” Gal. i, 16. 2 Cor. xiii, 5. Col. i, 27.

We have here a plain confession to Christ as the Eternal Word, as the Messiah, as the crucified, risen and glorified Christ; as the Mediator also (in the Spirit) between God and man; who dwelt among the Saints, and did and yet does dwell IN THEM. It was an error and delusion, *respecting the latter doctrine* (here modestly testified to as his experience in measure, for his sanctification) which afterwards led to his fall. His confession, I am aware, would not satisfy a modern Calvinistic theologian, on the subject of the atonement, and of Christ’s righteousness imputed to believers—but it is as free from *blasphemy* as are the several Scriptures which it embodies. His real offence was, his declaiming in the manner of the specimen which I shall annex, *against the corrupt doctrine and practice of the popular preachers of the time*. I take it from a quarter-sheet of MS. signed with his initials, which came into my hands along with other papers of like kind, and bears like marks of considerable age: the references, given at the foot of the page, are found in the MS. affixed to a small and neatly written text, in the margin.

All who say they are ministers of Ch: but have not y^e everlasting word and light in them, are false prophets, lyars and Seducers w^{ch} have not y^e unction whereby they know all things, but run after bookes and studdy Old authors and

from y^e letter divine an hour's talk from y^e brain, to sell to y^e people for money, who rayge and fight and persecute and Raile ag^t all y^t deny their deceits, and who sue their own hearers for money, when they need it not, putting y^e poore in prison for money to spend on their lusts, and cannot see this to be of y^e devill, but would bring y^e Apostles words to plead for it, who had neither silver nor gold, (a) nor did covett any mans silver or gold. These are the diviners thats now gone mad, and y^e Scripture is fulfilled upon them (b); And when the people are foolish they lead them from y^e light of Ch: and his teachings in spirit within, w^{ch} light is perfect and leads to perfection, and draws them into outward Carnal Rudiments and Ordinances there to be made perfect, and this y^e Apostle calls a wichery. (c) And as Moses wrought miracles to bring y^e seed of Israell out of Egypt, Jannes and Jambres made y^e like to harden Pharaohs heart y^t he should not let them goe, even soe these (d) what holy men have spoken to lead people out of sin they take those words, and from them imagine y^t people can never be set free from sin, and here they are made manifest as they was: And if God awaken his wites in any Conscience to Cry woe to them for their sin, if they goe to these they heale their hurt deceitefully, and tells y^m they are in a good Condition (d d) for y^e greatest doubting is the best faith, and doe but hear sermons and pray soe often, and come to their Ordnances, and their case is good, though they never gett victory over their sin (which is the cause of sorrow) for it must not be in this life, and thus they strengthen y^e hands of y^e evill doers least they should depart from iniquitie, and Cryes peace where God hath not spoken peace in y^e conscience. And these are y^e Seducers and daubers Ezekieil speaks on (e) who follow their owne spirits and have seene nothing, who pollute y^e Lord [v. 19.] by saving alive y^t soule y^t should not live, and slaying y^t soule y^t should not dye, and y^t for handfulls of barley and for their bellies. And these who have not y^e liveing God to enquire of, are such as enquire of y^e dead concerning y^e liveing, and what y^e dead hath spoken is all y^e word they have, and there they peep and mutter, and not haveing y^e light in them, they know not y^e law and testemony (f) to speak according to it, for y^e law of y^e new covenant is written in y^e heart (g) and y^e testemony of Jesus is y^e Spirit of prophesie, (h) but according to this word they neither speake nor walke, because they have not y^e light in them, Isay. viii. 19, 20. And as Saul when he had noe word from God, who went to enquire of y^e dead, soe these fetch in what y^e dead have spoken and with it paint themselves and say they have y^e word of god, when god never spoke to them, and these are y^e painted sepulkers, w^{ch} seem beautifull to men outward, (i) but within have not y^e living word to feed on, but feed on dead mens bones, and for this w^{ch} is not bread doe people spend their money, and their tythes of their labours for y^t w^{ch} satisfies not, and soe both priest and people deny Ch: whom y^e father hath given for a witesse a leader and Comander as the scriptures speaks. (k) And these are they w^{ch} tell people y^t God hath spoken his last will, and y^t none must ever heare his voice any more, and soe drawes people from hearkening what y^e spirit saith to follow their carnall precepts, traditions and ordnances, and these are they whom Ch: spoke of, who make y^e word of God of none effect through their traditions w^{ch} they deliver, and thus in vaine doe people worships receiveing for doctrine y^e comandem^{ts} of men (l) and these are y^e leaders y^t cause y^e people to erre (m) from y^e teachings of God, and soe they who are led by them are destroyed, and these are they y^t lead about a people loadned with sin and divers lusts, who are all their lives learneing but never able to come to y^e knowledge of y^t truth (n) w^{ch} makes free, for they teach them this for truth that while they live they cannot be made

(a) Acts iii. 6. (b) Isa. xlv. 25. (c) Gal. iii. (d) 2. Tim. iii. 8. (d d) Isa. [Jer.] viii. 11. (e) Ezekiel xiii. (f) Isa. viii. 20. (g) Heb. viii. 10. (h) Rev. xix. 10. (i) Matt. xxiii. 27, 28. (k) Isa. lv. 2, 4. (l) Mark vii. 13. Matt. xv. 9. (m) Isa. ix. 16 (n) 2 Tim. iii. 6, 7.

free. And this is Antichrist which teacheth contrary to y^e doctrine and coming of Ch: (o) as you may read John 8: 31: to the 36: and amongst these who have not y^e eternall word and light are all y^e sects opinions and vaine janglings contentions and false lights y^t are in y^e world, and these are they who bring in damnable heresies, promising liberty to others, when they themselves and all y^t follow them are subject to corruption, who cannot cease from sin, whose hearts are exercised in covetous practises, through covetousnes making merchandize on the people, haveing forsaken y^e right way, and are gone after y^e way of Balaam for wages, who say they have repented, but turne to their sin againe as y^e dogge to y^e vomite, and sow to y^e mire, And these are y^e false prophets y^e Scriptures spoke of sixteene hundred yeares since, who then were creeping in as you may read 2. Peter 2. and 2. Tim. 3. where you may find more of y^e practises of these men.

And now you people who tell of such but know them not, here read and according to y^e scriptures judge, who are y^e false prophets and seducers diviners, wiches, magetians, conjurers, daubers, Balaamits, that curse y^e inocent and crye peace to the wicked for wages, painted sepulkers who deny y^e light in them, and these are y^e builders who deny y^e corner stone, w^{ch} is Ch: y^e light. And now by their fruits you shall know them and not by their words, and this is Chs: rule to know them by, he y^t can receive it shall noe longer be deceived.

J: N

Indorsed, '*Who sorserers and wiches:*' being probably intended as a reply to some charge of the kind.

In an hour of darkness and temptation, through the buffetings of the grand adversary, this man afterwards came to fancy, that Christ so dwelt in him *as that personal honours might be rendered to Him, in his servant James Nayler*:—who was accordingly, in ostent and act for some time, the Most Reverend Head of a company of silly women (the instruments of his delusion) mixed with a few still weaker men; whom he suffered (as though he had been the Pope himself) to kneel before him and kiss his feet; to strew clothes and sing Hosannas, and go bareheaded in procession, when he entered a place to preach! This is the offence; and this the person on whose case the Parliament of that time was occupied daily (the First of the week excepted) from the 30th of November to the 17th of December, 1656: on which day it was resolved by the House (p) (which refused to hear the prisoner in his own defence) 'That James Nayler be set on the pillory, with his head in the pillory, in the Palace Yard, Westminster, during the space of two hours on Thursday next [being the morrow] and shall be whipped through the streets from Westminster to the Old Exchange [top of Cheapside] London, and there likewise be set on the Pillory, for the space of two hours on Saturday next; in each place wearing a paper containing an inscription of his crimes; and that at the Old Exchange his tongue be bored through with a hot iron, and that he be there also stigmatized in the forehead with the letter B, and that he be afterwards sent to Bristol, and be conveyed into and through the said city on

(o) Gal. i, 4.

(p) The previous Resolution of the 8th Dec. having been 'That James Nayler upon the whole matter of fact is guilty of horrid blasphemy;' also, 'That James Nayler is a grand impostor and seducer of the people.'

horseback, bare-ridged, with his face backward, and there also publicly whipped, the next market day after he comes thither, and that from thence he be committed to prison in Bridewell, London, and restrained from the society of all people, and there to labour hard till he shall be released by Parliament, and during that time shall be debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and shall have no relief but what he earns by his daily labours.'

Such was the sentence: (q) the first part of which, in the execution of it, so moved the feelings of a number of persons, not members of the Society of Quakers, that they petitioned for a longer respite, and obtained from the House a week's delay of the remainder. A very sensible petition was next presented, 'by divers peaceable and well-affected persons in the cities of London and Westminster, in behalf of themselves and many others,' praying Parliament to remit the further punishment, and leave the culprit '*to the Lord and to such Gospel remedies as He hath sanctified.*' Cromwell, who had not before interfered, being also petitioned on the case, wrote to the House desiring them to let him know the grounds and reasons of such a proceeding, *taken wholly without the Executive*—the very warrants to the Sheriffs having been issued by the Speaker. The petition and letter were both debated on, and rejected, Nayler stood again in the pillory on the 27th of December, was bored through the tongue with a red hot iron, which was held 'a small time' in, that the bystanders might see it, and branded in like manner in the forehead 'until smoke arose;' he not only not flinching, but when unbound embracing the executioner in token of forgiveness. About three weeks afterwards, he was further ignominiously exposed and whipped (but it seems not so severely) at Bristol; and conveyed thence to his close prison in Bridewell, and finally released by Parliament the 8th September, 1659.

The Reader will not be surprised to learn that he died in the October of the following year: and it will doubtless be matter of satisfaction to the candid to have some evidence of his restoration to a sound mind, and to unity with his former and more sober friends. Robert Barclay says, in a controversial piece, 'The story of James Nayler—tends no ways to our disadvantage—he being in that thing and at that time altogether denied by us; and has since in print freely acknowledged his fall in that hour of temptation; *of whose sincere repentance, and true return to the fellowship of the truth, we have had many evident tokens.*' Works in folio p. 14. And George Whitehead, who lodged at the same house with him, in London, in 1659 and 1660, writes of him thus: 'He was revived by the Lord's power, and in measure restored to his antient testimony, and to bear the same publicly in divers parts of the nation, as the Lord called him, both in his ministry and writings: and he walked in much brotherly love and simplicity among us, until his end came.'

(q) A motion that the punishment should be *death* was defeated: but only by a majority of ninety six to eighty two!

I shall refer to the publication of J. G. Bevan for many interesting particulars, which I have not given, and for the pathetic expressions of Nayler on his death-bed. What remains is, to appeal to the better information and charitable feelings of the Christian reader, now; and ask with whom in his esteem the more dangerous delusion rested, after all. With the man who meekly bore these murderous inflictions not so much for his own as *for the faults of others*—they going not only unpunished but even unquestioned for their actions: who fell through human weakness, in the delusion of spiritual pride, and was recovered by charity and sound advice, at least to a tender and humble state of mind—or, with his Ecclesiastical adversaries and Political judges, who thought they had ‘the terrors of Mount Sinai’ upon them, for such purposes as these? At any rate, it is not for those who freely take upon themselves, and give to others, *titles foreign to the simplicity of the Gospel*, on the supposition of some holiness inherent in *them*, as Servants of Christ—nay, who dare to be called, and to behave as, LORDS in their estate spiritual, to cast the first stone at such an offender as is here described. *Ed.*

ART. II.—*Letter from Richard Hubberthorn to George Fox : 1659.*

The following is an exact copy of a letter from Richard Hubberthorn to George Fox, respecting the service of the former in the ministry at Liverpool and Manchester, the autograph of which is in my possession indorsed in George Fox’s handwriting, “r: h: to g ff from Chessher 1659.” *Ed.*

De bro. those meetings which I mentioned unto thee in my last lett^e I have been at wheare there was much service for y^e truth at Liverpoole there was A sarvisable meeting many of y^e towne and souldiers was there: and at Manchester I had a large meetinge in y^e towne hall which was of great Advantage for the truth there was souldiers there which was freinds who went to y^e officers for y^e keys teling them y^t there was divers souldiers and freinds which was to have a meetinge there and they gave them y^e keys and many of y^e towne Came in and many souldiers and y^e truth was delivered in y^e mighty power of God amongst them which brought many to A feelinge of its power and all y^e towne is under as captives and there is A great servise for some frend in the ministry to be there at present while they are under and y^e souldiers in y^e towne for while they are there y^e town hall may be free to meet in and in all y^e Contery heare A ways there is A greate servise for y^e truth and people is mar open to receive y^e truth then formerly (*)

to morow being y^e first day of y^e weeke I is. to have A generall meetinge in Cheshire at W. G: and from thenc to passe to Chester:

* See for their doings ‘formerly’ Fox’s Journal, p. 243: anno. 1657.

Fra. H. [Francis Howgill] is to be at Nantwich to morow: Rob^t Widder is with mee: and hath some drawings to see thee his deare love is to thee: as y^e Lord makes way I shall Come Southwards towards London:

Thy d^e bro:

R. Hubbethorne

From Wimslow in

Cheshire y^e i: of y^e. X m. To Geo: Ffox delev^e
(59)

Note: The rising under Sir Geo. Booth in Cheshire having been lately suppressed, it is probable the country that way was now pretty full of the Parliament's soldiers. Geo. Fox was then, as appears by his Journal, in or near London; and was joined soon afterwards by Richard Hubberthorn, to proceed into Norfolk, Huntingdon, and Cambridge shires. He mentions leaving R. H. at Norwich along with Geo. Whitehead. page 290, Edit. 1765.

ART. III.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrines and practices of the Quakers.*

(Continued from p. 139.)

A. D. Some more particular cases of Sufferings occur within the 1685. last five years, notices of which here follow:

Bristol. Richard Vickris was prosecuted on the Statute 35 Eliz. for absenting himself from the National worship; by which statute 'any person' convicted of absenting from his parish church one month, without lawful occasion, is required to abjure the realm, on pain of being adjudged a felon without benefit of clergy: [We shall see in the sequel a probable reason why this 'person' was singled out for prosecution.] He was indicted at the sessions before Easter 1683, demurred to the jurisdiction of the Court of Session, and refusing (accordingly) to plead, was committed to prison. At a following sessions he was admitted to bail, on security given to answer the Indictment. At an adjournment on the 20th of the month called August, he presented a *Habeas Corpus* in order to remove his cause out of that Court, had his recognizance discharged, and was delivered to the custody of the Sheriff. But on the 23rd, at a General gaol delivery, he was by the instigation of Sir John Knight, sheriff, hurried to a trial. He retained counsel, who learnedly pleaded his cause and assigned divers errors in his indictment: but Knight, Helliard and others in Court being bent against him, procured a jury to their minds, who brought him in *Guilty*, and sentence was passed upon him, *that he should abjure within three months, or suffer death.* It was not likely that a man principled as the prisoner was should *forswear* his country. The Recorder having passed sentence admonished him to conform: he told that officer, he presumed he would not *desire* his conformity against his conscience—and that to play the hypocrite with *man* was hateful; much more with God. Having had opportunity to speak his mind freely on some points, he was remanded to prison, and lay till the next year, when he became liable to execution for the felony. The malice of his enemies was now exerted in endeavours to blacken his reputation; and, to render him the unpitied victim of injustice, *he was represented as disaffected to the Government.* But his wife making application to the Duke of York, that Prince declared, that neither his Royal brother nor himself desired that any of the king's subjects should suffer for the exercise of their

consciences, who were of peaceable conduct under his government. He was in consequence removed by writ of Error to the bar of the King's bench, where upon the shewing of Counsellor Pollexfen and others in his behalf, he was cleared of the Bristol sentence by Sir George Jefferies, Lord Chief Justice, and discharged in Michaelmas term 1684, 'to the great joy of his aged father, his distressed wife and family, and his friends throughout the nation. His father, who lived to see him discharged, died within three days after his return home, and left to him, his only son, the inheritance of a good estate at Chew in Somersetshire, where he afterwards dwelt, was a man very serviceable to his friends and neighbours, and an ornament to his place and station.' (a)

At this time there remained in prison at Bristol above an hundred Friends, whose Epistle to the Yearly Meeting of this year, and another sent in 1685, may be seen at length in the Sufferings. They describe their condition as one of great hardship, 'crowded for lodging in close, dark, damp, dungeon-like holes; and many in one place called *Paul's*, where never any before was put to lodge' that they knew or heard of. Yet, that God had been so good as to out-balance all those light afflictions—their health being preserved 'even to a wonder,' with comfort, content, unity, peace and love amongst themselves—and their wants, through His fatherly care, supplied. 'For all which mercies' they add 'we desire you with us to praise the Lord, and to pray unto him for us here, that God would for ever keep us in faithfulness to him; that we may become even as monuments of his mercy; that He who alone is worthy, who is all (b) and doth all, may have all the honour, praise and renown, now, hereafter and for evermore.' Their Epistles are signed, in behalf of the body, by Charles Harford, Richard Snead, Charles Jones, and Paul Moon. They were set at liberty, with the rest, under the Proclamation; 'and from thenceforth the persecution in this city for their religious meetings entirely ceased.' (c)

Bucks. 1684—5. 'Several persons in this county were returned into the Exchequer for fines of £20 a month, for absence from the National worship, and suffered exorbitant seizures of their cattle and goods, viz. Fra. Ware of Biddlesden, to the value of £140: Iohn Pomfret of Lilington £70: Iohn King of Padbury £25: Will. Swannell of the same £60: all sold for no more than £90. 2s. 6d. In like manner and for the same cause, were taken from Will. Grimsdale to the value of £2. 10.: and by justice's warrant from Geo. Salter, cattle &c. worth £12 5s. From Geo. Belch of Rickmansworth, three geldings worth £23: and when he appealed to the Quarter Sessions, his appeal, *not being in Latin*, was rejected, and treble costs were given against him; for which his horses and other goods were taken away to the value of £40.' (d)

These distraints may serve (as an example out of very many) to shew how the *estates* of the parties fared in this case, when their persons were not brought into jeopardy. In the following year, in this county, I find a notice of the discharge by proclamation of Joseph Cook of Edgborough, 'long imprisoned for *marrying otherwise than according to the liturgy of the Church of England.*'

Devon and Dorset: 1684. "The most active informer in these parts was one William Bond of Bridport in Dorsetshire, a bailiff and alehouse-keeper: This

(a) Besse, i, 72, Whiting, p. 186, 250. (b) 1 Cor. xii, 6. (c) Besse, i, 74.

(d) Besse, i, 82.

Bond, and Bryan, a wicked lad whom he had at his beck, would make information at all adventures. He came to a silent meeting, and went away, and swore that a preacher was there. He would sometimes carry prisoners to his house, and keep them there a month together. He had impudence enough to command and insult the constables and other officers, even the Justices themselves. [We see what sort of authority that is, which is conferred by unrighteous laws!] He seized with his own hands the goods of John Newberry of Stockland to the value of £30, for a fine of £5. A man of a seared conscience and infamous character, debauched in his morals, and supported in extravagant living by honest men's substance, whose goods he made a prey of at his pleasure. But many such wolves were at that time permitted to worry the sheep of Christ!" (e)

Durham: 1684. "About this time James Dickson, John Hudspath and Lancelot Rowel, Informers, behaved with an impudence scarce to be paralleled. They came to the house of Thomas Hedly of Hedly-hill, with a warrant demanding a fine of £5. The man being weak, and terrified by their threats, gave them 20s., and they blotted his name out of the warrant. In like manner they extorted from Christopher Vickers 20s., threatening to distrain for a Meeting he had not been at. So arbitrary were these informers that they set themselves above the justices, and assumed a power of altering their warrants by putting in or out whom they pleased. They were so presumptuous as to undertake to indemnify persons, and gave a kind of negative licence to go to meetings. They gave a bond for £100 to one Thos. Hunter, not a quaker, conditioned [Qy. upon £50 paid them in hand] for their not disturbing but keeping harmless several of his relations, for being at any meeting in this county. The like bonds they gave to others who were not Quakers, and contracted for sums of money to leave people out of their informations. (f)

Hertfordshire. 1677. "Geo. Gates of Buntingford [for an oppressive restraint on whom, see pa. 51] was arrested on the statute of £20 per month, for absence from the National worship, and committed to prison; where he continued till he died in the 5th of the month called May 1680; a constant and faithful sufferer for his religious perseverance in worshipping God according to his conscience."

Lancashire: 1683. "Margaret Fox, for suffering Meetings at her house in Swarthmore, was fined by the name of *Margaret Fell*, widow [they not choosing to recognize her marriage with George Fox] and had taken from her at one time cattle worth 30l; at another, to the value of 40l. When Thos. Lower, on her behalf, demanded a copy of the warrant in order to an appeal, the officers said they durst not give it, the justices having charged them to the contrary: so they sold her cattle, and rendered no account thereof." (g)

London: 1684. "At the Sessions at *Guildhall* for the city of London on the 1st of September, where were present on the Bench, Henry Tulse, Knt. *Lord Mayor*; Peter Daniel, Knt. Samuel Dashwood, *Sheriffs*; James Smith, Knt. *Alderman*; Thomas Jenner, Knt. *Recorder*. [Trial of Geo. Whitehead.]

An Indictment for an unlawful assembly, routously and with force of arms &c. was read against him. *Rec.* Mr. Whitehead, you must plead 'Guilty' or 'Not Guilty' in the first place. *G. W.* Will not my pleading debar me from being heard in my own defence after the evidence is given? *Rec.* No, you shall be heard. *G. W.* Then I plead, *Not guilty*. *Clerk.* Will you traverse, or put yourself upon trial now? *G. W.* I think not to enter traverse, but to put it to a trial now.

Then the Constable that took him was called. *C.* I took George Whitehead at prayer, in the Meeting-house in Whitehart Court in Lombard Street. *Rec.* In what posture did you take him praying? *C.* Upon his knees.

(e) Besse, i, 164. (f) Idem. i, 188. (g) Idem. i, 326.

One in the Court said, I thought the quakers had not kneeled in prayer. *Rec.* to *G. W.* What say you to the evidence? Do you deny it, or not? *G. W.* I shall not deny that I was taken upon my knees at prayer—to God. But that can be no *Rout*. When I was on my knees at prayer, this could be no moving forward to commit a *Riot*.

Rec. But did you nothing else before prayer? *G. W.* No, I did not. *Rec.* Did no body preach? *G. W.* Excuse me there. *Rec.* Call Mrs. Collingswood. (Who presently appearing was sworn.) What say you, Mrs. Collingswood, was there no preaching before Geo. Whitehead prayed? *Coll.* Yes, there was two others that preached before he prayed. *Com. Serjeant.* Preaching and praying are both one—their kind of preaching and praying. *G. W.* No, but they are not; there's a distinction in common acceptation. Preaching or teaching is done to men, but prayer and supplication is made to God: Men do not preach to God, nor teach God, but pray to God. *Com. Serj.* You preach to deceive the people. *G. W.* That's a reflection, I teach for no such end.

Rec. Gentlemen of the Jury, you hear the evidence, that there was preaching and praying. 'Twas therefore a Conventicle, an unlawful Meeting. *G. W.* I am not indictable upon the Conventicle Act: there lies no indictment upon it. The Conventicle Act allows of four to meet besides the family; whereas the Law allows not three to meet riotously.—'Tis for a *rout* I am indicted, at Common law as I conceive: though some words of the Conventicle Act are in the Indictment that's but an aggravation—the matter is a routous assembly that I am charged with: Wherefore I entreat the Court to suffer the Lord Cooke's definition of a *Rout*, &c. to be read in Court. (*G. W.* calling for Cooke's Institutes, which one handed to him, opened it at the place in the third Part. Cap. 79. Fol. 176.) *Com. Serjeant.* My Lord Cooke was mistaken. [Perhaps an unworthy use of the misnomer applied to *Ld. Coke*.] *G. W.* Pray hear him: hear his definition of a *Rout* and unlawful assembly. *Common Serjeant.* I tell you, my Lord was mistaken. *G. W.* Is that the sense of the Court? The Lord Cooke and other learned writers agree in the definition. *Rec.* Gentlemen of the jury, we have heard Geo. Whitehead with a great deal of patience, he is used to long speaking, you have heard the evidence, and what he says, &c. *G. W.* Pray hear the Lord Cooke in the case. *Court.* The King's counsel has done: *Take him away.*

Upon which *G. W.* was drawn out of Court. The Jury brought him in *Guilty*. As they did likewise sixteen others, indicted for being (as it seems) at the same meeting 'on the 20th of July, at Whitehart Court,' &c. with 'force and arms, routously, tumultuously, and unlawfully assembled, to the breach of the peace,' &c. *And under colour and pretence of religious exercise, in other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the Church of England, &c.*

The trials appear to have been conducted as lightly as if the liberties of Englishmen had not been at all concerned in the issue. *John Field*, having again put the question to the Recorder as to *indicting* upon the Conventicle Act, and the King's Counsel having committed himself by an affirmative reply, the Recorder came in with a taunt about *Field's* being led by the Spirit. *W. Briggins* [another prisoner] 'Have a care how you mock at the Spirit of God.' *T. Barker* [another] 'Tis a standing rule and doctrine amongst all sorts of people, that he who hath not the Spirit of Christ is none of his; and by this Spirit ought every true Christian to be led.' *Rec.* That's true Mr. Barker: *John Field*, have you any more to say?

John Field quoted *Coke's* definition of a *Rout*, viz. 'Where three or more persons are met together to do an unlawful act for their

own or common quarrel,' This gave rise to some sharp altercation, in the course of which the Common Serjeant said to the friends, 'What are you, but the spawn of them that came out of Germany?' (Meaning the *Anabaptists*)—John Field still insisting on his plea, that it was not an unlawful assembly, the Recorder read a part of the Definition 'An unlawful assembly is of the company of three or more persons, disorderly coming together' leaving uncited the next words, 'forcibly to commit an unlawful act—as to beat a man, or enter upon his possession, or such like.' *J. Field.* Read on: *tis to do an unlawful act*; but the evidence says, *we* neither did nor said any thing. The Court not liking this refutation of the charge, ordered him away from the Bar; and as he was going, Sheriff Daniel seeming to have recollected him as a *Schoolmaster*, whispered something to the Recorder. '*Rec.* Do you hear, you with the book in your hand; what is your name? *J. F.* John Field. *Rec.* Where do you live? *J. F.* In the parish of Anne and Agnes, near Aldersgate. *Rec.* What trade are you? *J. F.* I teach to write and cast accounts. *Ld. Mayor.* Then are you guilty of the breach of another law (meaning that he had taught school without a licence from the Bishop). *Com. Serj.* Take notice of that. *Rec.* Have you the *Common prayer* in your pocket? *J. F.* No; but I hope it would be no offence to have that in my pocket. *Rec.* No. *J. F.* I am able to prove that the *Common prayer* allows of praying to and worshipping Almighty God *without limitation of time or place.* *Court.* Take him away.'—

The prisoners heard not their sentences: but the Court consulted about their fines privately: the issue of which consultation was, that Thomas Barker and Richard Witham were fined six pounds thirteen and four-pence: John Field, three pounds six and eight-pence: and the rest, one pound six and eight-pence, each. So they, together with George Whitehead, were committed to Newgate; except only Benjamin Freeman, who was discharged in Court. After about ten days' imprisonment, George Whitehead was released by a *Liberate* from one of the Sheriffs, in the form following: viz.

To the Keeper or under-keeper of Newgate, London. Whereas you have in your custody, the body of George Whitehead for payment of a fine, being convicted of an unlawful assembly, these are to desire you to discharge the said George Whitehead from his imprisonment, and for so doing this shall be your warrant, this twelfth of September 1694. *Samuel Dashwood.*

I shall not need to apologize to readers versed in the practice of the Courts (whose attention I crave to this work, *in behalf of present sufferers in the same cause*) for inserting, at some length, proceedings so manifestly irregular and arbitrary; which, alas, are but a specimen of what was then going on, almost at every Sessions, in London! Only a page further in my author, I find *William Briggins* (an ancestor of my wife's) tried again, and convicted in like manner against evidence, in company with twenty three others, and fined: and *Mariabella Farmborough* (another of her ancestors) taken from a meeting in Whitehart Court with other friends, indicted at Sessions *for a riot*, fined 'ten

groats' and for this fine detained 'four months, three weeks and one day' in *Newgate*. (h)

Somerset: 1683. The following extract affords a specimen (the last I shall have occasion to give) of the conduct of the chief actors in the *Bristol* persecution; and of the way in which innocent and respectable persons may be mixed up in a charge with doubtful characters, the more easily to procure their condemnation.

"On the 2nd of September was a Meeting at the house of David Holbrook in *Chew*, to which came *John Helliar*, Undersheriff of the County, and William Higgins of Bristol, with some bailiffs. Helliar called out, What do these people here? And ordered them to search John Hipsley for arms, saying, 'He looks like a rogue'—using other abusive language. Then he took their names and charged the bailiffs to secure them; and went away, saying he was invited to Dr. Cross's to dinner:—the parson of the parish, at whose procurement they came. About two hours after, he and his company returned, bringing some of the parson's faggots—and throwing them down at the Meeting house door, ordered the house to be set on fire, to the terror of the neighbours. Then coming furiously into the house, he commanded the friends to rise from their seats, which they not presently doing, he ordered the legs of the forms to be cut off, struck John Hipsley and plucked him by the hair of the head. One of his associates struck Joseph Taylor with an ax and cut his coat through, and bruised his flesh, and pulled another person backward by the hair, headlong. Then they carried out the forms and burnt them, with the priest's wood. Then Helliar returned into the Meeting and writ two *Mittimuses*: a copy of one of them is as follows."

Somerset Ss. "I herewith send you the body of a man, middle stature, reddish hair, down-looking, about thirty years of age, who refused to discover his Christian or Sirname; of another man, of very black hair and visage, some pimples in his face, especially in the right side thereof, who now saith his name is John Spear; both the fore-named persons being under the guise and in the habit of quakers: And also the bodies of Nicholas Allen, Jos. Taylor, Danl. Holbrook, Hugh Croad, James Sterridge, Joseph Wade, James Little, John Watts, Jas. Ford, Rich. Walter, John Hipsley Joseph Little and Richd. Greathead, whom I have this day arrested with divers others, in his Majesty's name by virtue of my office, breaking of his Majesty's peace in a certain house in the parish of *Chew-magna* within this County; in that they the persons aforesaid, together with the said other persons, to the number of above forty in the whole, some whereof refused to give their Christian or Sir-names [the Sir-named John Helliar having probably so instructed them] were unlawfully assembled and congregated together in the said house, in terror of diverse of his Majesty's subjects and liege people, and in contempt of and contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this kingdom, and them you are to receive into your custody and safely keep in his Majesty's gaol at *Ilchester*, until they shall thence be delivered by due course of law: Whereof you are not to fail at your peril. Given under the seal of office of John Piggot, Esq. High-Sheriff of the County aforesaid, this 2nd day of September, Anno Domini 1683.

John Helliar, Sub vic.

To Giles Bale, Gent. Keeper of his Majesty's gaol at *Ilchester*."

Another *Mittimus* of like form and date consigned to the tender

(h) Besse, i, 464—469: Piety promoted, 5th part.

mercies of the said Giles Bale, *Gent.* (i) *ten women friends*, including the *wives* and daughters of several of the above-named, together with *Barbara Blagdon* widow. Sixteen of them were carried to Ilchester on the 8th, and there 'cast into the common goal among felons, men and women together, where they were constrained to lodge on the bare ground, in a nasty stinking place, having not a seat to sit on, nor so much as straw to lie on: and to prevent any accommodations being brought to them, the gaoler's wife kept the key from the under-gaoler till the next day.' *Ninety-three friends* being now in that prison, at the Quarter sessions on the 2nd Oct. the Grand Jury presented twenty six of them for being at the aforesaid meeting, with the usual charge of meeting, 'riotously, routously, seditiously, tumultuously, and unlawfully'—'in great terror of the people of our Sovereign Lord the King and in contempt' &c. but their trials were deferred to another session. And the time of the general deliverance by proclamation being so near, I shall not follow them to see who were discharged, who recommitted for their fines, and who being caught afresh with the tender of the oath of allegiance, were *premunired*. (k)

Giles Knight, being cited to the Bishop's Court at Wells appeared there, and was questioned *about his absence from Church* and not receiving the sacrament. At length, they sent him to the Bishop, who with his Chancellor and Colonel Berkley *tendered him the oath of allegiance*, and upon his refusing to swear sent him to gaol: his *Mittimus* was thus:

"*Somerset Ss.* To the keeper of his Majesty's goal at Ilchester, or his lawful deputy there, These. We herewithal send you the body of Giles Knight, of the parish of Chisselboro' in the County aforesaid, who being brought before us this day, and being there required to take the Oath of Allegiance (the same being legally tendered him) hath refused so to do: These are therefore in his Majesty's name to will and require you immediately on sight hereof to receive the said Giles Knight into your said gaol, and him there safely keep until he shall be thence delivered by due course of Law: And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under *our* hands and seals the 14th day of July. *Anno Dom.* 1684. (l)

P. BATH and WELLS,
ED. BARKLEY,
JOHN BAILEY."

The close union of Church and State, exemplified in this iniquitous Summons on one pretext and Commitment on another, requires no Comment.

Staffordshire: 1682. From a letter dated at Stafford, in the Twelfth month this year.

"An honest woman of *Keel* who feared the Lord being dead, her husband intended to bury her in a *burying-place of Friends*, about ten miles from thence: but the priest of the parish, named Tho. Walthall, sent to the woman's husband a threatening message, that if he did not forthwith pay him *his demand for fees*, he would arrest the corps, and cause them to bury her in a ditch: He also said in my hearing, that he had rather see all the hereticks hanged than lose one sixpence by them. In short, the priest, with two Church-officers, sat in an house watching and drinking the greatest part (if not the whole) of the night, in order

(i) See Whiting's Mem. : 146, 182.

(k) Besse, i, 628.

(l) Idem. i, 639.

to intercept the corps when it should be carried to the burial. So that the poor man, to keep his dear wife out of their hands, determined to bury her in his own garden; and he accordingly did so: And he himself, oppressed with grief, died about six days after, and was buried by [beside] his wife. Several of the neighbourhood, by whom in general he was well beloved, came to his funeral—and among others came also the Churchwardens, with no good intent as appeared by the sequel. The corps being interred, a person present kneeled down, and prayed to God to sanctify the present occasion to them, and that the present spectacle of mortality might affect their hearts with a proper regard of the uncertainty of their own lives, &c. Upon this the Churchwardens grounded an information, and swore before Justice Snead, that there was a conventicle or unlawful assembly, and that Humphry Woolrich preached and prayed thereat: whereupon the said Humphry was fined £20, William Holland £5 5s., William Morgan 40s., John Peake and his wife, Jane Heath, Eliz. Halfpenny, Chas. Mercer, Richd. Simpson and his wife, John Joude and his wife and William Heawood 5s. a piece. The Justice, usually of a moderate disposition, seemed to act in this case contrary to his inclination, being urged to it by the Priest and others. The Friends objecting to what was done, he advised them to pay the fines, telling them that if any of them would appeal, if upon the hearing they gained the cause at Sessions, *he would pay back the fines to all the rest of them.*

“Whereupon an appeal was entered by William Morgan, and upon hearing council in the case, the Court determined in his favour: A copy of the Record was as follows: ‘Upon hearing of Counsel in the appeal brought by William Morgan of Keel in the county of Stafford, to the record of a conviction certified by Will. Snead, Esq. one of his Majesty’s Justices of the peace for this County concerning a conventicle in Keel, it appeared to the Court, that the evidence certified in the record of conviction was not under hand and seal, according as the Law in that case requires. It was ordered that the said William Morgan should have his 40s. upon the said Conventicle Act returned him again. *Zachary Babington.*’

“This so irritated the priest, that he did his utmost to excite the Magistrates of the place where Humphry Woolrich dwelt, to tender him the Oath of Allegiance; but being unable to prevail with them to answer his purpose, he applied to some Country justices, who sent for the said Humphry, tendered him the Oath of Allegiance, and upon his refusing to take it sent him to prison.”

At the Assizes held in Stafford, on the 14th of the month called March this year, Judge Levins, in his charge to the Grand Jury, had pressed the execution of the laws against Conventicles, arguing, that *where disagreement was admitted in the Church there could be no agreement in the State.* The Grand Jury proceeded accordingly to present ‘all Meetings of Dissenters, Papists and other sectaries upon pretence of religion, contrary to the Act of Uniformity, as seditious and factious, and tending to the subversion of the Government, the hazard of his Majesty’s most sacred person, and the ruin and destruction of all his loyal subjects!’ The prosecutions (it is added) fell chiefly on the quakers, who could not, like ‘Papists’ and some other dissenters evade by privacy the threatened danger.

1684. On the 31st of the month called May, the following petition of William Corbett was presented by himself, John Vaughton, and John Edge, to King Chas 2nd, in Windsor park, viz.

“To King Charles the Second, over England, &c. the distressed condition of William Corbett, of Sedgley in Staffordshire, humbly presented.

“O King! I am the more emboldened and encouraged to present my case to thee because of the often hazard of my life in the service of thy Father, King

Charles the First, in the late wars in England, in the General Lord Capel's own troop; wherein I sustained three wounds, namely, I was shot in my leg at the siege of Weam in Shropshire, and wounded in my left arm at the garrison of the Lord Chomley's house in Cheshire, and also cut and dangerously wounded in my head, to the caul of my brain with a pole-ax, at a skirmish at Stourbridge in Worcestershire, and at the same time the thumb of my right hand was cut off; And after several years continuance in the king's service, it pleased God to incline mine heart to make enquiry after his way of salvation, among the people called quakers, whom I finding to be a peaceable people, fearing God and of innocent principles and sincere affections towards the king, I was the more persuaded in my conscience to join in religious society with them, and to continue among them therein, and to frequent their peaceable Meetings, knowing that they are for the service and worship of Almighty God that made us: for which cause alone I am a deep sufferer, with many more, innocent persons in the same County, being severely prosecuted by Informers, on whose false information upon oath I being convicted on the Statute 22 Chas. II, was fined and distrained for two Meetings at Dudley in the said County of Worcester (the one on the 1st of the month called April, and the other in the month called June, 1683) for which I was fined ten pounds for the house and five shillings for myself, *though I was at neither of those meetings*, and had four cows taken away, and my doors broken open, and goods taken, *not leaving me so much as a stool to sit on, nor a bed to lie on but one of straw*. Also the officers (being eight of them) seized on my stock of hay, which they divided into eight parts, and cast lots for it [to-wit for the first choice] and took every one his lot.

"Now I being a poor man and thus ruined and also engaged to others, was forced to sell my house to pay my debts, so being unable to enter an appeal was also necessitated to give over my farm and return it to my Landlord, being wholly disabled to hold it any longer. Notwithstanding which I am since fined for Meetings and Meeting-houses [Meetings held in his house] nine pounds six shillings. Many likewise of my neighbours and friends on the same account have been fined, and distresses made, and their goods taken away to a considerable value, tending to bring many families of the king's peaceable subjects in the said County to penury and want.

"Wherefore may it please thee, O King! having been formerly such a sufferer in my person, in the service of the king thy father, and now being impoverished in my estate and livelihood for my tender conscience towards Almighty God, These things considered I humbly request that thou, O king! will please to take my distressed case into thy consideration, so as to cause restitution to be made me, or afford me such relief, as in thy Princely wisdom and clemency thou shall see meet.

"And also I intreat thee to put a stop to these devouring informers that swear falsely, as before, for their own interest, that thy peaceable subjects may not be utterly ruined by them.

And I and my suffering friends do desire and pray for thy temporal and Eternal welfare.

Wm. Corbett."

"This petition being delivered to the King he read part of it, and then delivered it to another person to read the rest to him: And the petitioner was directed by some about the King to get a Certificate *from some persons of note* [the very description of persons who were oppressing him!] in the County of Stafford whom he had named to them. But it doth not appear that he obtained any relief." (m)

I was once advised, by a friend used to such matters, *never to let a statement to a great person go over to the second page of the paper!* Ed.

ART. III.—POETRY :—*Modern Viatics and Viaductics!*

We're certainly a 'going' Nation ;
 None can stand still, who'd keep his station.
 Fly waggons once we had, that travell'd
 Three miles an hour on roads well gravell'd ;
 But now, like clouds before the wind,
 One carriage whirls a score behind.
 'Twixt Manchester and Liverpool
 No longer jogs the well-packed mule ;
 Like 'hocus-pocus' conjur'd there,
 We're back as soon to Manchester.
 Ubiquitarians, thus inclined,
 May the 'perpetual motion' find,
 (What rate per hour their lasting theme)
 Or come to eat and drink by steam.
 But, at this rapid pace, how soon
 Our Morning will 't o'ertake the Noon ?
 Few do the work ; the many play,
 And keep a long Lent-holiday !
 Now, Johnny Bull ! much do I fear
 Thou ne'er wilt stop thy mad career,
 'Till puffing, blowing, losing breath,
 Thy end shall be 'untimely death.'
 What boots it, then, that o'er thy grave
 ' *Hic et ubique* ' thou may'st have ? W.

The Ant and the Grasshopper. La Fontaine.

A Grasshopper, all summer long
 Had fill'd the meadow with her song,
 But, when autumnal blasts prevail'd,
 Found that her store of victual fail'd ;
 So, calling on a neighb'ring Ant,
 She begged assistance, told her want ;
 ' If a few grains you can but spare,
 When harvest comes I will take care
 ('Tis all a borrower can say)
 Your loan with int'rest to repay.'—
 Now, tho' the Ant's a noted hoarder,
 She feeds no stranger, takes no boarder.
 ' While 'twas fine weather, she replied,
 How came you not grain to provide ?'—
 ' Pardon me ; all my time was spent
 In singing loud, for your content.'—
 ' You sung—'twas labour—mighty good :
 Now dance, and try if that be food !'

CHARLES ELCOCK, PRINTER, PONTEFRACT.

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BY A FRIEND.

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PRO PATRIĀ.

1834.

ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrines and practices of the Quakers.*

(Continued from p, 159.)

A. D. The Quakers, who had been expelled from the *Isle of Man*, 1683. in 1669, reappear there and are again cruelly persecuted.

The account in *Besse* of the sufferings of William Callow and others, in this island, from 1656 to 1669, concludes *with the banishment of all the quakers then resident*. The following letter, in behalf of the person above-named, does credit to the writer. It was addressed to the Earl of Derby, the Sovereign of the island, and dated at Whitehall, the 18th of December 1666.

My Lord, There is one William Callow an ancient tenant of your Lordship in the Isle of Man, is now it seems turned quaker, and for that reason banished the country. I am desired by another of that profession, whom I knew to be a faithful and loyal subject to his Majesty in the time of the late war, to entreat with you for the said Callow; he assuring me that he is a quiet inoffensive person in every thing, save in the matters of his religion, and though I would not be an advocate for any dangerous unpeaceable person, yet in such an instance I am induced to give your Lordship this trouble, the man himself appearing to me not likely to be dangerous, and also expressing as much respect and reverence towards your Lordship as his profession will give him leave: If there be no more in it than being a quaker, I do presume your Lordship may be inclined to restore him and his family to their ancient possessions, and that you may please to do so, is the reason I give your Lordship this trouble, who am

Your Lordship's faithful Friend
and Servant, RUPERT.

VOL. III.

Y

“To this letter of the Prince, the Earl returned the following answer, viz.

“*May it please your Highness, I had the honour to receive a letter from your Highness by the hands of a Manks quaker, wherein your Highness is pleased to intimate your Command to me, that he should be permitted to return to the Isle of Man, from whence he stands banished (with others because they are quakers) by the Laws of that place. I make bold to inform your Highness, that there is now in the island not one Quaker, or dissenting person of any persuasion from the Church of England [there were however several women quakers then in prison on the island] and I humbly conceive your Highness, for that one man’s concern, would not have that place endangered to be infected with schism or heresy, which it might be liable to, if Quakers should be permitted to reside there. Having given your Highness this account, I shall now detain your Highness no longer from your more serious affairs. I shall only add that I am*

Your Highness’s most

humble servant,

Derby.”

We shall now see who ruled the noble Earl in this affair. “While William Callow was thus busied at London soliciting liberty to return home, he received a letter from his wife dated the 19th of the 11th Month 1666, relating that she and her sister Jane Christen, Mary Callow, and her daughter Anne, were all prisoners in Peel-Castle—that all their estates real and personal were seized—that both she and Jane Christen were with child, and that they had writ to the Bishop for leave to return to their houses till the spring, and then return to prison, they not having wherewith to subsist there in winter, nor necessaries for persons in that condition—but that the Bishop had returned a short and rough answer, thus:

“Castle-town the 15th of December 1666.

—“If upon releasement they put in security to promise to come to the service and conform to the order of the Church, and all such as are excommunicated to acknowledge their schisms, and receive absolution, I shall so far presume upon my Lord’s [Derby] favour as to grant them liberty, otherwise I have no power to meddle with them, they being my Lord’s prisoners, and if they miscarry in their health or lives, it is wholly imputable to their own wilful disobedience, and they must be accounted murderers of themselves, and this is all I can say to them.

ISAAC Soder and Man.”

The following dialogue between the Governor and William Callow, which took place shortly after the deportation of the Friends (who all however got to England) shews strongly the arbitrary spirit and utter inhumanity of these persecutors.

“Gov. How dost thou? W. C. I am pretty well. G. Art thou willing to go to Virginia? [At that time the receptacle of transported felons] C. I have no business there. G. But we will send thee thither. C. That is a question. G. But we will send thee. C. I desire to know by what law. G. By my Lord’s order. C. I desire to be tried according to the laws of this place. G. Thou hast been tried. C. I deny it: I was not. G. Thou hast been banisht often, and still comest to trouble us and others, and thou art too long unpunisht—but we will send thee far enough, now. C. Send me as far as thou canst, thou canst not send me from my God. G. Upon my credit thou shalt go to Virginia with Capt. Harwood. C. He has nothing to do with me until I be legally convicted, and [have been] proceeded with according to Law. G. Thou hast been tried according to law, and thou wouldst not conform. C. I deny it: I was never tried by law, nor never came into any Court to be convicted by Law.”

“G. What I do, *I* will answer for it, and *I have written an order for Capt. Harwood to take thee away to Virginia*, and thou shalt go, upon my credit. C. I do appeal to the law of this place to be tried by. G. Thou shalt go, and thy appeal I deny: (and then read the order he had written.) C. I deny it: thou hast no power to do it. G. What I do, *I* will answer it, and *I* will warrant him. C. Thy warrant will stand him in little stead out of this place. G. If thou wilt conform to the Law thou mayst be cleared. C. The benefit of the Law I desire, and if not of the laws of this place, I desire the benefit of the Laws of England. G. Thou shalt not. C. I make my appeal to the highest Court in England, to the King and his Council, and if there had been a Parliament now sitting, I would have made it to them also. G. I deny thy appeal. C. I do call these men to witness, that I do make my appeal to the King and his Council, *and my cause is already before them*, and I wait for their answer. G. I deny it: I will not accept of it. C. If thou wilt not accept of it, but deny the King’s law to me, the *Captain* is a subject; I think he will not deny it, and transport me out of my country and from my wife and children, without legal proceedings against me. *Captain H.* Friend, I would have you submit to the Governor, for I have a long voyage to go, no less than a thousand leagues. C. Hast thou but a thousand leagues to go? That’s not so far as David experienced, who said that if he should take the wings of the morning and fly to the uttermost parts of the Earth, the Lord’s hand would find him out. And dost thou think that he will not overtake thee, and find thee out at the end of a thousand leagues: yea, he will, and reward thee according to thy works, and the cry of my wife and six small children will be heard. G. Thou threatenest the Captain. C. I do not threaten him: There is one that will reward him according to his works, as he has in his just judgments done to others before him: for, *Cursed is he that parts man and wife*. G. Take him away, Soldiers, and put him on shipboard!”

He was immediately forced on shipboard; but the sailors refusing to go the voyage, the Master (who, to do him justice, had been favourable to his cause) consented to set him on shore in *Ireland*; whence he got a passage to *Whitehaven*; and was rejoined by his friends, who had in the mean time been deported to the *Isle of Whitehorn* in *Scotland*!

The inhuman treatment of the few, who ventured again to assert the right of inhabiting their native country in some peaceable occupation must be now related. It seems to lie chiefly at the doors of *Robert Heywood*, Governor, and *Bishop Leake*; who probably governed him.

Eleanor Stockdale, who seems to have come forth as a quaker in *Douglas* in 1682, was, with *Jane Hall* her companion, (by order of a priest and magistrate of the town) carried on board ship to be transported: but the master of the vessel, a Scotsman, refused to receive them. The soldiers employed to banish them ‘arrested the ship,’ and the master and mariners left it: but the soldiers after some time departing, the seamen returned and set sail, leaving the women on shore. In 1683 the said *Eleanor* was married to *Robert Callow* ‘without a priest’—for which both were prosecuted in the *Bishop’s Court*, and committed to separate prisons; the husband for eighteen days only, *but in the time of his harvest*. After sixteen weeks confinement, the wife was sent to *Ramsey* to be banished. She was pulled by force out of her husbands arms at the *Market Cross*, and dragged with violence to the boat (the spectators much commiserating her case) in

order to be put on board a Scotch vessel then in the harbour; but the shipmen hoisted sail and left her. So she was carried back to Ramsey, and kept prisoner about fourteen months longer. On the 3rd of the month called March following, in the night, she was taken out of her bed, and carried by Edward Curfey, a captain, and some of his company, to the ship of Martin Caltrop, then at anchor in the bay, and bound for *Warkinton*. But the owner of the vessel refused to take her in; so that, between the Captain's men pushing her into the ship and the seamen thrusting her off, she was much hurt. However, at length they got her on board, and the ship sailed; but a contrary wind bringing the ship back to Ramsey, she was again set on shore. Three days after she was carried on board by night, but the ship was again driven back to the harbour. The next day and night she was kept on board with a guard, and the day following brought again on shore: and at midnight carried on board again, but the wind being contrary was again set on shore. *On the 17th she was put on board again, and carried to England!*

On her landing there, *Richard Lamplugh*, a Justice of the peace in Cumberland, taking notice of the illegality of the proceedings against her, obliged the said Caltrop at the next return of his vessel, to carry her back to the Island, where she remained with her husband twelve weeks. After which, anno 1684, by the procuration of three priests, who bore great sway in the island, she was again committed to Peel-Castle, being then great with child. She petitioned the priests for liberty to stay at home while in that condition, but was denied, and continued several months in prison 'till the time of her delivery drew nigh, when the priests were again solicited on her behalf; but they rigidly answered that she might take a bed in the town for one night, and return next day to the Castle. But the soldiers of the Castle, more merciful than the priests, representing to the Governor the weakness of her condition, and her petition on that occasion, he interposed his authority, over-ruled the cruelty of these rigorous Ecclesiastics, and sent her home to her husband.

About half a year after this, the Governor sent for both her and her husband, and committed her again to Peel-Castle. She had at that time her child, about six months old, sick of the small pox. This was represented by the constable to the Governor, but he answered, that she and her friends had procured her return to the Island contrary to his order, and therefore he would not spare her, *but she should either leave the Isle, or live and die in prison*. Accordingly she was sent sixteen miles to prison, and obliged to take her sick child with her.^(a)

Quid non mortalia pectora cogis auri sacra fames!—All this for a marriage-fee: I need not, after such an exposure, produce a few imprisonments besides, of Robert Callow and others, and distrains on their property, for *Tithes*. Suffice it to say, in conclusion as to this place, that the like took place as with Friends in the West Indies: it was made impracticable to them to get a livelihood, and they all died without successors in their profession, or left the island.

(a) Besse i, 283, 288

London. 1683. "On the 5th of the Month called August, at a meeting at the Bull and Mouth, James Morton, having a warrant from the Lord Mayor, came with two files of musqueteers of the Yellow Regiment of the City Militia, made proclamation, turned the assembly out of the Meeting-house and placed four centinels at the doors, whom he ordered to *fire upon the Friends, if they did not keep clear of their arms.* The Meeting however continued in the Street; and Job Netherwood afterwards had his goods distrained for being there, to the value of £15. (b)

"On the 28th of October, the First of the week, one Major Price, of the Blue Regiment, with a Lieutenant and Serjeant Hoare of Lombard Street, came to the Meeting at the Bull and Mouth, with files of musqueteers, saying 'What's here to do? I command you all in the King's name to depart every man to his habitation; *if not it is a riot and we will break all your things to pieces.* [With whom the disposition to 'riot' was, we shall see presently.] Francis Stamper, being in the gallery, said, 'Friends be still, and keep your places.' Whereupon they caused him and others in the gallery to be pulled down, and having turned all out of the Meeting, the Major and soldiers fell to breaking the windows, not leaving in some of them one piece of glass or lead. They also broke several of the forms to pieces. After which they went into the street, where the Meeting continued, and took away John Brooks, Jeremy Snow, Francis Stamper, and James Whitaker, whom they carried before the Lord Mayor, who engaged them to appear at the Sessions; and some of the soldiers, who had made all the disturbance, were bound to prosecute them."

They were indicted for a riot [!] at the ensuing Quarter-sessions '10th Jan.' at the Old Bailey, the preacher [as before, p. 153] being first brought up; at whose request their words were taken to appear on the 14th, when they were tried: the Recorder now choosing to insist on the 35 Eliz. 'that worthy Queen, [he said] in the time of her gracious and blessed reign troubled with this sort of Conventicles and seditious riotous assemblies!'

The evidence (which proved that 'they were saying nor doing nothing' and that they staid not a quarter of an hour after proclamation made to depart) being gone through, *Stamper* turning to the Jury said, 'Neighbours and Jurymen, we are indicted for a riot, and the Law says, there can be no riot but when there are force and arms in meeting, to the terror of the people, and to commit some violent act on the person or property of another; as may be seen in the several writers of the Law: See *Cook, Dalton, Lambert, Keeble*, who all treat of this matter.'

Some of the Bench said, Speak to the Court. *Stamper*, 'I speak to the Court and Jury, and the Lord direct their hearts to do according to equity and truth. *Rec.*—'Tis no new thing to make these assemblies *riots*: It has been done in other parts of England [excellent law and logic!] as well as at last sessions. *If we suffer them to go on thus, what signify our laws made against such unlawful assemblies?* [Excellent logic, again!] We may as well set them over us, and give up laws and every thing. *So I hope, Gentlemen, you will take care of it!*'

The Jury brought them in *Guilty*. Then they were turned into the Bale-dock, and kept there till 11 at night without fire, in that memorable frost, when streets of booths were made on the Thames.—

(b) Besse i, 454.

In Newgate, seventeen thronged into one room, so close that they were glad to go into the house of easement, for the sweeter air. Fines, £3 6s. 8d. each, for which one of them, *Whitaker*, was kept above 4 months.

“At the same Sessions, Sam. Waldenfield, William Bingley, Robt. Cary, Ralph Johnson, Christopher Williams, Richard Baldwin, and John Horner, who had been taken at a Meeting in Whitehart Court, were also tried for a riot, brought in guilty, fined £5 each, and for non-payment committed to prison, where Bingley continued four months, three weeks and two days; Baldwin three months, three weeks and four days; Johnson three months and three weeks, Horner one month, three weeks and five days; Williams *till he died* [being] three weeks and six days: and *William Philips* [I suppose of *Pudding-lane*—see page 484, for a distraint upon him—but how substituted for Sam. Waldenfield appears not] one month, one week and one day.” (c)

A. D. A military occupation of Friends' Meeting-houses takes the 1686. place of the prosecutions for meeting contrary to law.

“On the 1st of December this year, Geo. Whitehead and Gilbert Latey, being admitted to the king, represented to him the hardships which had befallen their friends, in regard to their Meeting-houses at the Park in Southwark, and at the Savoy in the Strand.

“The case of the *Park* Meeting-house was thus: About the month called May, 1685, the soldiers came to the Meeting-house and made part of it a guard-house: they did great spoil and damage by pulling down pales, digging up and cutting down trees, carrying them away and burning them; with the wainscoting and benches: they carried away one of the outer doors and many of the casements. Afterwards, when they were drawn out to camp [at Blackheath] they left the house open to any body. Upon which John Potter the *owner of it*, entered again, and made up the outer door and did some other repairs, and had a survey of the damages done, which amounted to above £40.

“The soldiers returning again from camp, possessed themselves of the place in the following manner: On the 22nd of Oct. 1686, a Quartermaster belonging to Col. Hailes's regiment came to the chambers of the said John Potter's tenants and demanded entrance; which being denied, the Quartermaster with the help of soldiers broke in, handed away their goods, and turned out three aged women to another house: and when they had taken possession of the Meeting-house and rooms below, they pulled down the galleries and made a brick wall cross the lower rooms, with many other alterations, as if they intended to have the sole and perpetual possession to themselves, having made a place for prayers (or a Mass-house) at one end, inclosed from the rest by the said wall. John Potter, the owner, several times shewed to the Colonel his Lease of and title to the place. But it availed nothing, he and his soldiers, regarding neither law nor equity, kept possession and still continued there. The damage sustained by their long detention of his property, the spoil done to the place, and the waste and destruction they had made, was computed to amount to about £150.

“At the *Savoy* also, Friends were kept out of their Meeting-house many weeks, by guards of soldiers who had taken possession of the place.

“*The representations made by G. W. and G. L. of these matters to the King, and of the unreasonableness and illegality of the proceedings, took such effect that within a few weeks he caused both those Meeting-houses to be restored.*” (d)

The Royal Tenant does not appear to have paid Friends their dilapidations—nor did he (probably) condescend to tell the honest ‘owner,’ that *these places were once in Royal occupation before*; and that seeing ‘*Nullum tempus occurrit regi*’ (and so forth) he might

(c) Besse i, 457, 460.

(d) Idem. i, 483.

(according to the maxims of his age and Court) at any time, and in any way, resume possession; all *Leases*, and other Rights of the subject to the contrary, notwithstanding! I am glad, however, to take leave of the connexion between the parties in circumstances, on the king's part, *so far considerate and JUST*, as here stated.

A. D. 1686. Persecution for Religious Meetings is finally relaxed.

"Before the conclusion of this year the fury of persecution, *as to Religious assemblies*, was much abated, and the Meetings were generally held in peace. The storm had continued many years with little intermission, and the courage and constancy of those who passed through it was very remarkable; particularly of those who frequently exposed themselves, at the hazard of their Estates, Liberties, and Lives, for the sake of their public testimony to the truth, by preaching in the assemblies for worship at London, esteeming no worldly interest too near or dear to part with, that they might be found in the faithful discharge of their duty in that respect.

"Wherefore in justice to their memory, we shall close this year with a List of the names of such of them, both men and women, as at present occur to our notice, *viz.*

MEN. Richd. Almond, Benj. Antrobus, John Brown, John Butcher, Nathl. Ball, Wm. Bingley, Jasper Batt, Sam. Bolton, Thomas Budd, Nathanael Brassey, Robt. Barclay, Jas. Claypool, Stephen Crisp, Jos. Cadle, Nathl. Ducket, John Edridge, Benj. Freeman, Sam. Fox, John Field, Tho. Floyd, Rob. Langhorne, Rob. Lodge, Sam. Goodacre, George Fox, Will. Gibson, Jas. Goodwin, Roger Langworth, Tho. Green, Nich. Gates, Theoph. Green, Tho. Gilpin, Edm. Harrison, Chas. Harris, Patrick Livingstone, Ralph Johnson, Richd. James, Jonathan Johnson, John Kilborne, Dan. Monro, Jas. Martin, Gilbert Latey, John Miles, Rich. Needham, John Newton, John Heywood, Will. Penn, Clement Plumsted, Jas. Parke, Tho. Robinson, John Rallett, Jas. Rogers, Will. Story, Ambrose Rigg, Rich. Steaton, Fra. Stamper, Ant. Tomkins, John Tysoe, Tho. Sandilands, John Taylor, John Vaughton, Geo. Whitehead, Will. Tibby, Sam. Waldenfield, Rob. Yore and Geo. Watt.

WOMEN Eliz. Bathurst, Esther Biddle, Eliz. Brassey, Lucretia Cooke, Susanna Dew, Mary Edwards, Mariabella Farmborough, Eliz. Fuller, Ann Gold, Hannah Marshall, Anne North, Lydia Oades, Eliz. Ollive, Mary Plumsted, Mary Peacock, Eliz. Stamper, Rebecca Travers, Joane Vokins, Isabel Yeoman and Mary Wheeler.

"These women were of excellent endowments, adorned with all the virtues of that sex, and very serviceable to the Church in the office of the ministry, for which they were peculiarly gifted; being esteemed by their brethren as Fellow-helpers in the work of the Gospel of Christ, and not unlike the Deaconesses in the first ages of Christianity." (e)

I shall have something to say of these 'women' and of the **MEN** of that age also, in a future page of this Summary. Meantime, the Reader if he incline, may learn something of their acts and death-beds, in the 'Piety Promoted' and in the 'Sufferings,' now before me. The indexes of both these Compilations will direct him where to find them. *Ed.*

(e) Besse i, 484.

ART. II.—*Remarks on Scripture passages.* Continued.

John, viii, 48. 'Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan and hast a devil?' It is observable that Christ takes no notice of the vulgar imputation (which themselves did not believe) of his being 'a Samaritan,' but proceeds at once to deny the more serious charge (repeated afterwards) of having a demon—a *familiar* in the invisible world to assist, a *friend* there, to encourage him. There does not appear to have been any punishment for such a connexion, *unless it led to actual crime*. The Jews probably thought they had new proof of it in Jesus, from the circumstance of his lately promising *Eternal life* to those who should believe on him, as the Sent of the Father. They could recognize him as allied to some supernatural being (whom yet they denied to be the Almighty God) whose aid he might be able also to procure for others (See Matt. ix, 34) and their drift on this occasion seems to have been, *to provoke a disclosure on the subject*.

The conclusion of the scene is worthy of our Lord. He asserts his Godhead, by a simple phrase implying an Eternity of being; and gives immediate proof of a supernatural power, by withdrawing *invisible* (as he has done at Nazareth) in a manner which left all their rage impotent.

Chapter ix, ver. 2, 3. 'Who did sin; this man, or his parents, that he was born blind? Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents; but that the works of God should be made manifest in him.' The translation (of verse 3) would be fuller and clearer thus, 'Neither did this man *so* sin, nor his parents; but *it is* in order that the works of God should be made manifest in him.' The Ellipsis in the former clause being thus—so 'as to incur such an infliction in judgment.'

Verse 5. 'While I am in the world I am the light of the world'—a beautiful allusion to his spiritual office: opening the eyes of the understanding, and revealing to men the things of God's kingdom. See Isa. xlii, 6, 7.

Verse 6. 'Made clay of the spittle.' What could more bring down the pride of Medical science than this operation? I have often thought it should teach *us*, the Society of Friends (who are accustomed to exalt in a peculiar manner the immediate illumination of the understanding by Christ) not to despise the meanest instruments, and most ordinary and accessible outward provisions for our instruction, *so that great end be manifestly and in any good measure answered*.

Verse 9. 'Others said, He is like him.' A great change in the expression of his countenance, *now that he could see*, would naturally give rise to some hesitation in the beholders. These artless touches of *verisimilitude* in the narrative recommend it much to the honest Critic. There is another of them (which I have passed by) in Chap. vi, ver. 10. 'Now there was much grass in the place'—thus unconsciously informing us that the relator was himself on the spot.

Ver. 41. The meaning seems to be 'If ye really were blind (mentally) ye would not be chargeable with sin *in this conduct*: but now ye acknowledge it to be wilful (and that you know what you are doing) and thus confirm the imputation.'

John, xi, 16. 'Let us also go, that we may die with him.' Rather, 'that we may die *upon* him (the other implying that Lazarus had yet to die !): whether we suppose Thomas to have had reference to some infection which he dreaded, or to the enmity of the Jews, so lately manifested in their stoning Jesus, and seeking repeatedly to apprehend and put him to death: in consequence of which he expected a violent assault on those who might be assembled at his burial. The words 'for your sakes' added by Christ to the acknowledgment of his satisfaction that they were not present at the death of Lazarus, may have been misunderstood by Thomas, as implying an apprehension of that kind on his master's part—whence this resolute, but peevish, expression 'Let us, too, go, that we may die *upon his body*.' Comp. Luke xxii, 49, 50.

xii, 11. 'Many of the Jews went away, and believed in Jesus.' It appears that that *separation* of the believers had already made some progress, which afterwards took place so fully. Hence the extreme uneasiness of the ruling party.

Ver. 31. What are we to understand by the 'prince of this world'—the Jewish Civil state and polity? But this was now altogether dependent on the Roman: whose Cæsar *was* the prince of the world; in a sense far higher than their High-priest, whose officers merely came to apprehend Jesus and deliver him up to their masters. See xiv, 30: xvi, 11.

May we not consider this speech as relating to the refusal on our Lord's part of the principedom of this world—of that temporal rule and outward greatness, which many expected he would assume? In renouncing this, and dying that he might live and reign beyond the grave (in strict accordance with the reflections contained in his preceding speech) he at once disappointed the dark power; cast *him* out with his suggestions of ambition, and 'judged' or proved erroneous and fallacious, the prevalent expectation, hence derived, of the worldly minded among those who followed him. Ver. 32. 'And I, *though I be lifted up from the earth*, will draw all men unto me.'

Ver. 35. The multitude of those who had heard Jesus are here exhorted to faith in him, and faithfulness to that knowledge he had imparted to them: and this *while he might be with them to encourage them*, and before their extreme trial should come.

Ver. 37–42. In the reflections of the Apostle, in such passages as these, we may perceive him accounting to himself and to the reader, for the disappointment of many who had followed Christ, and in measure believed in him, respecting that outward kingdom, which they expected to have seen commence with his public entry into Jerusalem. He is better informed than were the two going to Emmaus, and he quotes the text for himself.

It may be asked, what would have become of these prophecies, had the Jewish nation believed in Christ, and received him in his outward coming? To which I reply, that it is not unreasonable to think *that this contingency also was provided for*; both as respected themselves, and the benefits mankind at large were to derive from Christ through them. The state of things would then have been a *Theocracy for the*

world at large: and many things, which we find declared in Scripture concerning Israel, would probably have come to pass many ages earlier, and after a more literal manner.

As it was (and after all the miracles) they believed not, now, *as a nation*; so as to become willing to receive Christ *in the way of his coming*; which had been so remarkably shewn, by his own act done just before this occurrence, to be *altogether peaceable*: and his kingdom to be, not the outward rule, independent of the Romans, and standing by outward force, but **RIGHTEOUSNESS** attended with *peace and joy*, in the **HOLY GHOST**.

Ver. 47. 'If any man hear my words and believe not, I judge him not.' The term in the Greek is *remata*, and the reference merely to the *discourses* Jesus had delivered among them. If any man were not convinced by these, *as a reasonable being*, Christ's office was not to condemn him for this:—he had his free choice, to believe the arguments and accept the proposals, or reject them; but *as a Jew*, in possession of the doctrine that had gone before, he would stand condemned in unbelief, by the consistent and harmonious doctrine of the Gospel, now delivered.

Ver. 48, 49. The discourse here is not of works, but wholly of *doctrine*—not of morals, but of faith and of his mission. Of which he says in substance, I have not delivered it *as my own* (after the manner of teachers in that age) but the **FATHER**, who hath sent me, *himself gave me commandment what to preach*.

Chap. xiii, 20. This verse is a continuation of the matter in 16: but the speech is made desultory by a sudden recurrence, in 18, to the meditated treason of Judas; probably from a perception, on our Lord's part, of what was at that moment passing in the mind of the traitor.

Ver. 27. Let the reader here mark the steps by which the Tempter proceeded in the delusion of his victim. For first, Ch. xii, ver. 4, he is vexed to see something converted to present use (in anointing the feet of Jesus) on which he had probably fixed his eyes, as a part of the stores to be purloined and sold for his private gain. In ver. 2, of this Chapter, the temptation had entered, to sell not only the goods of the little society, but the master also. Satan had 'put into his heart' to do it—but he was not yet resolved. But now, after being warned in public, and pointed out to confidential persons as the traitor, he no longer resists the Enemy but throws himself into his arms. Satan enters into him, he gives up his whole will to the dreadful purpose, and cannot long forbear the execution. He goes out at once; and we have no more of him, until he appears with the police, sent by the chief priests and pharisees, to seize on Jesus.

Chap. xiv, 2. 'In my Father's house are many mansions.' There are many worlds (an Astronomer would say) in the starry heavens—but we need not go quite so far abroad. It is in great measure a figurative speech, but not well rendered in our version: for *house* and *mansion* are synonymous in English, and the 'manse' in Scotland is the ministers *house*, or what is called, here, the parsonage.

'In my Father's house there is room for many: had it not been so,

I would have told you. I am going to prepare for each of you his lodging; after which I will come again, and take you home to myself; that we may thenceforth dwell together.' The kind language of the heir to a great estate, to Friends whom he is sure of making welcome to the best of entertainment, in a day to come!

The reader is not to suppose however, that I understand it of snug livings, to be entered upon *in this state of being*. The disciples were told plainly *by what road they were to go thither*; and the Master himself was presently seen to tread it before them.

Ver. 16. 'Another comforter'—rendered, also *advocate*. To judge of the different versions that may be made of the word here used, *paracletos*, we may consult the context, and see what offices are assigned in detail to this person: who is

1. The *Spirit of Truth*, abiding with believers and dwelling in them: so that they need not to premeditate, but are able to speak and reply upon occasions presented, according to an inward sense which preserves from error—or, should they err through inadvertence, discovers to them their mistakes. Ver. 14—20. Matt. x, 19, 20.

2. The *witness for God*, and concerning the things of God (Ch. xv, ver. 26, 27.) both immediately in believers, and to the world at large through the inspired penmen. Also, by the conviction wrought even in the minds of those who might reject and oppose the Gospel, outwardly preached: so that they should be condemned in themselves for their unbelief: iii, 18. xvi, 9.

3. The *Teacher* in God's behalf, and guide into all necessary knowledge concerning his kingdom, and their own peace: for their own right understanding of those things, and for the publication of them through written records to be left behind them. xiv, 26.

4. The *Advocate* for believers with God the Father. The Comforter, the Spirit of Truth, is also the Spirit of Christ crucified, risen and glorified: for he saith presently, *I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you*. Who, as he hath to perform those offices towards and in behalf of the Church, *in spirit*, so likewise is he *thus* the medium of their secret intercourse, by prayer, with GOD, that GREAT SPIRIT, the *Father of spirits*; who is *thus* to be worshipped, in spirit and in truth. This doctrine is confirmed by many passages in the Apostolic Epistles.

It is best expressed by the term *Advocate*: so that if we could agree upon a common interpretation, we might use with great propriety the literal rendering, of 'Paraclete' (as the *French* do in some of their writings, if not in their versions also) as we also do those of 'Christ' and 'Evangelist;' both, alike comprehensive in their meaning.

Ver. 30. 'Hath nothing in me.' If we take the prince of this world to be the *State Civil*, the Jewish power subject to the Roman, the meaning may be 'hath no crime of which to accuse me:' But see the note on xii, 31, where a different sense is offered for the whole.

Chap. xv, 1, 2. Should be rendered, I am *the vine of truth* [literally so in the Greek] and my father the husbandman. Every branch

in me that beareth not fruit he taketh out: every branch that beareth fruit he pruneth; that it may bear more.—Comp. xiv, 6.

Ver. 24. 'But now have they both seen and hated both me and my father,' This is remarkable, and fixes the sense of the expressions, where we read elsewhere of seeing the Father. It is clear that we must not make this the experience of believers only: but an experience common to all those who saw Jesus and witnessed his mighty acts. It was God manifest in the flesh—all that mortals could thus behold of Him—whom they both saw and *hated*; through an evil heart of unbelief!

Chap. xvi, 2. 'Whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service.' The Greek is *latreia*: Whosoever killeth you will deem it to be for God's *honour*: a delusion most awfully exemplified in the persecutions inflicted on such as have fearlessly asserted God's truth and honour since. As the term *duty* includes both senses, it might be rendered 'will think he is performing his duty to God.'

Ver. 17. 'Thy word is Truth.' Compare with Ch. i, 1: xiv, 6: 1 John ii, 27, and the texts on the Paraclete.

Chap. xvii, 24. 'May be with me where I am.' The full import of which request can be knowable only by such as have already passed the boundary, which separates this life from Immortality!

Chap. xviii, 10. Thus, in the beginning of a controversy, one who too rudely assails his opponent may excite feelings which shall (in a sense) *cut off his right ear*; and effectually prevent his being convinced by the arguments, however just, which are brought against him. And the like of preachers, in their treatment of the audience.

Chap. xix, 15. Here was the full renunciation, by the multitude with their rulers, of the authority of the MESSIAH, then standing before them: and in like manner an acceptance of Cæsar, who was to destroy the temple and take away (according to their own words, xi, 48) their place and nation!

Ver. 26. 'Woman, behold thy son!' See Matt. xv, 28: John ii, 4; which, with the present, may serve to show that *gunai* was a respectful address, used to the sex under various circumstances. It may have been equivalent to our 'Madam';—which however I would not propose in this place—it being almost necessarily allied to the plural style: suffice it that it be taken as tender and respectful. *Gunai* is not used to the woman taken in adultery, viii, 10, where the word is *e gunè* in the nominative, and *should* be rendered thus, 'The woman! Where are those thine accusers? Hath no man condemned thee?'

Chap. xx, 8. 'And he saw, and believed.' Believed what? Believed, from what he beheld, *that they had taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre*, as Mary Magdalen had just before asserted. Ver. 9. 'For as yet they knew not [understood not *aright*] the scripture, that he must rise again from the dead.'

Ver. 12. 'Two angels in white.' These ministers of the resurrection were, doubtless, invisible to those from whom it was proper they should be concealed: they had been occupied in their duties about the Lord's person, and were then sitting at rest.

Ver. 22. 'Breathed on them:' an act signifying the thing, as aptly as did water baptism the inward and spiritual purification of the person subjected to it.

Chap. xxi, 23. The Apostle seems to have written this verse under the like impression of uncertainty, *as to the time* of our Lord's return in person to the Church, which influenced Paul when he wrote that passage, 1 Thess. iv, 15—17, which he had to correct afterwards, as to this point, in a subsequent Epistle, 2 Thess. ii, 1—4: some persons having made an ill use of his prediction. *Ed.*

ART. III.—*Characters of some noted persecutors, with accounts of the manner of their ends.* From Fox, and Whiting.

1. *Of a Justice of peace and Captain of a troop.*

"This being the last time I shall have occasion on this account to mention this *Henry Walrond*, the greatest persecutor in the county of Somerset,—I cannot but add a few words concerning him and his end.

"He dwelt at Elbruers, about ten miles westward of Ivelchester; a comely proper man; had a fair estate, a fine house and park—but after he took up this work of persecution (being made a justice in 1670, as a fit tool to put the Conventicle Act in execution) nothing prospered with him. Of which he had some check in the very beginning, as he confessed to Marmaduke Coat—(a) and promised he would never do so again; but afterwards fell to it with more violence than before; and was very malicious and troublesome to the said Marmaduke and his family, in particular, by imprisonment and spoil of goods, *he being a man of substance and living near him.* He kept the gang of Brooms about him (b) who helped to devour his estate, as they had done others: several of whom came to sad ends. And to recover his sinking state, he and Sir Edward Phillips took away a *twin child, or children that grew together*, from a poor woman to make a shew of them for money; and kept them till they died, to their great shame and dishonour in the country; for which they were prosecuted in the Crown office, but might, I suppose, overcome right. (c)

"And about the same time, or not long after, the said Walrond was sent for by a serjeant at arms, or messenger from the House of Commons, to answer to several matters charged against him; being an anti-petitioner against some of the sitting members, viz. George Speke, John Speke, and John Trencher, Esq. (since Sir John Trencher) but was rather willing to keep his bed, feigning himself sick, than appear. But when he was at London, whether this time or another I am not certain, it was credibly reported that a great man at Court, whose name I forbear to mention [probably the doctor who prescribed that timely fit of sickness, at the end of his ride to London, *Ed.*] took him by the hand and led him in before the King, and told *him* there was one of his best subjects in the West of England—in commenda-

(a) "Marmaduke Coat, senr. of Hambridge, an honest, faithful and upright but suffering man; being mostly a prisoner for tithes, &c. and his goods often spoiled by Walrond for meeting." *Whiting*, 206. (b) "Phillip Broom, called Lieutenant, and Laurence Broom, Cornet, to Captain Walrond's troop, Francis Broom and others." *Idem*. 203. (c) See a Case, *Besse* i, 619.

tion of his persecutions. Which, no doubt, encouraged him in it the more, to his own undoing as well as others; for he ran out his estate, all his ill-gotten goods not prospering with him.—I say [the gain of his ‘fines and distresses on account of meetings] did not at all make him rich, but rather the poorer; for he became so poor, that it was reported he could not be trusted for a sixpenny loaf, and that he did spin [I suppose at the Woollen cloth manufacture, *Ed.*] for his living, before he died. Such a thrifty trade (says one) is *persecution*, that it leaves a man never a friend in heaven or on earth!—

“He at last died miserably poor—of whom I may say (as Sir Walter Raleigh did in the like case) ‘These are the men that sought the misery of others, and misery found *them* out.’—There is a *Nemesis*—a divine vengeance, the heathens could say,—that pursues bloody and cruel men: they shall not live out half their days. I never read, says he [Raleigh] of a persecutor, though never so great, but he came to an ill end. At the best, say I, it makes work for deep repentance, if it please God they can find a place for it; which it is to be feared few of them ever do: and therefore, O that they might take warning betimes [against the practice!]” *Whiting’s Memoirs*, or ‘Persecution exposed,’ p. 210.

2. Of several who persecuted and abused George Fox.

“Indeed, I could not but take notice how the hand of the Lord turned against those my persecutors, who had been the cause of my imprisonment, or had been abusive or cruel to me under it. For the officer that fetched me to Houlker Hall wasted his estate, and soon after fled into Ireland.—*Col. Kirby* never prospered after. The chief constable, *Richard Dodgson*, died soon after; and *Mount* the petty constable, and the wife of *John Ashburnham* the other petty constable, who railed at me in her house, died soon after. *Will. Knipe*, the witness they brought against me, died soon after. *Hunter*, the gaoler of Lancaster, who was very wicked to me while I was his prisoner, was cut off in his young days. The under sheriff, that carried me from Lancaster prison towards Scarborough, lived not long after. And *Joblin*, the gaoler of Durham, who was prisoner with me in Scarboro’ Castle, and had often incensed the governor and soldiers against me, though he got out of prison, 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 although I did not seek revenge upon them, for their actings against me contrary to the Law, yet the Lord had executed his righteous judgments upon many of them.” (d)

3. Of *W. Lampit*, priest.

“While I was at Swarthmore died *William Lampit*, priest of

(d) *Fox, Journal*, p. 387. Fox came again into that country to dwell in 1675, nine years after: and being at Swarthmore he says, among others *Col. Kirby* paid him a visit, who had given order to the gaoler at Lancaster to keep him close, and suffer no flesh alive to come at him; for he was not fit to be discoursed with by man. ‘But now [he adds] he came to bid me welcome into the country, and carried himself in appearance very lovingly, [in modern phrase ‘kindly’ *Ed.*] yet before I left Swarthmore he sent for the Constables of Ulverstone, and ordered them to tell me we must have no more meetings at Swarthmore; for if we had, they were commanded by him to break them up, and were to come the next First-day. That day we had a very precious meeting, the Lord’s presence was wonderful amongst us, and the constables did not come to disturb us. The meetings have been quiet since, and have increased.’ *Idem*. 488.

Ulverstone, the parish that Swarthmore is in. He was an old deceiver, and perverter of the right way of the Lord; and a persecutor of the people of God. Much contest I had with him, when I first came into those parts. He had been an old false prophet: for in the year 1652 he prophesied (and said he would wage his life upon it) *that the Quakers would all vanish and come to nought within half a year*: but he came to nought himself. For he continued in his false accusing of God's people till a little before he died, and then cried for a little rest. To one of his hearers, that came to visit him before he died, he said, *I have been a preacher a long time and thought I had lived well*; but I did not think *it had been so hard a thing to die!*" (e)

4. *Of Isaac Dennis, keeper of Newgate in Bristol.*

"But now at length, he having filled up his measure, it pleased the Lord to visit this poor man, *Isaac Dennis*, the cruel keeper of Newgate [Bristol] who had been so inhuman to Friends (for though the Lord bears long, yet he will not let the wicked go always unpunished or suffer their rod always to rest on the back of the righteous) visiting him with his judgments in a very dreadful manner, about the middle of the 8th month; which was so terrible to him, that he could eat and sleep but very little. And yet, by day, he would strive against it by drinking and keeping vain company, endeavouring to get ease to his troubled conscience. And while the strength of the liquor was in him by day, he would seem as if nothing was amiss; but at night was in a woful agony, so that he would shake and tremble, and sweat cold sweats. Then he would desire Friends to pray for him, and wish he had never seen the inside of the gaol; saying it had undone him. He desired several Friends to forgive him for what he had done: to which they answered that he should ask forgiveness of God, *for they did forgive him*. But still his anguish and torment increased, so that it was feared he would be distracted. Then, doctors were sent for to let him blood: but he told them, no physic would do him any good, *his distemper being another thing*; and that no man could do him good, *his day was over*, and there were no hopes of mercy from God for him.

"Friends, seeing him in this sad condition, pitied him, and desired if it was the will of God he might find a place of repentance; and some spoke to him, and found he had his senses, and used such arguments as they thought best, to persuade him out of his hardness and unbelief, saying they hoped his day was *not* over, because he had a sense of his condition. He thanked them for their good hope; but said he had no faith to believe, and that faith was the gift of God. So nothing would enter him, but that his day was over, and there was no hope of mercy for him; and in this miserable state he continued till the 30th of the Ninth month, and then ended his miserable life. O that others would take warning while they have a day left; and fear the living God (who is a consuming fire to all the workers of iniquity) and not resist his reproofs in their consciences; or, to please and gratify others, do that which will bring misery upon themselves in their latter end." (f)

(e) Whiting, 405.

(f) Idem. 195. See also p. 161-166.

5. *Of Sheriffs Helliar and Knight, and Alderman Oliffe.*

“And *R. Oliffe*, alderman, who committed so many to prison, and made such spoil on Friends’ goods, the Lord met with him, and smote him in his conscience so that he could not escape; but cried out in his extremity, as I have heard, that he was not sick but damned: and that they (*viz.* the persecutors) should make restitution, meaning to such as he and they had wronged (which neither he nor they were ever able to do) and so died in a sad condition. (g)

“And as for *Sir John Knight*, that grand persecuting sheriff, though he survived most of the rest, and is yet living at the writing hereof—though he turned against King James for dispensing with the penal laws (that they could not persecute as they had done) and joined with the Prince of Orange; yet when *he* came to be king, and confirmed liberty of conscience, the said Knight turned mal-content; and afterwards upon some disgust or offence to the government was put in prison in Newgate himself.—I was an eye-witness of his going thither with another person, and could not but take notice of it: and though he is yet living, he is reduced to a small estate (for a knight) at Congresbury in Somersetshire.” (h)

To conclude these examples as regards the West of England, Whiting relates also the manner of the death of *Sheriff Helliar*, and of *priest Cross* of Chew, his associate in an act of persecution related at pa. 156. This priest had said, ‘If he could but live to see *Eliz. Stirredge* (who had a public testimony) and her husband, ruined, he cared not if he died next day’—And when they came and told him what they had done [at the Meeting-house] he put off his hat and thanked them; saying he should live four years the longer for it. But soon after (even before the Friends were carried to prison) as he was walking in the steeple-house yard, looking on the boys at play, he fell down as dead (as he did once before in the pulpit) and was carried in and was never sensible after, but died in a sad condition.

“And *Helliar*, not long after, when he had filled up his measure of persecution at Bristol, died in a frightful manner; under such terror of mind for the wickedness he had perpetrated—that, as was reported, he kept candles burning, and men to watch him night and day, lest the wicked one should fetch him away—and so died miserably!” (i)

To the foregoing accounts might be added a great number of instances of sudden or untimely death overtaking the persecutors of this people, in the midst of their unjust and cruel proceedings. Such events are commonly esteemed as happening in the course of the Divine judgments; and are recorded, and appealed to as warnings to others. But to establish this conclusion against the objections of adversaries, we must be prepared to prove a necessary connexion between the act, accounted criminal in the sight of a just and all-wise Judge, and the accident, or disease or other circumstance, which carried off the offender: *and this it is seldom possible to do.* We are then driven to the general dispensations of the Almighty towards men, as moral agents, and the general connexion between an unruly, riotous, intemperate and violent course of life, and the accidents and diseases in question. And these, though in a sense they may be termed punishments, are not necessarily *in special judgment.*

I think therefore we should forbear to lay this stress on the events in question, except in those cases wherein, the state of mind of the party being known, the judgments of God are confessed to by him, against himself. *These are indeed awful warnings*—and I have thought that a collection of facts, of the nature of those contained in this publication, should not be without them. *Ed.*

(g) Whiting, 197.

(h) Idem. 198.

(i) Idem. 183.

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PRO PATRIĀ.

1834.

BEFORE I take a final leave of the 'SUFFERINGS,' from which I have already given so many Extracts, I incline to put into this Number, for the sake of Readers unused to the proceedings of Courts of Law, a complete specimen of the verbose *Latin-English indictments*, to which we have seen our Friends obliged to plead 'Guilty' or 'Not Guilty;' and to the *form* of which they made just objections. Likewise a *singular* instance (for I have not met with another) of the testimony of twelve men *without the Coroner*, to satisfy a gaoler about the death of his prisoner: and a very remarkable trial, *without a Jury*, of the faith of an 'honest Friend,' and the consistency of his Legal superiors.

It was a mere *mockery* of Justice, to say from the Bench to reputable clothiers and other tradesmen (or labourers whose places of abode and general characters, if not their persons also, were known to their neighbours in Court) that they were assembled at such a time and place, *riotously, routously, tumultuously and seditiously, in contempt of the King, his laws and government and in disturbance of the peace*; and on their denying the whole, save the simple fact of their being met to worship God, to qualify this part with the name of a *mere form of words*! Surely even words and forms have their influence on men's minds: and it was more easy for a Jury to persuade themselves to convict persons, *thus formally made guilty beforehand*, than if it had been laid to their charge simply, that they were met, under pretence of Divine worship, contrary to an Act of Parliament! Had the offence been stated in its true form, the iniquity of the statute in question, and the many circumstances favorable to the prisoner, which we have seen arbitrarily thrown out of the question by those on the Bench, might have had their weight with his proper judges, *the Jury*; and they

might have inclined (thus released from the mysterious *frown* of the LAW) to a fair acquittal. The proceedings remind one of that description of the high-priest, in Zechariah Ch. 3, standing before the angel of the Lord 'clothed with filthy garments' and with the '*Satan* standing at his right hand to resist him'—no doubt, the same adversary, with whom he had been struggling in the dirt till he had got all that filth upon him! Let us hope that the time is not, even now, gone by, in which *Joshua* may obtain his justification!

- ART. I.—*Specimen of Legal proceedings against Friends in Yorkshire, in 1683. (a)*

“On the 21st of October, William Rooke, Mayor of Leeds, with the Town-Clerk, came to the Meeting there, and committed thence to prison Henry Ubank, Jonathan Kendal, Richard Stirke, Isaac Lindley, Henry Tate, Richard Kendall, Edmund Thornton, William Cowel, John Wailes, Timothy Siddall and Richard Roe, all of the Parish of Leeds, and detained them there some time, but afterward discharged them on their promise of appearing at the next Quarter Sessions.

“On the 18th of November the said Mayor, with two Aldermen and the Town-Clerk, came again to the Meeting at Leeds, and committed fifty Persons to Prison in the Moothall there, where they were kept Men and Women together in one Room, without Fire, in extreme cold Weather, four Days and Nights, and then were sent Prisoners to York Castle, without being suffered to shift their Clothes: Their Names were John Wailes, and Isabel his Wife, Henry Tate, Edmund Thornton, Richard Kendal, William Cowel, John Turner, Thomas Smith, Robert Corner, Thomas Pawson, Richard Stirke, Enoch Tennant, John Cowel, Isaac Lindley, William Atkinson, Edward Barker, John Liversedge, Mercy Liversedge, Mary Sikes, Thomas Swailes, Edmund Jepson, Daniel Langstaff, John Brayfitt, Abraham Ledger, Alexander Hartley, Joshua Siddall, William Jackson, Robert Hartley, Marmaduke Walker, Moses Hulley, Robert Tomlinson, Samuel Midgley, John Sikes, Mary Wareing, John Salthouse, John Morris, John Pennington, William Booth, John Gott, George Metcalf, Margaret Cooper, Martha Ball, Alice Horner, Anne Siddall, Sarah Langstaff, Mary Liversedge, Frances Matthew, Hannah Hulley, Hannah Thackery, and Anne Benson, who were all kept Prisoners above nine Weeks, and then conveyed to the Quarter Sessions at Leeds, where they were fined, and Warrants were granted for Distress; by which were taken

	£.	s.	d.
From John Wailes and John Langstaff, Goods worth	6	9	0
Samuel Barlow of Leeds, and John Cowel	1	17	0
Thomas Smith and Robert Arthington	1	17	6
Richard Stirke of Woodhouse, and Edward Daniel	3	0	0
Robert Harper of Farnley, & William Jackson of Armley	1	3	0
	14	6	6

(a) Besse, ii, 154.

“At the same Quarter Sessions thirty-one Persons were indicted for Meetings, on the Statute of 13 and 14 Car. 2. for the third Offence, a Copy of which Indictment is as follows : viz.

“Burgus de Leeds ss.

“JURATORES pro Domino Rege super Sacramentum suum presentant, quod Johannes Wailes. nuper de Leeds in Burgo prædicto Clothworker, Henricus Tate nuper de eadem Clothworker, Benjaminus Elletson nuper de eadem Clothworker, Bryanus Sheffield nuper de eadem Clothier, Enoch Tennant nuper de eadem Clothworker, Richardus Stirke nuper de eadem Clothier, Georgius Lappage nuper de eadem Taylor, Edvardus Daniel nuper de eadem Clothworker, Robertus Hartley nuper de Farnley in Burgo prædicto Labourer, Willielmus Hetherington nuper de eadem Labourer, Alexander Hartley, nuper de Beeston in Burgo prædicto Labourer, Richardus Jowett nuper de eadem Yeoman, Willielmus Jackson nuper de Arnley in Burgo prædicto Clothier, Joshua Lyddall nuper de eadem Labourer, Samuel Crowther nuper de eadem Yeoman, Vincent Wilson nuper de Holbeck in Burgo prædicto Clothier, Willielmus Atkinson nuper de eadem Labourer, Edvardus Barker nuper de eadem Labourer, Jacobus Pearson nuper de eadem Cordwainer, Johannes Braithwait nuper de Hunslett in Burgo prædicto Clothier, Daniel Langstaff nuper de eadem Clothier, Johannes Smith nuper de Wortley in Burgo prædicto Labourer, Moses Hulley nuper de eadem Labourer, Richardus Roe nuper de eadem Labourer, Henricus Ewbank nuper de eadem Yeoman, Robertus Tomlinson nuper de Morley in Comitatu Eboraci Clothier, Simeon Sykes nuper de eadem Yeoman, Willielmus Midgley nuper de eadem Yeoman, Johannes Pennington nuper de Carleton in Comitatu prædicto Labourer, Johannes Morris nuper de eadem Labourer, and Thomas Becket junior nuper de eadem Clothier, existentes Personæ et quilibet eorum existens persona communiter vocati Trementes, Anglicæ Quakers, qui manutinent et quilibet eorum manutinet, quod Captio Juramenti in aliquo casu quocunque, licet coram legali Magistratu, penitus illegalis est, et contra Verbum Dei, et quod iidem Johannes Wailes, Henricus Tate, Benjaminus Elletson, Bryanus Sheffield, Enoch Tennant, Richardus Stirke, Georgius Lappage, Edvardus Daniel, Robertus Hartley, Willielmus Hetherington, Alexander Hartley, Richardus Jowett, Willielmus Jackson, Joshua Lyddall, Samuel Crowther, Vincent Wilson, Willielmus Atkinson, Edvardus Barker, Jacobus Pearson, Johannes Braithwaite, Daniel Langstaff, Johannes Smith, Moses Hulley, Richardus Roe, Henricus Ewbank, Robertus Tomlinson, Simeon Sykes, Willielmus Midgley, Johannes Pennington, Johannes Morris, et Thomas Becket, vicesimo sexto die Januarii, Anno regni Domini nostri Caroli Secundi, Dei gratia Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, and Hiberniæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris, &c. tricesimo quinto, existentes et quilibet eorum existentes ultra

Translation. Borough of Leeds, Ss. The Jurors for our Lord the king do present upon their oaths, that John Wailes, late of Leeds in the said borough, Clothworker, Henry Tate late of the same [and so forth] being persons, and each of them being a person, commonly called Quakers, who maintain and each of them maintaineth, that the taking of an oath in any case whatsoever, though before a lawful Magistrate, is altogether unlawful, and contrary to the word of God, and that the same John Wailes [and so forth] on the 26th day of January, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles the second, by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, *Defender of the faith* and so forth, the thirty-fifth, being and each of them being above the age of sixteen years, [and] afterwards to-wit on the twenty-seventh day of January, in the thirty-fifth year aforesaid, did depart, and each of them departed, from their several places of abode, and on the aforesaid twenty-seventh day of January in the year aforesaid, by force and arms, and so forth, at Leeds in the said borough, with divers other persons to the Jurors unknown, being beyond the number of

ætatem sedecim annorum, postea scilicet vicesimo septimo die Januarii, Anno tricesimo quinto supra dicto recesserunt, et quilibet eorum recessit a locis separatarum habitationum eorum et cujuslibet eorum, ac prædicto vicesimo septimo die Januarii, Anno supra dicto vi and armis, &c. apud Leeds in Burgo prædicto, cum diversis aliis personis Juratoribus ignotis ultra numerum quinque personarum existentibus, sese riotosè routosè et illicitè assemblaverunt, et congregaverunt in quadam domo mansionali tunc in possessione cujusdam Graciæ Sykes Viduæ, tunc et ibidem situatæ in Leeds prædicta, sub prætextu jungendi in religiosa Adoratione, Anglicè religious Worship, minime autorizata per Leges hujus Regni Angliæ, in Contemptu dicti Domini Regis nunc, legumque suarum, ad magnam perturbationem Pacis dicti Domini Regis, in malum Exemplum omnium aliorum in consimili casu delinquentium, contra Pacem dicti Domini Regis nunc, Coronam et Dignitatem suas, ac contra formam Statuti in hujusmodi Casu editi et provisi.

THOMAS LEIGH, Clericus Pacis."

This Indictment seems to have followed a transaction which is given in the next page of the Sufferings, as follows :

"On the 27th of the Eleventh Month, the Meeting at Leeds was again molested by Joshua Balmer and Martin Headley, Aldermen, who committed, first to the Town-Prison, and afterwards to the Castle at York, twenty Persons, viz. John Wailes, Enoch Tennant, Henry Tate, Vincent Wilson, Richard Stirke, William Jackson, John Smith, John Pennington, Benjamin Elletson, Edward Daniel, Robert Tomlinson, Thomas Becket, Richard Jowett, Brian Sheffield, Simeon Sykes, Edward Barker, William Atkinson, James Pearson, Alexander Hartley, and John Morris."

ART. II—*A Jury on Robert Tomlinson, deceased, and a verdict without the Coroner. (b)*

"Anno 1684. In the Beginning of this Year died Robert Tomlinson, who being a Prisoner in York Castle, had obtained leave of the gaoler to go to his master William Midgley's House at Morley, in the Parish of Batley, where he died. And the said William Midgley, to satisfy the gaoler and others, procured twelve Men of the Neigh-

five, riotously, routously and unlawfully assemble themselves and meet together, in a certain dwelling-house then in possession of a certain widow [named] Grace Sykes, then and there situate in Leeds aforesaid, under pretence of joining in religious worship [in a manner] wholly unauthorized by the Laws of this realm of England, in contempt of our said Sovereign Lord now king, and of his laws, to the great disturbance of the peace of our said Sovereign Lord the king, to the evil example of all others in likewise offending, against the peace of our said Sovereign Lord now king, his crown and dignity, and contrary to the Statute in this case made and provided.

Thomas Leigh, Clerk of the Peace."

Note. The title of 'Defender of the faith' was conferred by the Pope on King HENRY THE EIGHTH, for writing against Luther and the Reformation. Here, it seems to be in place: for I conclude it would be very difficult to prove, notwithstanding old Harry's change of profession after he got the title, that it is not the same 'faith' which is here defended by his successor; only by harder weapons, which that monarch himself also knew well how to employ. *Ed.*

(b) Besse, ii, 157.

bourhood to view the Body of the Deceased, who, having so done signed the following Certificate, viz.

“ We whose Names are here under-written, have, at the Request of William Midgley, viewed the Body of his Servant Robert Tomlinson deceased, who, as we understand, was at the Time of his Sickness and Death, a prisoner to the Keeper of the Castle at York, who had suffered the said Robert to come Home for a Time, and to return to him again. We find the Matter and Death of the said Robert Tomlinson to be as follows: That the said Robert Tomlinson, as we find by Examination, was troubled with a Cough, got by a Surfeit of Cold, which he got in the last Winter by some Confinement he had in Leeds, in a Place called the Moothall, in the great Storm, which Surfeit growing upon him, did, about three Weeks before his Death, break out into Sickness, which did increase upon him from the 18th of March 1683 to the 4th of April 1684: And then by the Violence of the said Sickness, it pleased the Lord to take him away, and not by any other Cause or Means that we can find. The Cause of his Imprisonment as abovesaid, we found to be about his Religion, being under the Name of a Quaker.

“ Tho. Craystor,	Tho. Dawson,
Rob. Graves,	Richd. Fawcett,
John Crowther,	William Brooke,
Jos. Briggs,	Tho. Fawcett,
Stephen Roddall,	Godfrey Tomlinson,
Robert Whealey,	Wm. Tomlinson.”

This was one of the Friends taken from Meeting at Leeds, the 27th of the Eleventh Month, ‘Januarii,’ preceding. It appears that thirteen of the prisoners were discharged at the Sessions at Leeds, the 30th of the Fifth Mo. 1684, after about eleven weeks confinement;— and we have, on the 6th of October, a Petition or Address, from two hundred and twenty-seven Friends, confined in York Castle, to the King, ‘touching the long imprisonment of most of them.’ (c) But, this not procuring their release, the next year, the Friends prisoners made their ‘humble application’ to the ‘Knights and Burgesses of the City and County of York, assembled in Parliament at Westminster:’ which may be seen at length in *Besse*. (d) They appear to have remained till the period of the General release.

ART. III.—*The Case of Thos. Hymans, imprisoned for refusing to swear to the persons of those who had robbed him on the highway.* (e)

“ Remarkable in this Year [1681] was the Case of Thomas Hymans, of Bridgwater in this County, who having been robbed on the Highway of £17 15s. appeared at the Assizes at Gloucester to give evidence against the persons that robbed him: But the Judge might not, in that case, accept his evidence without an Oath, and he, for conscience sake, refused to swear.

“ Of his several times of appearing before Judge Levinz, on this occasion, take the following account:

“ At his first appearance: The said Thomas Hymans coming into Court with his hat on, after some time the Judge ordered his hat to be taken off, and ask him, Whether he would swear to the Indictment?

“ *Hymans*. No because ’tis contrary to the Command of Christ to Swear.

(c) *Besse*, ii, 160. (d) *Idem*. 166. (e) *Idem*, i. 616—619.

“ The Judge then urged the Mosaical Law, and pleaded for the lawfulness of Swearing.

“ *Hymans.* A greater than Moses is come, the great Lawgiver, whom all are to hearken unto : And the voice which was heard in the Mount said, This is my beloved Son, in all things hear ye him : Who saith, Swear not at all.

“ Then standing up to give evidence, he was not admitted, but his evidence rejected : Upon which he went out of the Court.

“ At his second appearance : The Judge ordered the Oath to be tendered him.

“ *Clerk.* Lay your hand on the Book.

“ *Hymans* I will not.

“ *Clerk.* The evidence you shall give between our Sovereign Lord the King and the Prisoners at the Bar, shall be the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth.

“ *Hymans.* I will not Swear, but I will testify the Truth, as in the Presence of God.

“ *Judge.* Take him away Gaoler.

“ Then he was taken from the Bar, and put in a place among the felons, and made a spectacle of reproach to the people, and afterwards carried with four prisoners to the Common Gaol.

“ At his third appearance :

“ *Judge.* Bring forth Thoms Hymans : Tender him the Oath.

“ *Hymans.* In obedience to Christ's command, I cannot Swear, but I will testify the truth, and declare as in the presence of God : and if I speak otherwise, let me suffer equal with perjury.

“ *Judge.* Why, I am sworn myself, and am bound to swear others in evidence, and I cannot do otherwise.

“ Then the Judge ordered the Clerk of the Assize to draw up a Bill of Indictment against the said Thomas Hymans for refusing to swear, prosecute and give evidence ; which was done. The Grand Jury made some hesitation about finding the Bill, but upon the Judge's instructing and persuading them, they did find it.

“ At his fourth appearance : He was called to the Bar, and his Indictment being read, the Judge offered him the liberty of retaining Council.

“ *Hymans.* I depend wholly on the Lord ; let truth and innocency plead my cause : In obedience to the Law of God, I will not swear, for the Law of God is of more force with me to deter me from it, than the law of man to oblige me to it.

“ *Judge.* Do you think it is a sin to swear ? Are you wiser than all your forefathers ?

“ *Hymans.* In times of the Law, Oaths were lawful : as Christ himself, repeating sundry things of the Law, said, It hath been said by them of old, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thy Oaths ; but I say unto you, *now under the Gospel,* Swear not at all. And the blessed Apostle, who ratified and confirmed what his Lord and Master had said, and I believe knew better his mind than the pleaders for Swearing in this age do, said, Above all things, Brethren, Swear not.

“ *Judge.* You must not think to pick places out of the Scripture. Clerk, read him the Statute against those that refuse to swear.

“ Which was done.

“ *Judge.* Why will you be such an enemy to the King, to the Commonwealth, and to your own self ; for here you forfeit your Recognizance, which must be levied on your goods and chattels, besides five pounds fine and imprisonment.

“ *Hymans.* Judge Levinz, I desire thou wilt not insist on my tender conscience toward God : Is it better to obey God or man ?

“ *Judge.* God.

“ *Hymans.* Here I offer to testify and declare, as in the presence of the great God of Heaven and Earth, who is the God of my life, and the God of the souls and spirits of all flesh, and can call God to witness who knoweth all things.

"*Judge.* And why will you not kiss the book ?

"*Hymans.* Which is the greatest, for me to kiss the book, or call God to witness ?

"*Judge.* Call God to witness : But this is a ceremony we make use of.

"Then three men by force plucked the glove off his hand, and laid the book to the back of his hand, for he would not take hold of it, and so clapt it by force to his mouth. At which there was great laughter in the Court.

"*Judge.* 'Tis not a laughing matter.

"*Hymans.* What they have done is by Force. I had rather chuse to die, than sin against God.

"*Judge.* Take him away Gaoler.

"At his fifth appearance : He was set to the Bar with James Groves, one of the felons.

"*Judge.* Was that one of the men that robbed you ?

"*Hymans.* This, I do declare as in the presence of God, was one of the men that robbed me.

"Groves, standing by, said nothing.

"Then T. Hymans was called up to the inner Bar, and the Oath tendered him again.

"*Hymans.* I have no reservation directly nor indirectly, but for conscience-sake in obedience to the command of Christ, I refuse to swear.

"*Judge.* I believe they will swear *you* robbed them.

"*Hymans.* Truth was before oaths were ; and truth will be when oaths shall end.

"*Judge.* But oaths are almost as old as truth : I tell you but so, Friend ; but I confess truth will endure longest. Why will you run into these troubles, and bring all these things on your self ?

"*Hymans.* Judge Levinz, I desire thee to do as thou wouldst be done unto. It is in pure obedience to the command of God, that I refuse to swear ; so that if I suffer, I suffer innocently.

"Then the Crier pushed him with his staff, and said Go back, and the Gaoler took him away.

"At his sixth appearance :

"*Judge.* Come, honest Friend, will you swear yet ?

"*Hymans.* No. The same I said at first, I say now : I have said it already.

"*Judge.* Well, what say you to the Indictment then ? Are you Guilty, or Not Guilty ?

"*Hymans.* I desire to have it read : [which was done:] I desire some time to consider to have my answer.

"*Judge.* No ; you shall have none : You shall give your answer presently.

"*Hymans.* Guilty of refusing to swear ; but to prosecute, give evidence and testify the truth, I am here ready : Therefore, Not Guilty.

"*Judge.* Will you confess the Indictment ?

"*Hymans.* No ; for then I should confess more than is true. It is an hard case that I should be robbed of my money, in peril of my life, and now I am come to testify the truth, should be put in prison myself. Must the innocent suffer, and the guilty go free ?

"*Judge.* Well, I will give you all the liberty I can ; I will defer judgment till at last : If you will swear, you shall be presently discharged of all that is like to come upon you.

"*Hymans.* I cannot swear, let what punishment will be inflicted on me. If I were confined to pass all the remainder of the days of my pilgrimage here in Prison, I had rather chuse to die unjustly thy prisoner, than to offend the Great God of Heaven and Earth, my Creator.

"So the Gaoler took him back again till the Afternoon.

"At his seventh appearance :

"*Judge.* Honest Friend, will you swear ?

“ *Hymans*. The same I said at first, I say now : I have said it already.

“ The people urged him exceedingly, and the Grand Jury prest him very hard ; but he continued stedfast, offering to give evidence, but refusing to swear.

“ He expected some sentence of the Judge against him, but heard none. So he was taken away by the Gaoler, carried to the Common Gaol, and there close confined, nor could he obtain any copy of the cause of his Commitment, though often desired.

“ At a subsequent Assizes, held at Taunton, about five months after, he was fined for the said offence, by Judge North, Five Pounds.”

What became of the *felons* in this instance we read not ; but it is probable they were discharged ‘ for want of evidence.’ Yet the Prosecutor offers, very early, to ‘ testify the truth, *as in the presence of God*’—and his testimony is rejected ! Is not this to make a sacrifice of the substance of Legal testimony to the form—and may we not now, with sincere thanks to Almighty God, and to the Legislature, felicitate ourselves in that change, which has replaced the substance on its right basis, under whatsoever form offered ? *Ed.*

ART. IV.—*Remarks on Scripture Passages.* Continued.

Acts i, 18, 19. These two verses are so clearly a parenthesis that the marks for it (if used any where) should not be omitted.

Ver. 22. ‘ Beginning from the baptism of *Jesus* by John.’ This I take to be intended—and why not expressed ? See Matt. iv : with the calling of four of the Apostles in the next Chapter.

Chap. ii, 15. For these *men* have not been drinking wine, as ye take upon you to say ; seeing, &c.

Ver. 17. We may observe, here, that the visions are allotted to the young and the dreams to the old, agreeably to their different habits—in the young, imaginative ; in the old, reflective. The Holy Spirit does not exchange our natural faculties for others, in employing man for God’s purposes : it actuates, improves, and enables us to use them after a manner unknown before : whether consciously and awake, as in reasoning, or involuntarily and by a kind of superinduction or sympathy, as in visions and dreams : the latter most serviceable, when they lead to proper reasonable conclusions in our waking hours.

Ver. 44, 45. ‘ And all that believed were together and had all things common ; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need.’ A proceeding suited to the state and prospects of the Church, in that juncture of time and circumstances. In the present day it is quite possible, and in good measure also the case, that *distribution is made to every man’s need*, without a surrender by individuals of their properties. This, however, only where the same principle of *Christian charity* obtains.

Chap. iii, 1—8. How fine an exhibition, in the outward, of that which *should be* the conduct of those who call themselves Apostles, in their treatment of the spiritually impotent and lame ! Such helps as these would do more for the souls of the unconverted, and more for God’s glory, than all the penal statutes, and fines of £20 *per mensem*,

or 12d. a Sunday, that Ecclesiastical blindness and fury hath ever obtained from the Civil power.

Chap. iv, 4. 'And the number of the men was *now* about five thousand.' Being that of the whole Church, not of the 'many' converts out of those who had heard Peter.

Ver. 15. 'That at least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them.' Proof of the entire faith of the sick and their friends in the healing power of God through him—but *not of any cures thus effected*. Compare, however, Ch. xix, ver. 12: in which cases, we must understand that the faith and good will of Paul himself co-operated with the faith of the persons healed.

Ver. 20. The speech of an Angel, who knew already what that 'life' was, which they were to hold out as the reward of our faith and patience here! Comp. John i.

Ver. 28. 'And seek to bring this man's blood upon us.' The natural inference of a guilty conscience, from the zeal and energy they saw displayed by the Apostles.

Chap. vi, 2. 'Then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them.' *Note*, here was a Council of the whole Church, convened on occasion of a serious dispute—and that, by those who might have decided the matter on their own responsibility, and by virtue of their office; which comprehended the conversion, and therefore the charitable succour also, of the Greeks. But they had a new and a wise measure to propose. Again, upon another difference which arose about *Ceremonies*, Chap. xv. though we read that the Apostles and Elders came together to consider of the matter, it does not appear either that they desired, or were able, to exclude the brethren who felt sufficient interest to accompany their teachers. And in the conclusion it is the Apostles and Elders, *with the whole Church*, who write letters, and send a deputation to the Gentile brethren in Antioch and other places, on the subject.

I think the Society of Friends has greatly the advantage, *in this respect*, of all other churches at the present day. They settle nothing for the 'whole multitude' but what the whole, in person or by their Representatives, can be present to object or agree to. And in no society, I believe, are the General regulations of the body more cheerfully complied with. Were but the word as well preached, and unity as well maintained, and charity as well followed after—what more would be left us to desire?

Ver. 22. It appears that the protomartyr himself, like Saul who kept the clothes of his executioners (that they might not be spoiled or run away with, by the rabble about) had been instructed in the *Jewish schools*—or we should not have had this account of Moses through him.

Ver. 38. 'Lively oracles,' in the Greek *Logia zōnta*, the living words. With which let the reader compare John i, and our Lord's own declarations; John vi, 68, and xiv, 9, 10. We call many things 'lively,' in common discourse, which have not in them more than a

secondary and derived measure of that which God's 'law of the spirit of life' has in itself, in fulness.

Ver. 42, 43. Did ye indeed observe punctually the ritual of the Law, while in the desert? Yes? but remember what ye did besides! And as ye then took up Moloch and Remphan, worthless and abominable idols, before the tabernacle of God, so will I now take you and transport you beyond Babylon!

Ver. 51. 'Stiff-necked, uncircumcised in heart and ears.' Unsubjected to God's law, unprepared, undisciplined.

It should seem that this abrupt transition to keen reproach, from the argument before going on, was caused by the manifest opposition the council were making to it in their spirits. Ver. 54. 'As they heard these things,' admits of some space in the preceding discourse for them to be cut to the heart, before they began to gnash their teeth upon him, and shew their rage.

Ver. 52. Literally, Whom ye have now betrayed, and have been *his* murderers.

Chap. viii, 1. 'Except the Apostles.' The reasons why they were exempted, at this time, may be gathered from the events related in Chap. v. They were in great honour with the people, having wrought many miracles. They had been imprisoned by a faction, the Sadducees, and released at the instance of an eminent Pharisee, by the whole Sanhedrin: so that there was not unanimity enough among the persecutors of the Church at large, to bring *them* into trouble, at present.

Ver. 23. 'In the bond of iniquity.' Does this refer to any special compact, which the Sorcerer was considered to have made with a demon, in reference to his magic? That such might be entered into was the belief of the Israelites of old; as appears clearly from 1 Kings xxi, 20: 2 Kings xvii, 17.

Ver. 26. A very short order, and requiring an implicit faith in Philip; who however, like the rest of the believers, had the witness in himself, (1 John v, 10,) to recur to, as to the Divine origin of the communication.

Ver. 31. The request of a wellbred person, put in terms that indicated a superior mind. And how know we but that this officer had seen Philip before, as a public character at Jerusalem, whither he had been to worship?

Chap. ix, 16. For I will shew him how much he *too* must suffer for my name's sake.

Chap. x, 16. 'The vessel was received up again into heaven.' The whole scene being a figure of the intended reception of the body of Gentiles, who should believe, into the Church; as now no longer unclean to the Jew, whose ceremonial and typical peculiarities were done away; the taking up again may be thought to have implied the continued care of the common Lord over the strangers, until they should obey the call and become members of his family upon earth. See Rom. x, 12: Eph. ii, 11-22.

Ver. 31. Add to the margin here, Matt. xvii, 2 : Mark ix, 2.

Ver. 34, 35. It is declared, here, by an Apostle of Christ, that in every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him. But some will say, 'It is impossible for those who have not the Gospel to work righteousness at all. They are perishing, every soul of them, for lack of knowledge.' Here is, however, a pregnant example of the contrary. Cornelius was a heathen, who (for aught that appears) had not so much as heard this doctrine preached, though he might have heard of Christ: yet he was a devout man, using prayer and alms and taking care of his household, also, in religious matters. What, then, did he lack? Precisely the things which he obtained; the gift of the Holy Ghost, and a recognition by the Church itself (in the outward rite then commonly used *for all such changes*) of such a member prepared, *by the secret influence of the power of God upon his spirit*, to come under an Apostle's hands. It may serve to allay our uncharitable heats, to reflect how many of such characters the world at large may contain at present. Let us be found doing our duty by them! Comp. xiii, 48.

Chap. ix, 21. 'And the hand of the Lord was with them.' We are not to restrict this to miracles alone: See 1 Thess. i, 5: 1 Cor. iv, 20.

Chap. xii, 4. 'Four quaternions of soldiers'—four watches of four men each; two with the prisoner within and two before the door, for six hours at a time. An effectual precaution against mere human attempts at liberation: but we see these guards frustrated at once by the ministry of 'an angel of the Lord!'

Chap. xiii, 2. 'Separate me Barnabas and Paul for the work whereunto I have called them.' It is idle, with such passages as these in view, to dispute whether or not the Holy Spirit be to be accounted a person! *Persona est qui loquitur*. We are to take him who speaks to be a person: the way to read and understand. A child might put us right, when we get into quibbles and pretend to hold the contrary. That it *was* God's Holy Spirit, the events of the two Chapters testify, sufficiently for the satisfaction of a believer in the Gospel itself.

Ver. 26. It appears that the Apostle, here, wished particularly to engage the favourable attention of the more pious of the congregation. From whom, as Jews, he in mild terms separates the Jews of Jerusalem, and the men in power there.

Chap. xv, 21. The sentiment is, Leave to the Jews the enforcing their own observances upon their own people.

Ver. 27. 'Judas and Silas.' The sending of these two, along with Paul and Barnabas, (who had hazarded their lives in the cause) may serve to show how strong was the prejudice the Apostles had to encounter, on the subject of circumcision.

Ver. 39. 'And the contention was so sharp between them.' *Egeneto oun paroxusmos*: Gr. 'Hence came a *sharpening*,' to-wit of temper; so that, &c. But this is not positively stated to have been 'between them:': the disgust may have been wholly with Barnabas and John-Mark. On the whole, we see Barnabas departing abruptly,

with the man of his choice to attend him; and Paul and Silas setting out in an orderly manner, with the prayers, and probably the testimonials of the Church. But we are not to infer that the ministry of Barnabas was set aside by this occurrence.

Chap. xvi, 40. 'Comforted them, and departed.' The season being now probably come in which they were required to labour elsewhere. And they must have left the Philippians, (who afterwards became a numerous church) under strong impressions of reverence for the gospel and the power of God. The *Gaoler* himself had been converted, with all his household, by the ministry of the word. And where this high-spirited officer is represented (ver. 30) as crying out, with trembling, 'What must I do to be saved?' we are not to suppose that the term 'saved' refers only to the danger (now indeed past) from the earthquake, and the loss of his prisoners. He must have been dull indeed, not to have apprehended more, from what had been passing in the city.

Chap. xvii, 22, 23. I perceive you are so addicted to the worship of demons (or tutelary spirits) that you have here an altar even to an unknown God. Him therefore whom ye thus unconsciously worship, I am about to declare to you in his proper character. Ver. 32. We may observe, that even those who scoffed at the mention of the resurrection, did not oppose or ridicule his doctrine of the ONE GOD.

Chap. xix, 9. 'Discoursing daily in the school of one Tyrannas.' These discourses were held to mixed audiences, the well inclined Jews preferring to follow Paul, though he had so plainly (xviii, 6) declared his mission to be now to the Gentiles—whose school, or Lecture-room he was accordingly obliged to use; the synagogues being shut against him.

Ver. 12. 'Handkerchiefs and aprons.' The original seems to justify the use of these precise terms—they were things to *wipe* with, and things to *gird* on, upon occasion, for cleanliness. They probably were brought to the Apostle for his use, and when soiled, taken to the sick. See 2 Kings, iv, 29, which seems to shew that this had been an ancient practice. That the faith of the sick persons in God, as Almighty but working through means and instruments, and the prayers of the Church for them, were of efficacy in these cases cannot be doubted. Compare Matt. ix, 29: Mark, v, 27: John, xiv, 12.

Ver. 13. 'We adjure you by Jesus.' The same word is used here as in Mark, v, 7: where, however, *the possessed person uses it to Jesus himself*: 'I adjure thee by God that thou torment me not.' The purport of this form of speech is not obvious. It seems to belong to that *occult science* (ver. 19) by which the unhallowed intercourse of sorcery and divination has been in all ages (may we not believe) maintained with those in the invisible world—and the *books for teaching which* (our rendering of 'curious arts' being a mere evasion of the sense) were collected and publicly burned by the people of this same city; when the prevalence of the mightily growing word of God had inspired them with a better confidence. *Ed.*

ART. V.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrine and practices of the Quakers.*

Continued from p. 167.

A. D. John Burnyeat makes his third Religious tour among the 1684-6. Friends in *Scotland*; the liberty of holding Religious meetings without molestation having there also, through much suffering, been attained.

John Burnyeat had visited *Scotland*, almost as early as there were any there under the name of quaker. In 1681, he had repeated his visit in company with Peter Fearon; and he now in 1684, in company with two other friends, spent about three weeks in holding meetings almost every day. It appears that he was particularly concerned that the decent order and care, becoming a Christian Church, should prevail and be maintained in all its branches. (a)

“The last religious meeting of the Society in *Aberdeen*, from which any of their number were conveyed to prison, appears to have been held on the 4th of November 1679, when Geo. Keith, Patrick Livingston, Thos. Mercer, Robt. Gordon, Robt. Winchester, Robt. Burnett, Robt. Barclay, Ochiltrie Ferindaile, John Milne, John Mercer, Andrew Jaffray, Geo. Gray, Will. Alexander, Robt. Sandilands, John Forbes, Daniel Hamilton and John Skene were apprehended and taken into custody; but in about three hours after they were all set at liberty. *From which period their solemn assemblies were held without molestation from the Magistrates.*” (b) The persevering efforts of Robert Barclay, who had great interest with the Duke of York, appear to have been the means of procuring this toleration.

“It was a settled observation among this people, as they strongly testify, that during their deepest sufferings at *Aberdeen*, they not only found the favour of God attending, but also his hand of Providence preserving them; so that while their spirits were continued cheerful, praising the Lord in the midst of the most grievous of their afflictions, even their bodies were kept in health and strength, beyond human expectations, under all that very unwholesome confinement.—During this persecution, their appointed meetings in that city were not only held at the usual times, but greatly increased in the number of attendants: the women, whose husbands were so frequently shut up in prison, failed not with their children to draw together, at the stated seasons, and in the accustomed places, for the worship of the Almighty.” (c)

Their persecutors in the mean time went down. The three public preachers of *Aberdeen*, Meldrum, Menzies and Mitchell, were removed from their office, one by death the others by law,—being deprived of their power and silenced from preaching. The Laird of Haddo, who being made *Chancellor* and lending an ear to the wicked lies that were fabricated to the prejudice of the Society, had become violent against them, proposed in the King’s Council, in concert with the Bishop of *Aberdeen*, to pull down Friends’ Meeting-house and destroy their school at Kinmuck: but found his colleagues averse to the measure, and within a very short time was displaced.

The miserable end of *Archbp. Sharpe* need not be recited. The Friends of *Aberdeen* testify of him, that he was the very chief and

(a) *John Barclay*: *Diary of Jaffray and Memoirs*, &c. p. 429.

(b) *Idem*. 421. (c) *Idem*. 422.

principal instrument of all their sufferings, by his power in the Council: one of those who procured that Commission by which the Friends were so unjustly sentenced, and who himself spoke very pressingly to some of the members of it, *to endeavour to root out the Quakers*. It appears that he was faithfully warned by Robert Barclay, about two years before his assassination. (d)

1686. David, the father of Robert Barclay, of Ury, departs this life.

A noble character with all classes, and among those champions who in that day fearlessly withstood the encroachments of Intolerance: his remains were interred near his own house on the 12th of October.

“After his son had been the means of procuring his liberation from prison, he was not much molested; his influence with those in power, or rather their respect for him, very much serving to ward off the malice of inferior magistrates.—

“For the most part David Barclay passed the remainder of his days in his own estate of Ury, enjoying with much satisfaction the tranquility of a country life, after many years of hardship and trial: possessing also in a high degree the esteem of all who knew him—but, above all, that inestimable treasure, the peace of God which passeth all understanding, and which is alone able to keep the soul, through Jesus Christ.” (e)

His triumphant end is recorded in ‘*Piety promoted*.’ He spoke of going to the Lord, and being gathered to many brethren gone before him, *and to his dear son*. This was his youngest son, David, who died at sea about a year before, *on his voyage to East Jersey*. He was an amiable youth of exemplary life and conversation, and was an acceptable preacher among Friends.

“Among the foremost in this prolonged contest for the excellent, pure liberty of the Gospel of truth and righteousness, was *Patrick Livingston*. He was born near Montrose, but marrying in England, about two months after came into his native country to visit his friends, where he soon partook of their ordinary portion—that of incarceration. To the great disadvantage of his temporal concerns, and grievous trial of the faith of his partner in life, the term of his detention in prison, from first to last, proved to be *three years*: during which time he was never called to appear before any judge or court, that he might have his crime laid to his charge or proved against him; although, at the desire of some who commiserated his hard condition, he was several times allowed his freedom, for very short intervals of a day or two only, speedily becoming entrapped again in the same snare [of preaching at the meetings of his friends, to be again imprisoned for it.]” (f)

It might have been expected, considering his late engagement, that he would have availed himself of a discharge to go back at once to England; but he merely returned to his post!—He would often acknowledge to his friends, that he still felt his mind fettered, so that he could not be satisfied to leave them: but after attending the Monthly Meeting in the 9th Mo. 1679, he appeared to have a prospect of the cessation of persecution, and signified that he was wholly clear, both in the sight of his Maker and with respect to all men, to return to his home in England. It was remarkable that, after this period, Friends were left to enjoy without interruption their religious meetings; nor were they afterwards deprived of their personal liberty, for endeavour-

(d) Idem. p. 424—426.

(e) Idem. p. 430—432.

(f) Idem. p. 447.

ing to fulfil the Apostolic injunction, 'I will that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting.' 1 Tim. ii, 8. (g)

This Friend, Patrick Livingston, with George Gray and Andrew Jaffray, had been in the practice of addressing the people from their prison windows, especially on market days, exhorting them to fear the Lord and obey the gospel of his grace. The practice being highly displeasing to the Magistrates, they were separated from the rest 'and violently thrust up into a close vaulted cell, situated on the top of the gaol [the Tolbooth of Aberdeen] called the Iron-house, where the worst of felons and murderers were usually confined; and where they had neither light nor air, except through a long hole in the thick wall, which had a double grating of iron on the outside, and another within.' It proved a most loathsome dungeon, swarming with maggots and other vermin, it being in the heat of summer. Yet from this opening, at the height of four or five stories, where they could see no one, it is stated that they were *still distinctly heard preaching, all over the street, by the people*, who the more frequently [for this strange manner of being addressed] got together. After seven weeks trial of this kind of durance they were let back to their friends. (h)

ART. VI.—POETRY.—*A Night Dialogue.*

(Printed in the Public Ledger, Dec. 14th, 1815.)

By the time this next part of my work is in circulation the winter will be coming upon us—it may be with severity, the last very mild season, and the long interval since the Thames was frozen over, considered. I hope I am not at such times without sympathy for my fellow *men*, the poor, and their families—but many others will think of them besides, and the bread and coals will travel about, I dare say, as heretofore to those in need; the occasion presenting. My present aim is, again, to remind considerate persons (considerate of their servants and their housekeeping) of a thing that I fear too commonly escapes their notice, the due feeding and proper lodging of those animals which, for our sakes, are nightly exposed abroad, to the influence of the elements; and which, I fear, have often to endure acute pain from cold and hunger, without the possibility of remedy or escape. It should be a question to the proper servant, every now and

(g) I may observe, respecting the important text here quoted, that I have long believed it not to be truly rendered from the Greek, in our version; and could wish that those who may, hereafter, be concerned in a revision, would try if it may not bear this sense.—I will that all men pray, everywhere, lifting up *their* hallowed hands [become such in God's sight by their conversion to the faith in Christ] without haste or hesitancy.—I cannot see what *wrath*, in the common acceptation of the word, has to do with prayer: but the word will bear the sense above given. Again, it seems not to be a doubting whether the duty shall be performed or not, (as matter of judgment) but the natural reluctance of fallen creatures to this humiliation of themselves, that the Apostle had in view in that advice. *Ed.*

(h) *Idem.* p. 420.

then at night, with a good master or mistress, Are the dogs fed, and have they straw? And seeing homely prose, and on a homely subject, is too apt to be forgotten, I once put it in verse, and printed it (but on a fugitive sheet, alas! not being then *in* with the bookseller, for a volume) and here it is again at my reader's service! *Ed.*

Cæsar! why do you bark all night?
It makes me fret to hear you.
Why, Master, if I guess aright,
My tale will not much cheer you.

Suppose *yourself* without a bed,
Without your supper too,
Chain'd to a watch-box by the head,
Should we not HEAR from you?

Since *Tom* is such a thoughtless elf,
And *Susan's* so unfeeling,
I beg you'll interfere yourself,
And let them spend a shilling.

A little straw would keep the wind
From searching to my bones;
And a meal pudding I should find
Better to lick than stones.

When Winter grim opes wide his mouth,
And snows come thick and double,
To turn my kennel to the *South*
Were not a deal of trouble.

But, once well serv'd, you'll nap too sound—
Oh, Master, do not fear it,
There's not a foot comes on your ground,
But, tho' asleep, I hear it! *H.*

ERRATA in the present Half-volume.

Page 15. 1 Sam. x, ii, read x, 11.

56. Dimunitive, read diminutive.

58. Mark vi, read xvi.

151. Nantwich read Nortwich.

Notice. The Subscription for an Annuity for Joseph Lancaster, noticed at page 96, amounts at the present time (Eleventh Mo. 15) at the Bankers', to £1053. Some addition to it is yet wanted for the purpose there announced. *Ed.*

CHARLES ELCOCK, PRINTER, PONTEFRACT.

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PRO PATRIĀ.

1834.

ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrine and practices of the Quakers.*

Continued from p. 176.

It was never my design to make this *Summary* a complete abstract of even the 'Sufferings' of the Society of Quakers; much less of their History in every part of the world in which they have appeared. I have aimed at bringing afresh under the review of my Friends in profession and the notice of the Public, those parts of it, chiefly, which might at the present juncture subserve to the establishment of RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, in this country. We are now coming to a period in the work in which *Toleration*, that middle step towards an entire freedom of the Conscience, will be found recognised, and sanctioned by the three Estates of the realm; *after a Revolution in the Government effected by force of arms*. The Quakers, who had so largely contributed by a resistance purely passive to this downfall of Arbitrary power, took no part in the measures which were now *actively* carried on to effect it. When the King, who was so soon to abdicate the throne, perceiving it already shaken by his own and his evil counsellors' proceedings, had begun to promise largely (and in part to perform) on the vital subject abovementioned, this Society chose, in common with many other dissenters, to take him at his word; and thanked him, as warmly as if the exclusive interests of his own Creed had been in nowise concerned in these measures: or that there was not to be apprehended a future substitution of the more ancient for the more modern (*so called Reformed*) *Religious Establishment*, in all its

terrors. I shall take this proceeding first, among those (concerning Friends) which intervened between the *cessation of actual violence* towards them, and their *protection by Law*.

A. D. Friends of London present to the King the following Address. 1687.

“ To king James II. over England, &c.

“ The humble and thankful address of several of the king’s subjects, commonly called Quakers, in and about the city of London, on behalf of themselves and those of their communion.

“ May it please the King.

“ Though we are not the first in this way, yet we hope we are not the least sensible of the great favours we are come to present the king our humble, open, and hearty thanks for; since no people have received greater benefits, as well by opening our prison-doors, as by his late excellent and Christian declaration for liberty of conscience; none having more severely suffered, nor stood more generally exposed to the malice of ill men, upon the account of religion; and though we entertain this act of mercy with all the acknowledgments of a persecuted and grateful people; yet we must needs say, it doth the less surprise us, since it is what some of us have known to have been the declared principle of the king, as well long before, as since he came to the throne of his ancestors.

“ And as we rejoice to see the day that a king of England should from his royal seat so universally assert this glorious principle, that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced for matters of mere religion; (the want of which happy conduct in government, has been the desolation of countries, and reproach of religion) so we do with humble and sincere hearts, render to God first, and the king next, our sensible acknowledgments; and because they cannot be better expressed than in a godly, peaceable, and dutiful life, it shall be our endeavour (with God’s help) always to approve ourselves the king’s faithful and loving subjects; and we hope that after this gracious step the king hath made towards the union of his people, and security of their common interest has had a due consideration, there will be no room left for those fears and jealousies that might render the king’s reign uneasy, or any of them unhappy.

“ That which remains, great prince, for us to do, is to beseech Almighty God (by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice) to inspire thee more and more with his excellent wisdom and understanding, to pursue this Christian design of ease to all religious dissenters, with the most agreeable and lasting methods; and we pray God to bless the king, his royal family and people, with grace and peace; and that after a long and prosperous reign here, he may receive a better crown amongst the blessed.

“ Which is the prayer of,” &c. (a)

This address was followed, after some time, by a second to the same purport, from the society assembled in Yearly Meeting, (the 19th of 3rd Mo. *May* 1687) which was presented to the King at Windsor, by a deputation including the name of *William Penn*. The latter in delivering it made an introductory speech, the most remarkable words in which are these, ‘ I would not that any should think we came hither to fill the Gazette with our thanks; but as our sufferings would have moved stones to compassion, so *we* should be harder, if we were not moved to gratitude:’—the most pointed reflection, on a most unfeeling Court, that could have been conceived! The conclusion of the address offers a sentiment which must not be passed by: ‘ We can

(a) Gough iii. p. 189—191.

assure the king, it [the toleration] is well accepted in the counties from whence we came:—we hope the good effects thereof *for the peace, trade and prosperity* of the kingdom, will produce *such a concurrence from the PARLIAMENT as may secure it to our posterity in after times*; and while we live, it shall be our endeavour through God's grace, to demean ourselves as, in conscience to God and duty to the king, we are obliged.'

The king in his reply (which was addressed more particularly to Penn) took no notice of the Parliament; but said, 'What I have promised in my declaration, I will continue to perform as long as I live; and I hope before I die to settle it so, that after ages shall have no reason to alter it.' (b)

A. D. 1687. The King dispenses, in favour of individual quakers, with the usual oaths of office, and causes goods that had been taken from them by Legal distraint (and which lay unsold) to be restored.

Whitehall, Nov. 6, 1687.

[To the Lord Mayor] "My Lord,

"The king being informed that Edward Brooker, Henry Jefferson, and Joseph Tomlinson, being Quakers, are by Mr. Barker, steward of Southwark, put upon several offices, as constables and the like, which they are willing to do; but the oaths being tendered to them, from which they think themselves exempted by the king's declaration for liberty of conscience, they are threatened to be fined and otherwise molested, for their refusal to take them: his majesty commands me to let your lordship know, that his pleasure is, that the said Edward Brooker, Henry Jefferson, and Joseph Tomlinson, and all other Quakers, should now, and for the future, either be allowed to serve the said offices, without taking any oaths, or else that they be not fined or otherwise molested upon that account; and his majesty would have you give order therein accordingly.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

Sunderland." (c)

"Whitehall, Dec. 14, 1687.

"Gentlemen,

"The king being informed that some goods belonging to John Wales, and other Quakers of Leeds, which were seized and taken from them upon the account of their religious worship, do remain unsold in the hands of John Todd, who was constable at the time of the seizure, or in the hands of some other persons; and his majesty's intention being, that all his subjects shall receive the full benefit of his declaration for liberty of conscience, his majesty commands me to signify his pleasure to you, that you cause the goods belonging to the said John Wales, and all other Quakers of Leeds which were heretofore seized upon the account of religious worship, and are unsold, in whose hands soever they remain, to be forthwith restored to the respective owners, without any charge.

I am, gentlemen,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

Sunderland."

"For Mr. Mayor and the Aldermen of Leeds in the county of York." (c c)

The dispensation regarding oaths of office was, in the following

(b) Gough: History, iii, 194. After which this writer gives, in a clear and decided manner, his own sentiments, and those of the independent part of the Society, regarding the presumed insincerity of James. (c) Sewel, ii, 440: See also p. 178 of this Volume. (c c) Whitehead, 623.

year, on petition and at the king's command, extended [by warrant to the Attorney-General,] to *Thomas Howard* and thirty-seven others, in order to make them freemen of the city of Norwich. (d)

A. D. 1688. The king's exercise of a dispensing power being deemed unconstitutional, *seven of the Bishops* who had petitioned against it (on occasion of being required to cause his declaration for liberty of conscience to be read in all churches and chapels) are committed to the Tower.

This event, which resulted in the trial by Jury and triumphant acquittal of the prelates, would not have claimed a place here, but for a visit paid them in their confinement by *Robert Barclay*. 'The popular opinion was in favour of the bishops, yet the former severities of some of that order against dissenters, particularly against Friends, occasioned some reflections on them. Which coming to the knowledge of the imprisoned bishops, they declared that the Quakers had belied them, by reporting that they had been the death of some. Robert Barclay being informed of this declaration went to the Tower, and gave the bishops a substantiated account of some persons having been detained in prison till death, by order of bishops; though they had been apprised of the danger by physicians who were not Quakers. He however observed to the bishops, that it was by no means the intention of Friends to publish such events, and thereby give the king and their other adversaries any advantage against them.' (e)

Great dissatisfaction continuing in the nation, at the proceedings of King James and his Council, for the establishment of an arbitrary power in the Crown, and the introduction of those of the Romish faith (which he openly followed) into places of trust and profit under him, invitations are given to the Prince of Orange (his son in law) to come over and assume the government.

It is not my province to recite here the several public grievances of this period. A principal one certainly was, the king's dispensing with the operation of penal statutes in favour of the Romanists, though by a collateral (and for the time necessary) toleration of the several denominations of dissenters. This, with his arbitrary and oppressive conduct towards the two Universities, and such of the superior Clergy as dared to dispute his will, gave an alarm to the *Church Establishment* which sufficed to undermine the foundation of James's power in England. In *Scotland*, where he had also proclaimed liberty of conscience (and was thanked for it by Friends) he was not much better liked. Ireland alone now remained in his interest. He had in the Court of France a firm and powerful ally: but the recent cruelties exercised there and elsewhere upon the Protestants (many thousands of whom had fled to England) could not fail to make that connexion odious to the English people. (f)

(d) Sewel, p. 447. (e) Barclay's Life 1802, p. 70: Sewel, ii, 443.

(f) Burnet says of the year 1685. 'This year—must ever be remembered as the most fatal to the Protestant religion. In February, a King of England

It is again on account of transactions, in which some leading members of our Society were personally concerned, that I am obliged to dwell a little on this particular juncture of affairs. They affect, first, William Penn; and secondly, Robert Barclay.

1. *Penn* had been from his youth the intimate friend (and in that capacity could hardly escape being the occasional adviser) of the king. A late celebrated historian notices him as such, and thinks that he now contributed to detach James from the Church, and turn his favour more towards the dissenters. (g) That the advice of the founder of Pennsylvania would be in firm support of Religious liberty no one can doubt, who has read his history and writings: but that he had no secret leaning towards the king's own religion, may be made a question of, now, by some; as his being a Romanist and even a *Jesuit*, was then made an open imputation on him, by many. We must therefore give him room to speak for himself.

Gerard Croese, a cotemporary of Penn, (whose history of the quakers I have read, but now quote it through *Clarkson*) says of him:

"William Penn was greatly in favour with the king, the quaker's sole patron at Court, on whom the hateful eyes of his enemies were intent. The king loved him as a singular and entire friend, and imparted to him many of his secrets and counsels. He often honoured him with his company in private, discoursing with him of various affairs; and that not for one but many hours together, and delaying to hear the best of his Peers, who at the same time were waiting for an audience. One of them being envious and impatient of delay, and taking it as an affront to see the other more regarded than himself, adventured to take the freedom to tell his Majesty, that when he met with *Penn* he thought little of his Nobility [his Nobles.] The king made no other reply, than that *Penn* always talked *ingenuously* and he heard him willingly.—

"*Penn* refused none of his friends any reasonable office he could do for them.— Hence his house and gates were daily thronged by a numerous train of clients and suppliants, desiring him to present their addresses to his majesty: there were sometimes there two hundred and more."

The facility with which such an intimacy might be converted to purposes prejudicial to the *Establishment*, was sure to give origin to surmises; which at length came to public rumour, and to assertions. *Dr. Tillotson* first, and afterwards his more particular friend William Pople, the Secretary of Trade and Plantations, gave him occasion to correspond with them on the subject. The latter says, 'To have had so great a part in them [the king's late councils] as you are said to have had, can happen to none [say the imputers] but an absolute Papist. That is the direct charge—but that is not enough. Your post is too considerable for a Papist of an ordinary form, and therefore you must be a Jesuit: nay (to confirm that suggestion)—that you

declared himself a Papist. In June, *Charles, Elector Palatine*, dying without issue, the Electoral dignity went to the house of *Newburgh* [Nieuberg] a most bigotted Popish family. In October, the King of France recalled and vacated the *Edict of Nantz*: and in December, the Duke of Savoy, being brought to it not only by the persuasions but even by the threatenings of the Court of France, recalled the *Edict* that his father had granted to the *Vaudois*. Hist. of his own Times. ii, 344.

(g) Lingard, viii, 400.

have been bred at St. Omer's in the Jesuit's college; that you have taken orders at Rome, and there obtained a dispensation to marry; and that you have, since then, frequently officiated as a Priest in the celebration of the *Mass*, at Whitehall, St. James's, and other places. And this being admitted, nothing can be too black to be cast upon you. *Whatsoever is thought amiss, either in Church or State, though never so contrary to your advice, [so often published to the world] is boldly attributed to it.*

To which Penn replies (as to the matter of fact, and) in a letter, as the Secretary's was, of some length:

'The business chiefly insisted upon is my Popery, and endeavours to promote it. I do say then, and that with all sincerity, *that I am not only no Jesuit but no Papist*: and, which is more, I never had any temptation upon me to be it, either from doubts in my own mind about the way I profess, or from the discourses or writings of any of that religion. *And in the presence of Almighty God I do declare, that the king did never once, either directly or indirectly, attack me or tempt me upon that subject*, the many years that I have had the advantage of a free access to him. So unjust, as well as sordidly false, are all the stories of the town!' And in another part of the letter,—'I say then, solemnly, that I am so far from having been bred at St. Omer's, and having received orders from Rome, that I never was at either place, nor do I know any body there; nor had I ever a correspondence with any body in those places.'

He observes that no priest could by any dispensation be a married man; and vindicates his frequency at Whitehall, on the ground of the many occasions he had to serve others, with some of his own.

'Pray tell me' he says 'if I am bound to oppose any thing I am not called to do. I never was a member of Council, Cabinet or Committee, where the affairs of the kingdom are transacted. I have had no office or trust, and consequently nothing can be said to be done by me; nor, for that reason, could I lie under any test or obligation to discover my opinion of public acts of state; and therefore neither can any such acts, or my silence about them, in justice be made my crime. Volunteers are blanks and cyphers in all Governments: and unless calling at Whitehall once a day, upon many occasions, *or my not being turned out of nothing* [as many were, just then, out of considerable places] for that *no office* is, be the evidence of *my compliance in disagreeable things*, I know not what else can with any truth be alleged against me.' (h)

This may suffice for my readers; who, if they desire more, will find the whole of the correspondence worth perusing.

2. *Robert Barclay* was likewise the personal friend of this monarch, who had occasionally heard both him and Penn in their ministry, at large meetings for worship held in the country. In the early part of this year he made a journey to London, took with him his son Robert, then sixteen years of age, and introduced him to the Court at Windsor; where he remained some considerable time, being much caressed, it is said on account of his father's interest, which occasioned numerous dependents: and he appears to have conducted himself so as to incur no reproach, even with Quakers. Before the father quitted London, the Revolution was prepared; and Barclay now took his last leave of the king, 'for whose apparent misfortunes he was much concerned, having several times discoursed with him upon the posture of affairs at that juncture, *about settling the differences likely to arise*; and some-

(h) Life of Penn, i, 441: ii, 5—36.

times [it is said] agreeable resolutions were taken, but *one way or other* prevented from being executed.'

At their parting, being in a window with the king [one of those bay-windows I conclude, which *Bacon* terms 'pleasant retiring places for conference'] where none other was present [the king] looking out, said the wind was now fair for the Prince of Orange coming over. Upon which [Barclay] took occasion to say, It was hard that *no* expedient could be found out, to satisfy the people. To which the king replied, That he would do any thing becoming a gentleman, except to part with liberty of conscience, which he never would while he lived! (i) The Prince and his consort had refused to consent to an entire abolition of *Religious tests*, though on the proposal of James himself. But it is manifest that, on this very important question, the parties differing had their reserves in their own breasts when they spoke of the thing: and never would do it in such a manner as to be fully understood by each other.

1688. The leading members of the society continue to propagate and defend their doctrine by the press.

1. About twelve years back, *Robert Barclay* had been engaged in some verbal controversy with the Heer *Adrian Paets*, whom he stiles 'a man of no mean account both in the learned and politic world.' *Paets* had been ambassador from the United Provinces to *Spain*; on his return from which mission, Barclay appears to have fallen in with him in Holland, in 1676. The subject treated between them was 'Immediate Revelation:' on which *Paets*, not being then satisfied, had desired that the Apologist would reconsider the arguments *he* had advanced against it. Barclay did so, and finding them (as he says) the weaker the more they were examined, wrote to him from his prison in Aberdeen a *Latin Letter* on the subject, of considerable length. Meeting with the Heer again, in London in 1685, in the capacity of Commissioner of the Dutch East India Company, the conference was renewed: and *Paets* having nothing new to advance, at length acknowledged that he had been mistaken in his estimate of the Quakers; and now found *they could make a reasonable plea for the foundation of their religion.*

The letter was published by Benjamin Furlly at Rotterdam, 1678, and a translation of it into English in this country, 1686, (the last of his works) the title being, 'The possibility and necessity of the Inward Immediate Revelation of the Spirit of God, toward the foundation and Ground of true Faith, proved in a Letter writ in Latin to a person of quality in Holland; and now also put into English: by R. B.' The following is an extract of the 'Advertisement to the Reader.'

"It is a question now frequently tossed, What is the ground and foundation of Faith? And when the matter is sifted to the bottom, it resolves in *Tradition or Revelation.* For those who lay claim to the Scripture, and would make it the foundation of their faith, do resolve it but in a Tradition, when the motives of credibility are inquired into; since the *subjective* revelation [see p. 6, of Art. 2,

(i) *John Barclay: Memoirs: p. 447.*

in No. 49] which they yield, comes but in the last place, and is by themselves termed *medium incognitum assentiendi*. [And he proceeds to say that both the Protestants and 'those of Rome' confess themselves to be influenced by this to receive, the one the interpretations of their doctors, the other those of the Church; the one however denying, the other affirming the *Infallibility* of the Church, in such interpretation.] 'And I find [he says] the doctors of their [the Protestant] Church as angry to be contradicted as the others. That is an ingredient goes to the composition of all Clergymen; since it became a trade and went to make a part of the outward policy of the world: *from whence has flowed that monster, PERSECUTION!*'

'In short, the matter is easily driven into this narrow compass: We believe either because of an outward or an inward testimony; that is, because it [the Truth] is outwardly delivered or inwardly revealed to us. For my part, I think the Papists do wisely *in pleading for Infallibility*: for certainly the *true Church* never was, nor can be, without it: And the Protestants do honestly *in not claiming it*; because they are sensible they want it: [are without it; like the others, who yet plead it.] I should therefore desire the one to prove, *that they are infallible*: and the other, to believe they may [be so] and seek after it: But I am sure, neither the one is, nor the other cannot, without *Immediate Divine Revelation*.—The *asserting of Infallibility in the Church of Christ*, is not the error of the Church of Rome; but the pretending to it, when they have it not, and placing it where they should not.' (j)

'This Letter' says the writer of his Life 'is wholly argumentative; and it has been considered, by some who have read it with attention, as one of the Author's most accurate pieces. It has much of a Metaphysical cast, and is rather calculated for the learned, and the nice discerners, than for the ignorant and simple; and was probably on that account the more acceptable to the person to whom it was addressed.' (k)

2. *William Penn* published, 1686, 'A Persuasive to moderation to Church-dissenters, in prudence and conscience: Humbly submitted to the King and his great Council.' It occupies eighteen pages in his Works in large folio: and the following sentiments appear in the excellent *Epistle* introducing it.

The heat, aversion, and scorn, with which some men have treated all thoughts of ease to dissenters, is the cause of enquiry upon what ground those 'gentlemen' proceed:—It is a severe reflection upon the age, that though *Pagan Emperors* could endure the addresses of Primitive Christians, and *Christian Cæsars* receive the Apologies of Infidels, yet it should be thought an offence to seek, or have, *Indulgence* of a Christian prince, 'whose interest (says the author) *I dare say it is, and who himself so lately wanted it.*'—'Tis dangerous, they say, for the Prince to suffer it, while *himself is a dissenter*—a difficulty beyond all skill to remove! Yet, dissent being the Prince's interest, it will naturally follow that the indulged dissenter will be *in* this interest:—For interest will not lye: men embarked in the same vessel seek the safety of the whole, in their own—and self-safety is the highest worldly security a Prince can have; for, though all parties would rejoice their own principle prevailed, yet every party is more solicitous about its *own* safety, than the other's verity.'

The *Establishment* appears to have reasoned thus, also; and being the stronger party to have resorted to *force*, that 'last argument of kings,' against the *king* himself; rather than admit what follows.

(j) Works in Folio: p. 892.

(k) Life of Barclay. Ed. 1802: p. 121.

‘Wherefore it cannot be unwise, by the security of all, to make it the interest as well as duty OF ALL to advance that of the public.’

“I remember it is made in Livy the wisdom of the Romans, that they relaxed their hand to the Privernates, and thereby made them most faithful to their interest. And it prevailed so much with the Petilians, that they would endure any extremity from Hannibal, rather than desert their friendship; even then when the Romans discharged their fidelity, and sent them the despair of knowing they could not relieve them. So did one act of humanity overcome the Falisci, above arms. Which confirms that noble saying of Seneca, *Mitius imperanti, melius paretur*: the mildest conduct [in ruling] is best obeyed; a truth celebrated by Grotius and Campanella, practised doubtless by the bravest princes. For Cyrus exceeded when he built the Jews a temple—and himself no Jew; Alexander astonished the princes of his train, with the profound veneration he paid the High-priest of that people; and Augustus was so far from suppressing the Jewish worship, that he sent Hecatombs to Jerusalem to increase their devotion. Moderation filled the reigns of the most renowned Cæsars; and story says they were *Neros* and *Caligulas*, that loved cruelty.” (l)

In 1687, he published ‘Good advice to the Church of England, Roman Catholick and Protestant dissenter: in which it is endeavoured to be made appear, that it is their Duty, principle and interest, to abolish the Penal laws and Tests. *Beati pacifici*.’ This piece, of 22 p. folio, had the following Laconic Introduction:

“To the Reader: Reader, no matter who, but what? And yet if thou wouldst know the Author, he is an Englishman, and therefore obliged to his country, and the Laws that made him free. That single consideration was enough to command this undertaking: for it is to persuade his countrymen to be delivered of the greatest yoke a nation can well suffer; *Penal Laws for Religion*, I mean. And now thou hast both the *Who*, and *What*. If thou art wise and good, thou art above my epithets, and more my flatteries: if *not*, I am in the right to let them alone. *Liberty*, English and Christian, is all that is sought for in the ensuing discourse.” (m)

After near a century and a half of further endurance on the part of those who, being the weaker side, had no sound remedy left them save patience, and ‘persuasives to moderation,’ this nuisance is in great part abated. There remains still the virtual proscription, the ill name, and consequent exclusion from ‘good company’ in the favoured denomination, of the man who dares to choose his own Creed. And *this* no Act of the Legislature, no Royal proclamation will ever be effectual to remove. It is only by humbling ourselves in the sight of Him who made of one blood all nations (and, *a fortiori*, all the sects of *one*) that we shall come to receive at God’s hands the grace of Charity, and love and serve and give place to one another. The *Lord*, of his mercy to his poor suffering Church (dispersed through all the differing denominations) hasten the time of our Reconciliation. It is the god *Mammon*, that yet stands in the way!

3. *George Fox*, whose duty now lay chiefly in and about London, among his suffering Friends, was not idle with his pen. Beside many shorter Epistles and other papers, to be found in his Journal and in a collection to be hereafter cited, he wrote about this time the following, which appear in his *Doctrinals*, viz:

(l) Works, folio 613.

(m) Idem 633.

1685. "A Distinction between the two Suppers of Christ; namely the Last supper, in the same night that he was betrayed, before he was crucified, and the Supper after he was risen and ascended, at the right hand of God: which he calls people to in Rev. 3. *To hear his voice and open the door, and he will sup with them and they shall sup with him.*—Likewise something concerning Christ the resurrection of the just; and [of the resurrection of the] unjust.—And also concerning the Stone cut out of the mountain without hands, which smote the image, Dan. 2.—And concerning Christ the vine: and the Jews, how that God planted them a noble vine but they degenerated, and destroyed [slew] the Lord's servants, and Son that come to look for fruits.." 20 pp. folio, pa. 333.

Same year: "To all kings, princes, rulers, governors, bishops and clergy, that profess Christianity in Christendom: being a distinction between the laws commandments and ordinances of the Higher powers, for the punishment of evil-doers and for the praise of them that do well, And the Ordinances, doctrines and commands of men concerning Religion and worship; [and things] which are not to be touched tasted or handled: And [of] the Hand-writing and Ordinances among the Jews, which Christ hath blotted out." 15 pp. folio, pa. 954. (n)

Same year: 'A distinction between true Liberty and false' [in a spiritual sense] 4 pp. pa. 969. 'How the Unchangeable God is, and how all people may know Him, and in what He is worshipped and served,' 3 pp, pa. 972.

1686. 'A true account of the sensible, thankful and holy state of God's people; and of his speaking to them, both in the Old and New Covenant.—How the Lord spake unto Moses, in the outward Tabernacle in the Old Testament, and God speaks now by his Son in the New Testament, in the tabernacle and hearts of his People.—To all Magistrates in Christendom that do profess Christianity: Concerning Christian Gospel liberty, against persecution, and one Christian forcing, persecuting, imprisoning, and spoiling the goods of another; because they will not be of their faith, worship or religion.' In all three, 8 pp. pa. 975.

At the conclusion of the last, he reminds the Professors of Christianity, that they pray to God *conditionally*, when they ask of Him the forgiveness of their sins: a matter, one would think, very little adverted to by such as persecute for Religion—but which will one day be brought to their remembrance (we are assured Matt. xxv,) in a sentence they cannot put from them.

1687. 'How God's people are not to take the names of the Heathen gods in their mouths, nor follow their customs, nor learn their ways'—'A Testimony for God's Truth: First, concerning New and Heavenly Jerusalem, and Jerusalem from below: Secondly, concerning Christ, *the great mountain* that fills the whole earth: Thirdly, How man and woman was created in the Image of God, and to be meet helps one to another: Fourthly, How every one ought to improve the talent God gives them, to his glory and their Eternal happiness.'—'How all nations may see, with the *Light*, the Life in Christ: him, the great mountain that fills the whole earth.' Together 10 pp. pa. 983.

1688. 'Concerning the Apostate Christians, that think to do miracles by dead men's bones, &c.: Of praying to the saints that are dead, and asking counsel of the dead, and praying for the dead. Concerning Purgatory, and making a god or Christ of the elements of bread and wine: Concerning the traditions the Jews taught, which made the word and commandment of God of none effect, and the traditions the Apostate Christians teach people to follow and set up, above the

(n) The Apostle, in the passage, Col. ii. 20, 21, 22, (here quoted) does not charge the believers, who are *dead* with Christ from the rudiments of the world, not to touch taste or handle the *ordinances*; but requires to know why, as though *living* in the world, they were subject to them. The words 'touch not' &c. are merely an exemplification of his meaning: they were *fasts* and *abstinences* of various kinds; and all to *pass away*. Ed.

Scriptures of Truth: How *Christ* is the true *Rock*, and not *Peter*: and that *He* is the head of the true Church, and so to be held by his members. The Antiquity of the Cross of Christ, which was and is acknowledged to be the *Power of God*, by his true Church.' pp. 8. pa. 994.

A. D. William Penn arrested by the Government, and obliged to 1688. put in bail.

"On the 10th of December, walking in Whitehall [the Prince of Orange having already landed in the country] he was sent for by the *Lords of the Council*, then sitting. (o) Nothing appeared against him; and he himself assured them 'that he had done nothing but what he could answer before God, and all the princes in the world; that he loved his Country and the Protestant religion, above his life, and never acted against either; that all he ever aimed at in his publick endeavours, was no other than what the *Prince* himself had declared for; that K. James was always his friend, and his father's friend, and in gratitude he was the king's, and did ever, as much as in him lay, *influence him to his true interest*: [something of which kind, being suspected by the Council at this time, doubtless gave occasion to the arrest]. They obliged him to give sureties for his appearance the first day of the next term; which he did, and then was continued on the same security to the Easter term following: on the last day of which, nothing having been laid to his charge, he was cleared in open court." (p)

King James abdicates the throne.

The following is Burnet's account of this event:

"The King continued a week at Rochester: and both he himself and every body else saw that he was at full liberty, and that the guard about him put him under no sort of restraint: [a liberty he was, however, in no condition to make use of but by escape; all his Friends having either already gone over to the Prince, or been disabled from assisting him any where in England.] Many that were zealous for his interests went to him, and pressed him to stay and see the issue of things: a party would appear for him: good terms would be got for him, and things would be brought to a reasonable agreement. He was much distracted between his own inclinations and the importunities of his friends. The Queen, hearing what had happened, writ [from the French Court] a most vehement letter to him, pressing his coming over, remembering him of his promise; which she charged on him in a very earnest if not an imperious strain. This letter was intercepted: I had an account of it from one that read it. The Prince ordered it to be conveyed to the king: *and that determined him*. So he gave secret orders to prepare a vessel for him; and drew a paper, which he left on the table, *reproaching the nation for their forsaking him!* He declared that, though he was going to seek for foreign aid to restore him to his Throne, yet he would not make use of it, to overthrow either the Religion established, or the Laws of the land. And so he left Rochester very secretly, *the last day of this memorable year*, [N. S.] and got safe over to France." (q)

(o) A 'Great Council' of Peers, forty in number and all of them Protestants, assembled at Whitehall by summons from King James, to advise him upon the measures necessary to satisfy the Prince and the nation.

(p) Penn's Life, prefixed to his Works, xlv. Lingard says the Security was in £6000 penalty.

(q) History of his own Times, ii, 551.

A. D. Decease of *William Dewsbury*, and of *Rebecca Travers*. 1688.

“In this year died William Dewsbury, one of the first [earliest] preachers among those called Quakers, having been a very zealous teacher, and an eminent instrument to the conversion of many. He was born in Yorkshire; and in his youth was a shepherd, and afterwards put apprentice to a clothier; but when the Civil wars broke out, he became a soldier, and joined with those who *said* they fought for the Gospel. Now, though he was religious according to his knowledge, yet growing more and more serious, and turning his mind inward, he saw there were inward and spiritual enemies to encounter with; according to the saying of the Apostle, ‘We wrestle not with flesh and blood, but against spiritual wickedness.’ And this state was inwardly manifested to him in the words of our Saviour, ‘Put up thy sword into thy sheath. If my kingdom were of this world then would my servants fight.’ This wrought so powerfully upon his mind that he could no longer meddle with martial affairs, but left the army and returned to his former calling; endeavouring to improve in true godliness. In which he so advanced, gradually, that when George Fox in the year 1651 came to Balby in Yorkshire, and preached the gospel there, he could not but consent to the doctrine declared by him, as being the same of which he himself was already convinced in his mind.” (r)

Thus far from *Sewel*, I have already made occasional mention of William Dewsbury, and given some account of his end; Vol II. p. 381: also a letter of his to Geo. Fox, written in 1655: *Idem*. p. 268. I shall therefore now only add two extracts from the middle and concluding part of his *last sermon in public*, taken in short hand at Grace church Street the 6th of the Third Mo. 1688, as a specimen of the preaching of the “shepherds” of that day.

“It is God’s infinite goodness to men, that he will hide pride from them, and humble them under his mighty hand. *This* is the condition of poor creatures that are slain by the hands of the Most High! How may I know when I am slain and baptized [into Christs’ death] and come to have sincerity? They that have this baptism enter into the heavenly life. If you love the light of Jesus Christ, it will be thus with you: God will make short work in the earth. He will set thy sins in order before thee, and make thee watchful unto prayer, and lead thee to holiness of life and conversation; and make thee abhor thyself and despise all the pomps and pleasures and vanities of this world. When he hath adorned thee with his graces, then watch for the light; and in the light of Christ thou shalt see light, and that all thou hast done and canst do, is but thy duty. All this thou oughtest to do: thou art *God’s* creature, and all this will not justify thee, in order to thy Eternal salvation; for these services thou owest unto God.

“If thou diligently wait, thou shalt see more light. Then the sword that proceeds out of the mouth of Christ (who is called the word of God) will cut thee off from all thy hopes of salvation from anything thou hast done, from any of thy qualifications, from any thing thou canst do. So that thou wilt be a hopeless soul, *nothing* in thine own sense and apprehension: the power of the first Adam must die before him, and thou wilt cry out, ‘I am a dead, lost and undone creature: but there is a life hid with Christ in God for me; but I can never have it till I be slain into the will of God [the Text taken was, *Except you be regenerated and born again, ye cannot inherit the kingdom of God*]’ and become as a little child, and be stripped of all my own excellency that I have attained. I must come to a sense of my own misery, and fall down at the foot [stool] of God. When I am become as a little child, humbled and slain as to my own will and confidence in my own righteousness, I will not then question but I shall live a

(r) Sewel, ii. 445.

holy life: but I will give all that life I had for that life which is hid with Christ in God. O, there is none come so far, that ever miss of Eternal life!

"All shuffling people, that would have salvation by Christ and not let him exercise his heavenly power, his princely glorious power to baptise them into his death, it is *they* that come short of salvation. But all those that yield themselves up to Christ, to be redeemed through judgment, and are become as little children, *these* are in a happy state! You know that our Lord Jesus Christ took a little child in his arms, and said, 'Whosoever becomes not as a little child cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.' You must all of you become as little children, and depend upon the mercy and free grace of God: you must all come to a holy resignation of your wills to God's disposal. If you come to Christ as little children and depend upon him, you cannot miss of salvation. It is entailed upon such souls as hear the the voice of Christ: they that hear the voice of the Son of God shall live."—

"What remains, now? Christ is in me, and we are all one in him. Christ laid down his life for thee and me. Now he reigns in me; and he hath prepared my body to die for the truth, as his prepared body was laid down for my sin. It is a kind of foolish profession, to make profession of Christ, and live in covetousness, profaneness, sensuality and the like: they that are come to this heavenly birth, seek the things that are above—*thou* canst do no other. Make the tree good, and the fruit will be good. You must be ingrafted into the vine of God's righteousness. O slight not the day of your visitation!"—

"O! I beseech you people for the Lord's sake, wait for the light of Christ to guide you. Learn of him, and be meek and lowly; then happy are you, for he dwelleth with the humble, but he beholdeth the proud afar off. This new birth, which is a true work, a sincere and heavenly work, it will *make* you for ever! O make room for Christ in your hearts, or else he is never like to dwell with you: he loveth to dwell with the poor and humble and contrite spirit, he abhors the proud: he will empty your souls that *he* may fill them.

"And so I commend you to God! I have been long held in durance under great weakness [*ten years* together under sentence of *Premunire*] and I was restless till I could come up to this great city of London, to preach the Everlasting gospel among you; and you see I *am* among you here. Pray, every one of you, turn inward: let not these words, passing through a mean vessel, be as a bare empty discourse of truth to you; which you only *hear*, and take no further care of your salvation. Take heed of despising the light, that shines in the midst of you, and be pressing forward in the heavenly work, that is laid in the power of Christ Jesus, even through judgment unto death—and then he will give you Eternal life. The Lord confirm this, that it may rest upon your hearts: that you may be dead to the things of the world!

"We are not come to Mount Sinai that genders to bondage, but we are come to Mount Sion, the city of the living God the heavenly Jerusalem; and to an innumerable company of angels; to the general assembly and church of the First-born which are written in heaven: and to God, the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect; and to Jesus the Mediator of the New Covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel. This is the inheritance of the redeemed of the Most High, blessed be the name of the Lord!

"Let us rest in hope, till he bring us to humility and lowliness of mind; that he may cloth us with heavenly glory according to his promise, 'I will beautify my house with my glory, saith the Lord.' This is the portion of a poor people, that cast down themselves before the Lord, that he may lift them up, and be all in all to them; in whose blessed presence they shall have joy, and rivers of pleasure at his right hand for evermore!" (e)

(e) Sewel ii. 465.

The whole discourse is as full of doctrine as is this sample. In a few weeks afterwards, the preacher was at rest with God !

“ Two days before the decease of Will. Dewsbury, Rebecca Travers departed this life at about the age of seventy-nine years. She was a woman exceedingly well gifted ; and spoke not only sometimes in publick for edification of the church, but writ also several books for the advancement of piety. In one of which she signified, that though she had been a reader of the Scriptures from a child of six years old, yet when by the power of the Eternal gospel she was turned from darkness to light, the Scriptures then became much more plain to her ; as not wanting interpretation. She was an excellent open-hearted woman, and took great care of the poor : [see p. 167 of last volume] she had several times been imprisoned for religion, but persevered constantly in the faith, and so piously entered into Eternal rest. ” (t)

ART. II — *Remarks on Scripture Passages.* Continued.

Acts xix. 35. ‘ The *image* which fell down from Jupiter. ’ I have long since advanced an opinion (a) that this ‘ *image* ’ (as it is supplied in our version ; there being no substantive for image in the text)—this ‘ thing sent down from Jove. ’ was in fact a *Meteorolite* : one of those earthy concretions containing iron and other metals, and bearing the marks of fire, which in many different ages and countries have been found to fall from the higher atmosphere ; and which are with good reason concluded to be the product (or cinder) of large fiery Meteors. Whether in this instance the stone carried at first any rude resemblance to the human figure, or was afterwards sculptured to form an idol, is not of moment—the fact of its descent from heaven being well attested, would suffice to procure it Divine honours : nor is the case without a parallel in other parts of the world. The speech of Demetrius, who made silver models of the magnificent temple erected to hold this lump of earth, is in one part remarkable ; and proof of the blindness of these ‘ craftsmen. ’ He says, ‘ This Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods which are made with hands : ’ not considering that the principal merit of their own *Diopetes* consisted in its having been made *without hands*—if indeed it was not shapen after its descent.

Ver. 35–40. This Speech of the Recorder of Ephesus (for so he should be styled) is quite in character for a lawyer : he appears to have been a man of equal prudence, and judgment in his profession.

Chap. xx, 13. ‘ Minding, [intending] himself ; to go afoot. ’ This obsolete use of the verb ‘ to mind ’ must now be relinquished. There was another thing which it is probable the Apostle ‘ minded ’ on the occasion—viz. to keep himself awake on his journey by going on foot : not caring either to be sea-sick for so short a trip ; or to *fall asleep in the malaria*, in a carriage, after having been up all night exercising his ministry.

(t) Sewel.

(a) Climate of London, 1814 ; Tab. lxxii.

Ver. 26. 'Pure from the blood of all.' By a strong manner of speaking, those who neglected to warn others, when it was required of them, were said to be guilty of the blood of those who perished: See Ezek. iii, 18, xxxiii, 6.

Chap. xxi, 4. These were 'disciples' who had received the Spirit—not Apostles; nor authorized prophets. They merely joined in the testimony which was borne by the Spirit 'in every city,' that bonds and afflictions awaited Paul at the end of this journey. They *told him* on this account, *not to go*: for such is the literal sense. Can we suppose for a moment, that a man of Paul's superior light and firmness of purpose would be thus deterred?

Ver. 11. He took Paul's girdle, and put it about his own wrists and ancles—an easy operation: but see forward, under xxii, 29.

Ver. 26. Does this phrase 'to signify' relate to some message to the priests, as to the time when they would require an offering to be made for them? The Greek seems to imply as much.

Chap. xxii, 14. 'See that Just One' and 'hear the voice of his mouth.' Which took place accordingly, ver. 17: (and a second time xxiii, 11) but, now, to his encouragement in the faithful discharge of the duties before so awfully laid upon him.

Ver. 29. 'And because he had bound him.' Most probably hands and feet together; and with his own girdle, stripped off with his clothes: in which posture he would be found by the commander in chief, coming to release him. Comp. xxi, 11.

Chap. xxiii, 23. 'And he called unto him two Centurions, saying Make ready two hundred soldiers to go to Cæsarea, and horsemen threescore and ten, and spearmen two hundred'—The order was but to two Centurions, and the probability is, that not more than two hundred foot soldiers were employed. But the officer having bethought himself of the troop of horse, (needed for reasons that appear in ver. 32) naturally enough repeated the number of the foot, and directed how they should be armed. The whole is, probably, the accurate report of a by-stander.

Ver. 27. 'Then came I with an army and rescued him, having understood that he was a Roman.' A very short space for an 'army' to be moved in! But how and when did Lysias come to know that Paul was a Roman? It was not till *after* he had rescued, and bound, and was about to examine him by the torture. Yet he now makes a merit to his superior, of having interposed at first to save the life of a Roman citizen!

In like manner *Festus* takes care to inform *Agrippa* (but not till 'many days' after his coming to Cæsarea) that on the very morrow after his accusers had come down, he had commanded Paul to be brought forth to trial. He probably knew that one of the imputations on his predecessor *Felix* was, *that he delayed so long to do justice*.

Chap. xxiv, 16. Will not the text bear the sense, And in this *hope* do I exercise myself to have always a good conscience, &c.?

Ver. 17. The Apostle avails himself here, probably, of the offerings connected with his vow, of which he in his turn makes a merit.

Jew—a stroke of policy like that of professing himself a *Pharisee*, before the Council xxiii, 6. See Matt. x, 16, for his justification.

Chap. xxv, 11. 'But if there be nothing in those things whereof these *men* accuse me, no man has a right to give me up to them to be slain.' Such I believe to be the best way of expressing this passage: he alludes plainly to the request to Festus, ver. 3.

Ver. 16. A cold reply, and unmingled with due indignation;—showing that there *was* danger of the Jews being gratified with the exposure of his person to them, had Paul been quite passive.

Chap. xxvi, 11. 'And compelled them to blaspheme.' Compelled them to say things against Christ which I now regard as blasphemy. No Jew would make another blaspheme Jehovah—with whatever spiritual authority he might be intrusted over him.

Ver. 16, 17, 18. The doctrine of this speech merits our most serious consideration, especially the 17th verse, as agreeing most strictly with the Apostle's own account of the method of our salvation, in his second to the Ephesians; where, in verse 8, he sums up all in this short but full definition, 'For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that [salvation] not of yourselves: it is the gift of God.' Annexing moreover, in ver. 9, this guard; Not *the effect* of works, lest any man should be enabled to boast of having saved himself.

Ver. 30. 'And when he had thus spoken the king rose up'—in haste probably, and to conceal emotions to which he was ashamed to give vent in public.

Rom. i, 1-7. 'Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ called (as an Apostle) and set apart to preach the gospel of God (which gospel was indeed before preached by prophecies of him in Holy Scripture) concerning his Son, who being the descendant of *David* after the flesh, is demonstrated to be the *Son of God*, endued with power in the Holy Spirit, by his resurrection from the dead—of Jesus Christ, *I say*, our Lord, by whom we have obtained grace and the Apostleship to all the Gentiles, in order to their obedience to him by faith in his name, (among which Gentiles ye also are of the called of Jesus Christ) to all the beloved of God in Rome, called saints—grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ: For it, &c.' This is what I make out for myself as the connected English of this passage. *Ed.*

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PRO PATRIÂ.

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ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrine and practices of the Quakers.*

Continued from p. 206.

A. D. 1688. A Convention of the Lords and Commons. *William Prince of Orange, and Mary, his Wife, daughter of James II, declared King and Queen. The Convention becomes a Parliament. Episcopacy finally abolished in Scotland.*

It cannot be doubted that hostility to the government of James, on the part of the *English Ecclesiastical Establishment*, contributed largely to this Revolution. By preferring the Romish faith, and favouring its professors, he had roused the *Protestant* spirit: by extending indulgence to the dissenters, while he behaved in an arbitrary and oppressive manner to the 'Church,' he had offended the exclusive feelings, and remaining Popish prejudices of this body. Had the *bishops* been principled for *liberty of conscience*, they would not have been long in finding a way to secure it to the quakers and other dissenters, and to free the former from their *plundering oppressors*. On the other hand, had the king been as hearty in this cause, as he was in support of his prerogative, he would have been glad to obtain the concurrence of Parliament in the work of toleration. But he plainly wished to do all he did, of this sort, *in his own name*; that he might, at a future time be able as easily to *undo* such part of it as it might not suit his Church to perpetuate among us. And to this he would not have wanted persons, strenuously to advise him: whose counsels would probably have carried it, in favour of renewed persecution, against Penn's liberal views.

VOL. III.

2 K

The extreme jealousy of the Establishment was therefore called forth, in two directions at once. Against Rome, whose increasing influence *in the National counsels* she had reason to dread—and against those of other denominations, who sought to be independent of her *among the people*. She was the rival of the one, and the sore oppressor of the other: and the *Revolution* enabled her, for the present, to make head against both. But happily for the people of this country, the advantage was purchased, as to Protestant dissenters, *at the price of a full TOLERATION*. Rome, which had been intriguing, and was ready to fight, for its exclusive interests, was now *justly* excluded (for the time) the benefit of that, which made the change, to all others, so acceptable. The case, as to that Religion among us, is now materially altered:—and no good reason can be given, why the professors of it should be forcibly subjected, as tributaries, to the dominion of those of the Protestant Creed.

Compton, bishop of London, set the crown on the two heads of the new Sovereign. (a) *Sancroft*, Archbishop of Canterbury, declined it—whether having the fear of Rome before his eyes, more than that of the new King and his consort, appears not. Our historian *Sevel* (a Dutchman) takes notice of the several questions put, by the bishop, to the king and queen at their coronation, including the following; ‘Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the Law of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed religion established by Law: and will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by Law do or shall appertain to them, or any of them:’ Likewise of the answer (with a solemn oath) ‘All this I promise to do.’ And he remarks, ‘Under these punctual and nice questions, was more hidden than some would think. For the king having answered so as hath been said, could not now free any from paying tithes to the Clergy, without violation of his oath.’ (b)

The promise being, however, to maintain the Protestant Reformed Religion *as established by Law*, and to preserve to the bishops &c. all such rights and privileges as *by Law do, OR SHALL*, appertain to them—and the Law being the result of those *Acts* which the Legislature has in its power to modify and repeal, as well as to ordain: there seems to me to be nothing more, in this promise, than the King virtually

(a) *Compton* had been an officer in the army: James had suspended, and (as it appears) imprisoned and tried him, for resisting ‘the dispensing power.’ The spirit of the soldier appeared, in retaliation of this wrong. When the Prince had landed, and the king’s friends were deserting him, the Princess Anne of Denmark desired to leave London and get out of the king her father’s way. *Compton* conducted her to *Northampton*, and afterwards made a public entry with her into *Oxford*, to meet the prince her husband: ‘his Lordship riding in a purple cloak, martial habit, pistols before him and his sword drawn: and his *Cornet* [for he had the command of a noble troop of gentlemen] had the inscription in golden letters on his standard, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*’ *Lingard*; from *Ellis’s Correspondence*, ii, 368.

(b) *Sevel*, ii, 469: *Gough*, iii, 236.

undertakes for every subject, in assuming his high office. If we are to understand that he engages, by such a form, to refuse the Royal assent to any Act that may abridge the claims of the Clergy, then is he equally bound to do so, to any that may *extend* them: for the oath speaks of such rights and privileges as by Law do, *or shall* appertain to that body. So that the safest interpretation of this promise (first exacted in an age when the very tenure of royalty depended on a priest) seems to be, that the king shall see the Clergy protected in their temporal rights, and justice done them, *in common with other subjects*: to which no reasonable dissenter can make the least objection. But their claims on the country, and the very rights and immunities they possess, *as a body*, must ever remain subject, with our own, to such modifications, restrictions, and even abridgments (compensation supposed to individuals for their personal sacrifices) as the good of the community, in the judgment of the three branches of the Legislature, may require.

Gilbert Burnet, whose history of his own time I have quoted, was a main instrument abroad, in bringing about this invasion of his country to place a foreigner on the throne; having been banished and proscribed by the old Court, he accompanied the Prince in the whole expedition and march to London, *acting both as priest and magistrate*; as is plain from his own account of the proceedings. He was now made Bishop of Sarum, within a few days after the Coronation: and, thus introduced into the upper house of Parliament, was of great service in the settlement of public affairs on the basis of a Toleration.

Burnet was undoubtedly one of the greatest men of that eventful time: he was, unhappily, through their opposite political circumstances, the personal enemy of William Penn. What he says, therefore, of this equally eminent character, must be received with proper allowance. *Penn* had been employed abroad to counteract Burnet's measures; and the Revolution, in ruining his master, proved to Penn a source of continual trouble, of which more anon.

This author says (H. O. T. iii. 30) of the Convention summoned in Scotland at this time, under the presidency of Duke Hamilton, 'They passed the judgment of forfeiture upon King James. And on the 11th of April, the day on which the King and Queen were crowned with the ordinary solemnities at Westminster, they declared William and Mary king and queen of Scotland: [making it however a necessary part of the tenure of the Crown, that Episcopacy should be abolished: for] the *Reformation*, in Scotland, having been begun by a parity [of rank and privileges] among the Clergy, all Prelacy in that Church was a great and insupportable grievance to that kingdom.'

A. D. 1689. Decease of Alexander Parker.

"He was born on the borders of Yorkshire, near Bolton in Lancashire, was well educated, and early convinced of the truth of the principles of the people called Quakers, and became an eminent minister in that Society. He accompanied George Fox in his journey to London, when he was sent up by Col. Hacker to Oliver

Cromwell; tarried with him in and about London, and travelled with him through sundry counties; as he did afterwards, from time to time, in divers journies in different parts of England, in Scotland; and into Holland in 1684. He travelled also many journies by himself, in the exercise of his Gospel labours: being one in the number of the worthies of the age, who were given up to the service of their Maker, and the promoting of pure religion and the practice of piety in the nation, as the principal purpose of their lives.

“In the year 1664, soon after the Act for banishment was put in force, on the 17th of the 5th Mo. O. S. commonly called July, two justices, with constables and armed soldiers, came to the meeting at Mile-end green, and placed a guard at each gate. After some time Alexander Parker stood up to speak, beginning with these words, ‘In the name of the Lord’—upon which one of the justices rushed into the meeting, profanely crying out, ‘In the name of the devil pluck that fellow down’—which was presently done. Then the justices took the names of all the men, being thirty-two, and sent them to Newgate for three months, *for the first offence upon the act for banishment.*” (c)

“Alexander Parker was imprisoned a second time in the Tenth month of the same year. In the third Month called May, 1670, as he was preaching in Gracechurch Street, he was violently pulled down and carried before the Mayor, who fined him £20. In 1669 he [had] married Prudence Wager of Stepney, widow, and settled in London; but he still continued frequent travels into different parts to edify his Friends. After he had fixed his residence in London, he was very serviceable in company with other Friends, *in solicitations to government for the relief of their sufferings*; being a man very fit for such service, *comely in his person and deportment.* He wrote several treatises and epistles to his Friends for their edification, and concluded a life spent in honest endeavours to do good, in much peace, the 8th of the 1st Mo. 1688–9.” (c)

1690. Decease of John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, *Robert Barclay, George Fox* and Thomas Salthouse.

I shall notice these ministers of the Society in the order of their decease.

1. John Burnyeat was born in the parish of Lows-water in Cumberland, 1631, and convinced by the ministry of George Fox at the age of twenty-two. He received the truth under deep convictions of sin, and a strong sense of the power of it. ‘Then’ said he ‘I saw I had need of a Saviour, to save *from* sin; as well as [of] the blood of a sacrificed Christ, to blot out sin; and faith in his name for remission of sin.’—Thus did this servant of the Lord, with many more in the beginning, receive the Truth in much fear and trembling, meeting often together and seeking the Lord night and day: until the promises of the Lord came to be fulfilled [in their experience] spoken of by the prophet Isaiah, Chap. xlii, 7, xlix, 9 and lxi, 3: and some taste of

(c) Gough iii. 237. Besse i. 408. Whiting; *Memoirs.*

the oil of joy came to be witnessed, and a heavenly gladness extended into the hearts of many, who in the joy of their souls broke forth in praises to the Lord.

After four years waiting, mostly in silence, he appeared in a public testimony; being at first concerned to go to divers public places of worship, reproving both priests and people for their deadness and formality of worship; for which he endured sore beatings with their staves and *bibles*, &c. and imprisonment also, in Carlisle jail, where he lay twenty-three weeks.

After he was at liberty he went into Scotland in 1658, where he spent three months, travelling North and West: and his work was, to call people to repentance from their lifeless hypocritical profession and dead formalities, and to turn them to the true light of Christ Jesus in their hearts; that thereby they might come to know the power of God, and the remission of sins. In 1659 he went into Ireland, where in company with Robert Lodge he laboured twelve months in the work of the Gospel, and returned to Cumberland in the seventh month 1660.

In the year 1662, he travelled to London, where he met with George Fox, Richard Hubberthorne and Edward Burrough; and in returning home through Yorkshire was committed at *Ripon* to prison, and kept fourteen weeks, *for visiting the Friends, prisoners there*. In 1664, he took shipping again for Ireland, and visited most of the meetings in that nation. From thence he embarked for Barbadoes, having had before him for the last four years a journey to America. He laboured in the work of the gospel in Barbadoes, Maryland, Virginia, Rhode Island, New England and Long Island, till the second month 1667, then went again to Barbadoes; and thence returned to Wales, which he visited, labouring much in the gospel, as also in Ireland; and came again to London in 1670.

In the Fifth month of that year he embarked again for Barbadoes, in company with *William Simpson*; who died in peace with the Lord in that island. (d)

(d) It is recorded of William Simpson, that he was born in Lancashire, where he also received the truth; that he was 'a faithful minister and prophet of the Lord, and much concerned in going through markets and towns, and to great men and magistrates, and priests' houses, and to public places of worship, declaring against their false worship and evil ways and works; and was often imprisoned for the truth, and underwent cruel and hard sufferings by the jailors.' These were doubtless the harder for his peculiar persuasion (at times) that he was moved of the Lord to prophesy naked. And sometimes (it is added) he was moved to put on hair sackcloth and to besmear his face black; and to tell them (the professors of the age] *so would the Lord besmear all their religion!* 'Great sufferings did that poor man undergo, many sad blows and sore whippings, with staves and wands, and thorne-bushes, coach whips and horse whips, on his bare body.' This was before the restoration of episcopacy with the monarchy—it is added, 'that that generation might have taken warning, and they would not, but rewarded his love with cruel usage: *only the Mayor of Cambridge did nobly to him; for he put his gown about him (being naked) and took him into his house.*' One CHRISTIAN, out of a whole generation of *professors!*

From thence he went to New York, Long Island, Rhode Island and New England; afterwards to Virginia and Maryland, where he met George Fox and several brethren just come from Jamaica. Afterwards, having spent much time and labour up and down in America, till the 25th of the 2nd Mo. 1673, they came from the Capes of Virginia to Galway in Ireland, and from thence to the Yearly Meeting at London in 1674.

The remainder of this laborious minister's time [he died at the age of fifty-nine] was spent in England, Scotland and Ireland. He was not at liberty in his mind to quit Ireland when the troubles were coming on, but staid to encourage his Friends; and there peaceably departed this life. He was sick twelve days of a fever; in all which time he was preserved in his senses, and in a sweet frame of spirit, (saying he ever loved the Lord, and the Lord loved him from his youth)—and the Lord did attend him with his heavenly power and presence, to the comfort and the satisfaction of those about him. (e)

2. "*Robert Lodge* of the county of York was convinced of truth in the year 1660, and was a faithful minister of Christ Jesus, and a valiant sufferer for the testimony of a good conscience. He travelled in the work of the Gospel, both in this nation and in Ireland; and turned many to righteousness, and did build up many in the most holy faith. He was not only a planter, but a waterer in the vineyard—a son of consolation indeed!

"The time of his sickness was but short: a friend visiting him, he gave account of his infirmities and questioned his recovery. 'But' he said 'the Lord knows my heart, that I have served him: *and it hath*

It is best to look such things in the face—and not to seek to blink them by a politic silence. I may hereafter take some notice of this *extreme*, of that which fell in various *degrees* upon so many of the witnesses for truth in that age, but as the end crowns the work (be it of what nature it may) we will first see how the Friend *died*.

"A few hours before he died [of a fever] a person came to visit him who had not been (though invited) at any meeting William had been at in that island, and taking him by the hand asked him how he did. He answered, 'I am a very sick man:' and looking towards the man, he was endued with the power and spirit of the Lord, by which he marvellously preached the glorious gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, for about a quarter of an hour, praising and magnifying the Lord: which was so contrary to the expectations of those about him (considering his weak condition) that it caused amazement, trembling and tears. He preached the doctrine of perfection and freedom from sin on this side the grave [the denial of which, even in theory, to their great prejudice, doubtless, *in practice*, had been a favorite dogma with the priests he opposed] exhorting Friends to be valiant for truth upon earth; and that they should not be again entangled with the yoke of bondage:—often praising and glorifying God after this manner: 'O all that is within me, praise and magnify the Lord God, who is worthy for ever and ever, of all glory. Everlasting praises to the God of my life; who is only worthy, and lives over all, and is above all, God blessed for ever, Amen.' About three hours after he had given this testimony, he departed this life in much quietness, being the 8th day of the Twelfth month, and was honorably buried in a garden belonging to Richard Forstal, at Bridgetown in Barbadoes."

(e) Piety promoted, Pt. 2nd.

been of more account to me, the gaining of one soul, than all my labours and travels.' And the friend going again the next day, and seeing him near his end, was sorrowful: to whom he said, 'What? we must meet again—we must meet again in Eternity:' and put up many heavenly petitions to the Lord. And another friend taking leave of him, he called him by his name and said, 'It is well with me, and I have no disturbance in my mind.' And again he said, 'The Lord knows I was never commissioned to go any way, or to do any thing, but I have willingly answered him. And the Lord (who hath been my rock and refuge, my shield and buckler, and a sanctuary to me) hath been with me all along to this very day.' And spoke much more in praises to the Lord for his many deliverances; praying for the continuance of God's life and love to his whole heritage. After which he spoke but little, but that all was well with him; and said 'Blessed be God! I have heavenly peace:' and so fell into a sweet sleep and went away, being on the 15th of the Seventh month, in the year 1690." (f)

3. Robert Barclay.

"After he returned from London [in 1688] he spent the remainder of his life, being about two years, chiefly at home, where he enjoyed the esteem and regard of his neighbours, and the comforts of domestic society. In the year 1690, he accompanied James Dickinson, a minister from Cumberland, in a religious visit to some parts of Scotland: and soon after his return from this visit was seized with a violent fever, which in a short time put a period to his life. James Dickinson was with him at the time of his illness. It was a solemn season; and their spirits were deeply affected with a sense of the Divine goodness. Robert Barclay, though much affected by the disorder, was in a truly resigned, peaceful and Christian frame of mind. He expressed his love to all faithful Friends in England, and to all the faithful, every where; particularly to Friends in Cumberland, where James Dickinson resided: and to George Fox, for whom he had a special regard: and concluded with these expressions, 'God is good, still: and though I am under a great weight of sickness and weakness, yet my peace flows. This I know, that whatever exercises may be permitted to come upon me, they shall tend to God's glory, and my salvation.' He died the 3rd of the 8th Month, October, in the year 1690, in the 42nd year of his age. His body was attended to the grave at Ury, by many of the most respectable persons in the neighbourhood. (g)

4. We left *George Fox* at Harwich in 1677, just landed from a tour of about three months among Friends in Holland and the North of Germany. (h) He now made other journies in England; and spent some time at intervals in London; enjoying also a retreat of somewhat more than a year, with his family at Swarthmore. In 1684, in company with Alexander Parker, George Watts and Nathaniel Brassey, he repeated the visit to Holland and Friesland; being absent from London on this occasion not quite two months. (i)

(f) Piety promoted, pt. 2nd. (g) Barclay's Life 12mo. p. 62: Piety promoted pt. 3.

(h) See Vol. ii. pa. 68.

(i) Journal, p. 578.

This was his last distant journey in the exercise of his ministry: 'Grown too infirm (says Gough) to bear travelling, in consequence of the multiplied hardships he had endured, in long and afflicting imprisonments and by other means, he spent his latter years in the city of London and its neighbourhood; as the place where he could be most essentially and universally serviceable to his friends, particularly those under persecution, and suffering for this religious testimony; his sympathy with them producing an anxious solicitude for their relief. Beside his public service in the Meetings of his Friends in the city and places adjacent, and writing several [many] Epistles of advice on various occasions, he spent much time in perusing the Records of the affairs of the Society; especially those of the Meeting for Sufferings and the letters addressed thereto: [and] he was sure to press the speedy answering thereof according to the exigency, in suffering cases: [He promoted also] applications to Government (both in behalf of particular sufferers, and for the ease of the body in general) by proper persons, who were more fit for active service than himself.' (m)

His last public document was an Epistle to Friends in Ireland, which he says he was moved to write to them as a 'word of consolation,' under their 'great hardships and sore sufferings' [from the civil war then raging:] but his sentiments on a subject of a more extensive nature being developed in one he wrote at Tottenham, *about a month before his decease*, I prefer to insert it here; as an evidence both of the soundness of his judgment, and the warmth of his Evangelical feelings now in the decline of his age.

"Another epistle I wrote soon after, more particularly to the friends in the ministry, that were gone into America: after this manner.

"Dear friends and brethren, ministers, exhorters, and admonishers, that are gone into America and the islands thereaway:—Stir up the gift of God in you, and the pure mind, and improve your talents; that ye may be the light of the world, a city set upon an hill, that cannot be hid. Let your light shine among the Indians, the Blacks and the Whites; that ye may answer the truth in them, and bring them to the standard and ensign that God hath set up, Christ Jesus. For from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, God's name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every temple, or sanctified heart, 'incense shall be offered up to God's name.' And have salt in yourselves, that ye may be the salt of the earth, that ye may salt it; that it may be preserved from corruption and putrefaction: so that all sacrifices offered up to the Lord may be seasoned, and be a good savour to God. All grow in the faith and grace of Christ, that ye may not be like dwarfs; for a dwarf shall not come near to offer upon God's altar; though he may eat of God's bread, that he may grow by it. And friends, be not negligent, but keep up your Negroes-meetings and your family-meetings; and have meetings with the Indian Kings, and their councils and subjects every where, and with others. Bring them all to the baptizing and circumcising Spirit, by which they may know God, and serve and worship him. And all take heed of sitting down in the earth, and having your minds in the earthly things, coveting and striving for the earth; for to be carnally minded brings death, and covetousness is idolatry. There is too much strife and contention about that idol, which makes too many go out of the sense and fear of God; so that some have lost morality, humanity, and true Christian charity. O therefore, be awakened

to righteousness, and keep awakened ; for the enemy soweth his tares, while men and women sleep in carelessness and security. Therefore so many slothful ones go in their filthy rags, and have not the fine linen, the righteousness of Christ ; but are straggling, and plowing with their ox and their ass, in their woollen and linen garments, mixt stuff, feeding upon torn food, and that dieth of itself, and drinking of the dregs of their old bottle, and eating the sour, leavened bread, which makes their hearts burn one against another. But all are to keep the feast of Christ, our passover, with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. This unleavened bread of Life from heaven makes all hearts and souls glad and joyful, lightsome and cheerful, to serve and love God, and to love and serve one another in the peaceable truth, and to keep in the unity of God's Spirit, which is the bond of (the Lord of lords, and the King of kings) peace. In this love and peace God Almighty keep and preserve all his people, and make them valiant for his truth upon the earth, to spread it abroad in doctrine, good life and conversation, Amen.

"All the members of Christ have need one of another. For the foot hath need of the hand, and the hand hath need of the foot: the ear hath need of the eye, and the eye of the ear. So that all the members are serviceable in the body which Christ is the head of ; and the head sees their service. Therefore let none despise the least member.

"Have a care to keep down that greedy earthly mind, that raveneth and coveteth after the riches and things of this world ; lest ye fall into the low region, like the gentiles or heathen, and so lose the kingdom of God that is everlasting: but seek that first, and God knows what ye have need of ; who takes care for all both in heaven and in the earth : thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gifts, both temporal and spiritual !

"G. F.

"Tottenham, the 11th of the 10th month, 1690."

"The next day, after he had written the foregoing epistle to friends in Ireland, he went to the meeting at Gracechurch Street, which was large (it being the first day of the week) : and the Lord enabled him to preach the truth fully and effectually, opening many deep and weighty things with great power and clearness. After which having prayed, and the meeting being ended, he went to Henry Gouldney's (a friend's house in White-hart Court, near the meeting-house) : and some friends going with him, he told them, 'He thought he felt the cold strike to his heart, as he came out of the meeting ;' yet added, 'I am glad I was here : now I am clear, I am fully clear.' As soon as those friends were withdrawn he lay down upon a bed (as he sometimes used to do, through weariness after a meeting) but soon rose again ; and in a little time lay down again, complaining still of cold. And his strength sensibly decaying, he was fain soon after to go into the bed ; where he lay in much contentment and peace, and very sensible to the last. And as, in the whole course of his life, his spirit, in the universal love of God, was set and bent for the exalting of truth and righteousness, and the making known the way thereof to the nations and people afar off ; so now, in the time of his outward weakness, his mind was intent upon, and wholly taken up with that : and he sent for some particular friends, to whom he expressed his mind, and desire for the spreading friends' books, and truth thereby in the world. Divers friends came to visit him in his illness, unto some of whom he said, 'All is well : the Seed of God reigns over all, and over death itself. And though,' said he, 'I am weak in body ; yet the power of God is over all, and the Seed reigns over all disorderly spirits.' Thus lying in an heavenly frame of mind, his spirit wholly exercised towards the Lord, he grew weaker and weaker in his natural strength ; and on the third day of that week, between the hours of nine and ten in the evening, he quietly departed this life in peace, and sweetly fell asleep in the Lord, whose blessed truth he had livingly and powerfully preached

in the meeting but two days before. Thus ended he his day in his faithful testimony, in perfect love and unity with his brethren, and in peace and good-will to all men, on the 13th of the 11th month 1690, being then in the 67th year of his age.

“ Upon the 16th of the same month (being the sixth of the week, and the day appointed for his funeral) a very great concourse of friends, and other people of divers sorts, assembled together at the meeting-house in White-hart Court near Gracechurch-street, about the middle time of the day, in order to attend his body to the grave. The meeting was held about two hours with great and heavenly solemnity, manifestly attended with the Lord’s blessed presence and glorious power; in which divers living testimonies were delivered, from a lively remembrance and sense of the blessed ministry of this dear and ancient servant of the Lord, his early entering into the Lord’s work at the breaking forth of this gospel day, his innocent life, long and great travels, and unwearied labours of love in the everlasting gospel, for the turning and gathering many thousands from darkness to the light of Christ Jesus, the foundation of true faith; the manifold sufferings, afflictions, and oppositions, which he met withal for his faithful testimony, both from his open adversaries and from false brethren; and his preservations, deliverances and dominion, in, out of, and over them all, by the power of God: to whom the glory and honour always was by him, and is and always ought to be by all ascribed.

“ After the meeting was ended, his body was borne by friends, and accompanied by very great numbers, to friends’ burying-ground near Bunhill-fields: where, after a solemn waiting upon the Lord, and several living testimonies borne, recommending the company to the guidance and protection of that divine Spirit and power, by which this holy man of God had been raised up, furnished, supported, and preserved to the end of his day, his body was decently committed to the earth; but his memorial shall remain, and be everlastingly blessed among the righteous.” (n)

I shall take a future occasion in this work, when the remainder of the Historical matter is gone through, to discuss the character, principles, and doctrine of this honourable elder among us, and (as I fully believe) prophet of the Lord to these nations.

5. “ *Thomas Salthouse* was living in Judge Fell’s family at the time when George Fox came to Swarthmore, and was convinced by his ministry, with the greatest part of that family: and being faithful to conviction, he sometime afterwards received a dispensation of the gospel and was commissioned to preach it to others. In the year 1654 he travelled to London; from thence, in company with Miles Halhead, he went to Bristol; and thence Westward towards Exeter:—but on reaching Honiton the two Friends were arrested and taken before Colonel Coplestone, on an alleged suspicion of being *Cavaliers*, and concerned in an insurrection of the Royalists. The Colonel, being High Sheriff of the county, imprisoned them for two weeks, and then sent them away with a pass, as vagrants: but the officer who had them in custody being taken ill, another justice discharged them. Having several meetings after this at Plymouth, one George Brooks, chaplain of a frigate, a man of debauched character (o) and so drunken that he had

(n) Journal, 659.

(o) Of which the following Certificate was produced (with two others of like import) in the Friends’ behalf, viz.

“ I having been formerly desired to relate upon what occasion it was that Mr.

had 'the quarter-can put about his neck by his commander,' would have commended the doctrine they delivered; but being by Thomas Salthouse suspected of hypocrisy, and asked 'whether his life corresponded with his expressions,' out of revenge procured a warrant from the Mayor, by which the Friends were taken from another Meeting, and after a long examination committed on several most absurd and frivolous charges to Exeter jail. After six weeks' imprisonment, they were indicted at Sessions for 'a breach of the ordinance against duels!' (p) and particularly for divers disgraceful words and gestures against George Brooks, Clk. &c. The refusal of the *oath of abjuration of the Pope* however sufficed to fine them upon, in £5 each, and send them to prison, where they lay near seven months 'under such cruel usage as had the aspect of a design to destroy them.' (q)

Thomas Salthouse underwent several other imprisonments for his testimony to the truth, and was at length *premiered*; but discharged, after lying three years in prison under it, by King James's general pardon. After which he continued his visits to his Friends, as duty and brotherly affection prompted, till a period was put to his labours and sufferings by his removal out of this life, which happened in the 12th Mo. 1690 at his house in Cornwall, about the 60th year of his age. He was a man of good natural capacity—remarkably affable, and pleasant in his conversation; which procured him the regard of many others as well as Friends. (r)

A. D. Establishment of 'Friends' Public School' in Philadelphia, 1689. of which *George Keith* is made Master.

This School (afterwards chartered by William Penn) was established in the Fifth Month, this year, by a number of the principal inhabitants of Philadelphia; who agreed with George Keith, then residing at Freehold (since called Monmouth) in New Jersey, to undertake the charge. Keith had come over to East Jersey some years before, and in 1687, in the capacity of Surveyor general of the Province, 'had ascertained and marked the line of division between East and West Jersey.' His salary here was £50 per annum, 'with a house for his family to live in, a school-house provided, and the profits of the school beside for one year.' For two years more, his school was to be made

Geo. Brooks, chaplain of the Frigate under my command, was put on shore: First, because he was a busy body and disturbed the whole ship's company; Secondly, being on shore, it was his common practice to abuse the creature in such sort that he was drunken, void of good reason, that he would abuse any one that came in his company by ill language (besides the abuse of himself and the good creature) daily complaints coming unto me, both aboard and on shore. Therefore knowing him to be a *deboist fellow*, and not fit for that employment, I put him on shore; and I dare own it, whoever shall call me to question: Witness my hand, Robert Vessay."

(p) John Page, the mayor, says of them in excusing his conduct to General Desborough—'they being, as I conceive, offenders *within* the late Ordinance of his Highness the Lord Protector and Council, made against duels, challenges and all provocations thereunto, and also his Highness's late proclamation against Quakers.' (q) Gough, i, 205—209: Sewel, i, 196—203.

(r) Gough, iii, 255.

worth £120 per annum : but he was to teach the poor *gratis*. He gave it up to his assistant at the end of the first year. We shall soon have occasion to notice him as separated from the Society. (s)

Thomas Lloyd, the deputy under William Penn, having resigned, and the succeeding Governor and the Council disagreeing, William Penn devolves the government for the present upon the Council.

The following Letter, to the Council, shews the concern of the Proprietary for the right administration of the government of his Province, and the welfare of its inhabitants.

“ Friends,

“ I heartily wish you all well, and beseech God to guide you in the ways of righteousness and peace. I have thought fit, upon my further stop in these parts, to throw all into your hands ; that you may all see the confidence I have in you, and the desire I have to give you all possible contentment. I do earnestly press your constant attendance upon the government, and the diligent pursuit of peace and virtue ; and God Almighty strengthen your hands, in so good a work. I also recommend to you the particular discipline of that town you meet in : that sobriety and gravity be maintained, and authority kept in respect.—As it comes in your way, countenance my officers in collecting my small revenue.—Let the laws, you pass, hold so long only as I shall not declare my dissent ; that so my share may not lie excluded, or finally concluded, without my notice ; in fine, let them be confirmable by me, as you will see by the commission I left when I left the province.—And if you desire a Deputy Governor, rather name three, or five, and I shall name one of them ;—so as you consider of a comfortable subsistence ; that the government may not go a begging.—I do not do this, to lie [as] a binding precedent, but to give you, and the people you represent, the fullest pledges I am able, at this distance, of my regard to them. Whatever you do, I desire, beseech and charge you all to avoid factions and parties, whisperings and reportings, and all animosities ; that, putting your common shoulders to the public work, you may have the reward of good men and patriots ; and so I bid you heartily farewell.

“ WILLIAM PENN.

“ Given at *London*, this 12th of the Sixth-month, 1689. ” (t)

ART. II.—*Remarks on Scripture Passages.* Continued.

Rom. i, 17–23. For therein is God’s righteousness revealed, as we proceed from the belief of *that which is past* to faith in *that which is to come* (a) (as it is written, The just shall live by his faith.) For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness, and the injustice of men who unrighteously suppress the truth. For (would they but give place to it) some knowledge of God is manifestly in them, for God hath shewed knowledge unto them. Since from the very structure of the visible world, the invisible things that belong to Him in his eternal power and Godhead are clearly seen, being understood by the nature of the things that are made. So that they are without excuse *in their ignorance* : because while they *thus* knew

(s) Proud’s Hist. of Pennsylvania : i, 345. (t) Idem. p. 342.

(a) I do not consider this passage as having any relation to our justification : but to the righteousness of God in dealing with men.

God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened."

The charge is, that the heathen, who professed to be wise and to reason on every thing, beholding the works of creation and providence, did not make the inference which they might have formed but for their debasing Insts—that all this was the work of an All-wise Being, an Eternal power and Godhead. Thus averse from a belief in the One true God (and unrighteously suppressing it) they gave themselves up to many vain imaginations, and made to themselves a multitude of false gods. Then came the sentence of judicial blindness upon them, as upon Israel in the time succeeding the death of king Uzziah, and to which Christ alludes, John xii, 39, 40. 'Therefore they could not (now) believe, because of that of which Esaias said, again, He hath blinded their eyes, [for their evil seeing] and hardened their heart [for their evil imagining] that they should not [now] see with their eyes, and understand with their heart, and be converted, so that I should heal them.'

Ver. 28. And as they did not think fit to have further knowledge of God, he on his part gave them up to their own reprobate mind to do what was not convenient—things which no reasoning could justify.

Chap. ii, ver. 12. 'As many as have sinned without law'—how can this be? Can there be transgression without a law, broken by it? For as many as have thus sinned, without a knowledge of the law received by Moses, shall also perish without being judged under it: while those who have sinned under that law, shall be judged by it. We must bear in mind, that it is the Eternal, not the temporal loss (or punishment) of the sinner, that is in view in this passage. Ed.

ART. III.—Derivations and Meanings of Words.

Wonder, admiration, astonishment. 'My best regards to Lady P. and your charming young people. I wonder if I shall ever see them.' Letter of *Hannah More*. The meaning is, I *wander*, to know whether I shall ever see them. Suppose she had said 'I am at a loss to know' would her meaning have been less clear? When we wonder (let a Frenchman be put to read this) we wander in our thoughts; whether what we want on the occasion be information concerning the subject, or capacity to take it in.

Now for *admiration*! The learned in the *Sungskreet* might probably be able to tell us the meaning of the monosyllable *mir*, the root of the Latin *mirus, miror, admiror, admiratio, &c.* At present I can only wonder how we talk Latin so well, and we must leave *mir* where we found it. Johnson will tell us that to admire is 'to regard with wonder, generally in a good sense.' I (who admire him) admire *at* him, then, that he did not go further for his derivations.

In our old bibles we have the word *astoned*, now mostly changed to *astonished*; which latter Johnson derives from *estonner*, Fr. and that from *attonitus*, Lat. thunderstruck. But has our own old word *stone*

any share in it? We talk and write now, (in Latin again without knowing it) of being *petrified* with dread.

Astound, which suits so well the rhetoric of some preachers, is full as likely to be from *estonner*. I suppose Milton invented it, to end a line with. It seems now to be the *ne plus ultra* of our wondering writers.

Cheat, trick, impose, deceive, bamboozle, swindle.

Johnson says, first, To cheat: probably from *acheter* Fr. to purchase: and then, *cheat* n. s. 'some think abbreviated from *escheat*, because [of] many fraudulent measures being taken by the Lords of manors in procuring escheats; that is forfeitures for the want of an heir, or the like.' At any rate, this makes it the part of the great to *cheat* the vulgar: and truly there is no end to the tricks (*treck* Dutch; *fetch* or draw, in English) which they play us. They first *impose* or *put upon* us, (the literal meaning of the Latin original,) by specious pretences (Latin again, *prætendunt speciem*) or deceive us, *decipiunt* Lat. *take* us by guile, with positive misstatements of fact; and then tax and plunder us at their leisure. And never is more of this *disingenuous* work in hand (Latin again, for something very ungenteel) than while preparation is making in the public mind, for the entrance of that worst of all nurseries of dishonest (Lat. *inhonestus*, not honourable) and daring speculation, a WAR on the grounds of the balance of power and Continental policy!

To *bamboozle* is (I believe) to do as the dealers in walking-sticks in our streets have done to heedless passengers—to sell a man a piece of painted deal, at the price of a real cane imported from the Indies: 'Do not think to bamboo-sell me,' said the experienced purchaser; and the practice (as to cheating) came to an end.

The *swindler* (with whom Johnson does not seem to have been acquainted) is, I fear, the swinedealer; proverbially dishonest, it may be from the practice of taking under his care the rich man's swine from some wood, and selling them at the next market; to be claimed by the owner wherever he can find them, the seller gone elsewhere!

Peculation, plunder, impeachment. When public works and public purchases are going on to an unusual extent, and the Comptrollers being pressed for time do not overminutely examine into things, it becomes very easy for a man to put that profit, or discount or interest, or even money on account, which should have gone to the king's treasury into his *peculium*: and this is *peculation*. Now the *peculium*, as the Lexicon will inform us, is 'that which a son or a slave holdeth of his own, under a father or a master: and is distinct from either of their stocks.' It is said somewhere, if thou breed up a slave delicately, thou shalt have him at length for a son: and it is the *slaves* of absolute monarchs (or of *ministers* rather, seeing the king is not to be charged with their doings) become sons in the house by long use and familiarity, who are commonly found to practise and allow of *peculation*. To allow (hallow, make sacred) in others that which, were they to forbid it to them, would be pretty soon charged on themselves.

Now the legal method of putting a stop to this is by *impeachment*; a term that seems to have taken its origin in the necessity, that has

sometimes arisen, for an action at law 'in impeachment of waste;' to prevent Trustees from dissipating among dishonest people the estates or properties committed to their care. The word is strictly the French *empêchement*, hindrance or prevention.

The best prevention of all, however, in such cases is an honest principle in the people generally; causing them to abhor thieving, and shake their hands from holding of bribes. For there is always in these partizans of the system of *plunder* (a *Dutch* word and, I fear, practice too) a gradation in profit and in crime. The higher dare the most; and force their daring, along with their secret, upon the lower agents: until it comes to that, in the heat of a war, that there would not be found so many righteous as might have saved Sodom: and the man who, on the other side, *dares to be honest*, and yet goes on dealing with them, shall at length have something put in *his* way too; upon which he shall go to prison and partake of their infamy beforehand, and without their gain. I do not write of that which I have not seen and witnessed: and never was I more convinced, than now, that the 'moral salvation' of Britain depends mainly, under Divine Providence, on an effectual provision being made for the training of our youth, of both sexes, from the highest to the lowest (not in a specious piety and pretended loyalty, without honesty under it, but) *in the principles and practice of Christian and Scriptural religion.* Ed.

ART. IV.—*Hannah More on bigotry.*

"We have had here for four or five days on a visit a clergyman of superior learning; a very respectable correct man, but one of the most strenuous disciples of the Daubinian school. Of that school he is an exact, though perhaps rather favorable, specimen on account of his natural mildness of character. Which happy temperament, however, does not in the least remove his prejudices, or diminish his unrelenting hatred of those writers whom it is the fashion to call Evangelical: but which you and I had rather distinguish by the name of spiritual. He reverences Kipling as I reverence Luther.—*He added that he had no idea of the possibility of Christianity without Episcopacy* [alas for the poor Scots—they must be 'Scythians' indeed to him!]

"I assured him of my great reverence for Episcopacy; observing at the same time that I thought *charity* [in thinking no evil of others] *love* [to God and our neighbour] and *SELF government*, gave a more unequivocal proof of Christianity than a bare adherence to *any* particular form of Church government.

"He thought this highly heretical. When I spoke of spiritual religion, and the sort of writers whom I thought likely to promote it, *he declared he had never read one devotional book.* I ventured to recommend *Pascal*, upheld as his reputation is by mathematics on one side, and brilliant wit on the other; and *Nicole*, whose strength of argument I hoped might gain some quarter for his serious piety. But he will soon find that their talents will not cover that multitude of sins which

their spirituality involves ; and that *Jansenism is only Methodism in French.*

“The misery is, that these fiery polemics read only one side of the question : and if, through natural mildness, they should ever be disposed to relax, the monthly appearance of the *Anti-jacobin Review* new braces their slackening bigotry, and rekindles *the smouldering embers of immortal hate.*” Letter to Mr. Knox : Jan. 1806.

ART. V.—POETRY: *Verses concluding a Letter to a Friend*: 1809.

From lonely Plaistow's level plain,
 Where many a sheaf waits, drench'd with rain,
 Tomorrow's doubtful sky,
 Where the slow grazing ox his head
 Scarce raises, at the noiseless tread
 Of herdsman plodding nigh ;
 Where Thames the tributary Lea
 Drinks up, himself too near the sea,
 And feeling still each wave
 Check'd by old Ocean's prouder stride,
 That brings at every reflux tide
 His greatness to its grave,—
 Go, nimble sheet ! to other skies,
 Where Caledonia's mountains rise,
 With many a stream between,
 Go thither, where one city boasts
 Two rivers meeting on her coasts,
 The pride of Aberdeen !
 There greet the feelings of a friend—
 Yet stay—some message I must send
 To cheer her anxious mind.
 Alas ! no news have I to tell—
 I, who 'midst my own people dwell'
 And there my comforts find.
 Say, the great world, the busy throng,
 The *London* I have left so long,
 (That noisy empty scene)
 Seems now to my returning view
 Not less a dream ; nor joys more true
 Presents, its cares between.
 Yet brings it one sweet thought to me,
 This world, it will not ever be ;
 A fairer world to come,
 Seen dimly through the mist of time,
 Invites reviving hope to climb
 And seek, with patient toil, that better home ! H.

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BY A FRIEND.

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PRO PATRI^A.

1835.

ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrine and practices of the Quakers.*

Continued from p. 220.

A. D. 1689. THE TOLERATION ACT: 1 *Will. and Mary*, 1, 18, passed.

This Act is entitled, *An Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain Laws.* I shall take my account of the proceedings of Friends in relation to it, at this time, from *Geo. Whitehead*; whose introductory remarks I shall in part insert here.

“It is very remarkable and memorable, how the LORD GOD, by his *Wisdom and Power* has appeared and wrought for his people, even for his name and suffering seed's sake, in gradually making way for their Christian liberty:—insomuch that the understandings of many in outward Government (even of the Supreme in authority) have been so far enlightened as to see that liberty from persecution is not only most equal, and [most] consistent with a Christian spirit and temper, but also with their own safety, and the peace of the Government and nation where they rule; and [this] has been confessed to by many of the great ones in authority. Yea, I have heard it declared by a Great person of the Church of England (as in the name and power of the Church) ‘Neither we nor you are safe without the Toleration.’

“And many that have formerly had a hand in persecution, are now willing that former sin of theirs should be covered; that they may be esteemed sincere for liberty of conscience against persecution. Others (even persons of note) have gloried and seemed to rejoice in that *they* never had a hand in persecution, nor signed Warrant against any of us for our conscience: it being generally—by men of ingenuity and sobriety deemed scandalous, or a brand of infamy, to be accounted a Persecutor.

"Hitherto then, as the Lord our God hath been graciously pleased to help us through many deep sufferings, hardships and trials, he hath also been at work in the hearts of men in power, and *judging among the gods for his heritage*, Ps. 82. 1. And in order to give his churches (among us) rest from open persecution, he prepared the heart of the Government after the Revolution, to allow us *the sanction of a Law* for our Liberty, (together with other dissenting Protestants) respecting our religious exercises in our public assemblies."—[Title of the Act given, as above, with the preamble.]

"Which Act contains much of the substance and divers clauses of the *Bill* entitled '*A Bill of ease to all Protestant dissenters*;' which was endeavoured to have been passed into an Act by the Parliament in K. Chas. 2nd's time, in 1680 and 1681; but not effected, either in his reign or in his brother's succeeding.—

"Upon perusal of the *Bill*, we found some passages or terms not clear; but such as tended to infringe our liberties, and render the intended law ineffectual, and in some things rather a snare to us, if enacted: As particularly about some Articles, or a *Confession of faith*, that some members of the House of Commons would have imposed for terms of liberty or ease to dissenting Protestants; which seemed partly to aim at us the people called Quakers: occasioned by one member especially, his openly declaring in the House *that the Quakers were no Christians*: Which was an old refuted calumny, cast upon us by our notorious adversaries and some apostates.

"Some of the terms in the said *Bill* required of Protestant dissenters, to prove themselves Christians, were, 'That all such [shall be so reputed] who profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, co-equal with the Father and the Son, One God blessed for ever: And do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the revealed Will and Word of God.'—To prevent any from being stumbled or ensnared by some expressions in the aforesaid profession or creed (which appeared *unscriptural*) in the said *Bill*, we instead thereof did propose and humbly offer, as our own real belief of the Deity of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, viz. 'I profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ *his Eternal Son*, the true God, and in the Holy spirit, One God blessed for ever: And do acknowledge the Holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament *to be given by Divine Inspiration*. (a)

"Which declaration *John Vaughton* and I delivered to Sir Thomas Clergis, who with some others were desirous we should give in such confession of our Christian belief [as] that we might not lie under the unjust imputation of being 'No Christians'; nor thereby be deprived of the benefit of the intended law for our Religious liberty. We were therefore of necessity put upon offering the said confession: it being also our known professed principle sincerely to confess Christ the Son of the Living God his Divinity, *and as he is the Eternal Word*: [thus the author explains *himself*:] And that the Three which bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, are One: One Divine Being, One God blessed for ever.

"Moreover the said *Sir Thomas Clergis*, being satisfied with our confession aforesaid delivered unto him, moved the order for the same before a Grand Committee of the whole *House of Commons*, mentioning some of our names from whom he had the said Confession. Whereupon we were called into the House, and some other Friends, as *William Meud* and *John Osgood*, that the Committee might have our confession from ourselves, and the Parliament be the better satisfied therewith in hearing us: So that I had then occasion to answer the Committee very clearly and to their satisfaction; both as to our really owning the Deity; and the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, *as given forth by Divine Inspiration*. The last being most in question, we gave them such plain and

(a) Even this profession is not clear of an objectionable term: the epithet 'Eternal' being applicable (scripturally) to Christ, not as the *Son* but as the *Word*. *Ed.*

clear satisfaction, both as to the Holy doctrine contained in the Scripture of the Old and New Testament, and to the Historical parts thereof, as being preserved by Divine providence to us: that I clearly perceived our Confession and Testimony had such influence and effect upon the spirit of the Parliament, that it made for the furtherance of the said Bill, in order to bring it into an Act; although some of the members (when the Committee was over) would have made it but a temporary Act for three years. In which I opposed them, and shewed the unreasonableness of such a limitation of our Religious liberty, urging, *that it ought to be perpetual*. So after much labour and attending on our parts, the Bill was passed. (b)

“ This Act gives liberty to dissenters to hold their meetings without molestation, *provided the doors were not locked, barred or bolted during the time of such meeting*: provided also they take the oaths [or declaration] prescribed in the Act. (c)

“ And inasmuch as the people called Quakers entertain a conscientious scruple against taking any oath, they were entitled, upon their subscribing the following declaration, to the benefit of the Act: viz.

“ I, A. B. do sincerely promise and solemnly declare before God and the world, that I will be true and faithful to king William and Queen Mary. And I solemnly profess and declare, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and denounce as impious and heretical that damnable doctrine and opinion, that Princes,

(b) Christian Progress, 632—636. Burnet says of the Act of Toleration, “ This Bill gave the King great content. He in his own opinion always thought *that Conscience was God’s province*, and that it ought not to be imposed on. And his experience in Holland made him look on Toleration as one of the wisest measures of Government. He was much troubled to see so much ill humour spreading among the Clergy, *and by their means over a great part of the nation*. [For] the Clergy began now to shew an implacable hatred to the Nonconformists, and seemed to wish for an occasion to renew old severities against them.

“ *But wise and good men did very much applaud the quieting the nation by the Toleration*. [As they will, doubtless, the settling of it in a mutual confidence and good will of all parties towards each other, now, by a complete establishment of Religious freedom.] It seemed to be suitable both to the spirit of the Christian religion, and to the interest of the nation. It was thought very unreasonable, that while we were complaining of the cruelty of the Church of Rome, we should fall into such practices among ourselves: chiefly, while we were engaging in a war, in the progress of which we would need the united strength of the whole nation:” H. O. T. iii, 15. But may it not be truly said that we were never without such a war—a war against the powers of darkness, against impiety and immorality; against those who would delight (could they have their counsels fulfilled) to unhinge all government, and lay society, Civil and religious, in ruins?

(c) This condition, of not closing the House against strangers, was attempted to be imposed, (in the years 1803 and 1804) upon Meetings for discipline also, by a person whom the Society had disowned. I was then a member of the Quarterly Meeting concerned, and witnessed a part of the proceedings. Being prevented by the door-keepers from forcing his way in, while the Quarterly Meeting for discipline was sitting at Devonshire house, Bishopsgate, this individual brought an action ‘in the Exchequer of pleas’ against John Batger and others, for assault and false imprisonment, &c.: which cause was tried on the 23rd of 2nd Mo. 1805, and the Plaintiff nonsuited. The Chief Baron said, ‘I take this Meeting to be entirely for the purpose of Church government (and if so, it is a place of business at that time) though it may be interspersed with acts of worship.’ Davis, *Digest*, p. 6.

excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate hath, or ought to have, any power, jurisdiction, preeminence or authority, Ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. [To which were added a Declaration against Transubstantiation, and the profession of Christian belief above cited.]

“It was also enacted, that no congregation or assembly be allowed by this Act, until the place of such Meeting be certified to the bishop of the diocese, or to the arch-deacon of the arch-deaconry, or the justices of peace at the general or quarter sessions of the peace for the county, city or place, in which such Meetings should be held, and registered in the said bishop’s or arch-deacon’s court respectively; or recorded at the said Quarter Sessions: for which the register or clerk should not take a greater fee or reward than *six pence*.,’ [The price having been amply paid in Sufferings and losses, beforehand!] (d)

The Clergy, however, took care to secure their temporal interests from all detriment through this Act, by a clause providing *that nothing therein contained should be construed to exempt any of the persons aforesaid from paying of tithes, and other parochial duties to the church or minister, nor from any prosecution in any Ecclesiastical court, or elsewhere, for the same.*

Thus was the battle for the present gained, and the great cause of Liberty of Conscience advanced to a TOLERATION: a *stand and vantage ground*, from which it behoved the champions of the Truth, at every opportunity, still further to assail the powers of sloth and ignorance, of superstition and bigotry; till the enemy, driven from his last strong hold (the support of the State) should cease to interfere in these things between man and his Redeemer; leaving *Religion* where it should ever be found, an affair, as respects *Conscience*, between God and man; and as regards *his conduct in society*, a matter before God betwixt a man and his neighbour.

The following very just reflections of our venerable friend, and unwearied solicitor for his suffering brethren, *George Whitehead*, shall for the present conclude this subject.

“Although for the space of about twenty five years (from 1660 to 1684) we had *but small respite* from some kind of persecution or other, notwithstanding the Liberty of Conscience *so often promised and declared from the throne*, yet the TRUTH lost no ground, but gained through all. The time of persecution was a *Seed-time*; for the Truth and Gospel of Christ Jesus, which we suffered for, and the faithful, grew and multiplied. The Good seed of the Gospel being sown and planted, the same increased and spread even in those suffering times: [the plant] which neither the devil nor his instruments could ever root out. That Divine presence attended us in our many deep sufferings, which reached and tenderly affected many hearts and souls, *as they beheld and observed the patience and innocence wherein the LORD sustained us*, in our many trials and sufferings. Whereby many were not only moved with compassion to us, but also to enquire after the Lord and his Truth—the cause for which we patiently suffered.

“As, the more Israel was afflicted and oppressed under Pharaoh in Egypt, the more they multiplied and grew; so, as the Lord’s people have been persecuted and oppressed in this Gospel-day, the more their number has increased and they multiplied: *wherein still the merciful Providence of Almighty God has appeared, to frustrate the evil designs of ungodly persecutors and wicked men!*” (e)

(d) Gough, iii, 232—236: Compare Davis’s Digest, p. 1—13. (e) Christian Progress, p. 631.

A. D. *James Stuart*, who had abdicated the throne in England and 1689. given place to a successor, lands with an army in Ireland. Friends there, being exposed to very heavy sufferings *by military spoil and violence*, apply to him for protection.

Friends in Ireland had by this time increased to a considerable number, in different congregations spread over most part of the island. Their application to the late king (now master, for the time, of all Ireland) appears to have been made from their Half-year's Meeting, held in Dublin in the Third Month 'June' this year: at which 'they received accounts of the sufferings of Friends in various parts of the nation, through robbery and spoil by soldiers and others'—the losses sustained by those of the province of Leinster alone appearing to be above £900.

'At the succeeding Half-year's Meeting in the Ninth Month, it appeared, that the losses of Friends being still continued and increased, those of the Friends of Leinster and Munster amounted to above £7000.' In Ulster, which was now the seat of war, no regular accounts having been kept no returns of Sufferings were made up, *but many of them were spoiled of all their substance*, [and in some instances their houses set on fire.] (f)

It appears from the Journal of *William Edmundson* (the chief member of the society in Ireland and the instrument of the gathering and settling of many meetings) that their sufferings had become considerable, for some time past, under the administration of the Lord-deputy *Tyrconnel*; who was entirely in the interest of James. And I believe I cannot better set forth their deplorable case, than by extracting from the above mentioned work a plain narrative of events, of which this Friend was a suffering witness; through the whole of what they emphatically term 'the troubles.' But I should first remark that, in the worst of these times of trial, Friends *kept up their Meetings for worship and discipline; collected at the latter the accounts of the Sufferings of their members, and took what care they could for their relief*. This they did from a sense of duty, 'placing their confidence in Divine protection, surrounded as they were with perils on every hand. For they were not only exposed to the depredations of soldiers, *permitted to live upon free quarter (g)* and countenanced by

(f) Gough, iii, 270.

(g) We have the testimony of Burnet as to the state of things in Ireland, in 1690, in the following passage: 'Great complaints were brought over from Ireland, where the king's army was almost as heavy on the country as the Rapparees were. *There was a great arrear due to them*: for which reason, when the king settled a government in Ireland of three Lord's Justices, he did not put the army under their (Civil) authority, but kept them in a military subjection to their officers. For he said, since the army was not regularly paid, it would be impossible to keep them from mutiny, *if they were put under strict discipline and punished accordingly*. The under officers, finding they were only answerable to their superior officers, *took great liberties in their quarters*; and instead of protecting the country, they oppressed it. The king [Will. 3] had brought over an army of seven thousand Danes, under the command of a very gallant prince, one

their officers to be very abusive, but to the more savage devastations and cruelties of armed banditti, under no restraint or discipline, termed *tories* and *rapparees*; who infested every quarter of the nation, *plundering and burning all before them.* (h)

1689 Sufferings of William Edmundson and others, during the war in Ireland.
1691.

“When the service of that meeting was over, [his own Province-meeting for the discipline] I went with my wife and Friends from Limerick to my own house, and, as way opened, visited Friends in the North, and other places, duly attending public meetings both for worship and discipline. Then a weighty sense came upon my spirit, of great exercise and trials approaching, which would try us all, and that the Lord would spread the carcasses of men on the earth, as dung. So in the spirit and power of the Lord, I faithfully and plainly warned Friends and others of it in many public meetings in divers places, and often, in the Lord’s movings, advised Friends to lessen their concerns in the world, and be ready to receive the Lord in his judgments, that were at hand, and to flee unto him for succour, that they might have a place of safety in him. The like doctrine, admonition, and exhortation often, and in many places, I was moved of the Lord to publish. So I am a witness, that his care is for and over his people, that they be not surprised, but might make ready against the day of trial: and in a short time trouble came on apace.

“The Earl of Tyrconnel, then lord deputy of Ireland, armed the Irish, and disarmed most of the English; so that great fear came upon the Protestants, most of the great leading men, and many others, left their places and substance, and went for England, others of them got into garrisons, and those that staid in their dwellings lay open to spoil. An open war soon broke out, and abundance of the Irish (who went in bands, but were not of the army) called raparees, (*) plundered and spoiled many of the English Protestants: also many of the army, that were under command in troops and companies, were very abusive, being countenanced by their officers; so that the Protestants were under great distress many ways, though the government gave forth several proclamations against such abuses.

“And we being sharers with many other Protestants in these sufferings, a concern came upon my mind to appeal to the government, to redress abuses committed in the country, by some of the army, particularly one troop at Mount-

of the Dukes of Wirtemberg: but they were *cruel* friends, and thought they were masters. Nor were the English troops much better.’ H. O. T. iii, 91.

(h) Idem. This term ‘tory,’ applied first to a partizan in that worst of all kinds of strife *civil war*, formed soon afterwards, with its counter denomination ‘whig,’ the names of the two great political parties, in the interests of absolutism on one hand, and the Revolution and a constitutional king on the other. Burnet says of the Lord *Halifax*, (mentioned after other statesmen) ‘The last of these had gone into all the steps that had been made for the King [Will. 3] with great zeal, and by that means was [come to be] hated by the High party, whom for distinction sake I will hereafter call *TORIES*, and the other Whigs; terms that I have spoken much against and have ever hated, but to avoid making always a longer description I must use them: they being now become as common as if they had been words of our language.’ H. O. T. vol. iii, p. 5. The words are, I believe, originally *Irish*: and I wish too, with all my heart, that the thing and the term had never crossed the channel hither. However, if we find, as Burnet did, that we *must* use them for distinction of parties, let us at least endeavour to admit into our minds as little as possible of party rancour along with them. *Ed.*

(*) *Reparés* (it may be) or disbanded soldiers collected into new bodies.

melick, who were very abusive, concerning whom I petitioned the Duke of Tyrconnel, who heard my complaint, and for example to the rest cashiered the quarter-master, and ordered two of the troopers, who had done abuses, to be cashiered, and also sent to gaol: the troop to be immediately removed to another place. This eased our quarter for a little time.

"Now the quarter-master was very submissive, and desired me to solicit the duke to restore him to his place; which I did, and the duke granted it. This gained much upon many of them, and I gained acquaintance at court: but things grew worse and worse. After this a party of Sir Maurice Eustace's troop came our road, and did great abuses to several Protestants in Mountmelick, and thereabout. Some of them came to my house, and were very rude, taking me by the hair of my head, and haling me about the yard among their horses' feet, without the least provocation; some of them with clubs, and others with cocked pistols, swearing they would kill me; which my wife hearing, came out sorely amazed and affrighted, desiring them to take all we had, and save my life. Then they left me, and turned after her, swearing and calling bad names; and shot several times at my mastiff-dog that was chained, and so rode away like mad men, abusing and beating all the English they met with; some they almost killed: and in Mountmelick there was a great scuffle (and like to have been worse than it was), betwixt them and some English, whom they abused. News went thither that I was killed, so they concluded a massacre was intended, believing I would give them no occasion. This alarmed and affrighted the Protestants in our parts, some ran into woods and bogs, to hide themselves.

"The next morning I went to Mountmelick, where several English Protestants expressed their gladness to see me alive. Our chief men of the English there, that were not fled, were Justice Warnford, Hopton Harris, &c. I went to them, they were glad to see me, but concluded this was a forerunner of a massacre. I told them I was of another mind; for it rather appeared to be a contrivance, to alarm and affright all the English, to make them run for England, that they might have the country, and all we had to themselves: and that I believed they intended no massacre; for if they had, they would not have given us this alarm. And if they would manage this matter well, it might make full proof for all the English in Ireland to know, whether they intended a massacre or not. I advised to take full examinations of the abuses, and send some men to Dublin with them, and petition the government; and by this we should all know, what they intended to do. They assented thereto, and liked it well; but said, that at this time, unless I would go and undertake it, none else durst. I considered the matter, and understood well the undertaking was the hazard of a man's life; yet perceiving it might be the saving of many, I took courage, and my life was not much to me for the good of my countrymen; so I told them if Hopton Harris and George Wheatley would go with me, I would undertake it. They were two noted men in the town, that had been abused by that party; when they considered the matter, they were willing to go; then the justice took examinations of the abuses done, and the next day we took our journey to Dublin, but not the usual road, lest we should have been way-laid.

"When we came to Dublin, I went to the Lord Chief Justice Nugent, who was still my friend, I acquainted him with the whole matter; he seemed to take little notice of any abuses but what they had done to me, and promised to be at the castle such an hour, and he would assist me to come to the speech of the Duke of Tyrconnel. So I and the other two went to the castle, where Judge Nugent came, as he promised, and presently I was called into the duke's closet, but the other two were not suffered to go in. I told the duke of the abuses done to me, and what troop they belonged to; he looked with a sour countenance, and said little to it. Then I spoke of the gross abuses done to my neighbours, and particularly to those two men that came with me, who were standing without: but I was stopped, and bid to speak to my own business, so dismissed. I went

out to my two neighbours, and told them, I well perceived they intended no massacre, but to affright the rest of the Protestants out of Ireland: however I would prosecute this matter to the end, perceiving that they would not hear them, yet I desired their company, and they were willing to be with me.

“ We went then to Col. Russel, who was then colonel of the regiment those troopers belonged to, and told him of the abuses done, and how the English were affrighted; he seemed to be much concerned, and said, if such were not made an example, it was time for every one to look to himself, but he would go to the duke and lay it home to him. (This Col. Russel went soon after for England.) We went to the Lord Granard, who was then lieutenant-general, and acquainted him, what an affright the country was in upon this occasion. He was much concerned and dejected in his mind, and said, he was general, and no general; but he would go to the duke, and lay it close to him. We were also with the Lord Mountjoy, and several other persons of note of the Protestants.

“ So the noise thereof spread, and the duke sent that evening, and said, we had made a great noise in the city, and would know, if we had witnesses ready: I said, we could have an hundred, and more if need were. So he ordered us to be at the Lord Chief Justice Nugent's next morning at eight o'clock; also the captain and troopers were ordered to be there, to have the matter examined. We came at the hour appointed, the captain, Sir Maurice Eustace, and the troopers were there, and examined, but all denied the fact; then Judge Nugent asked me, if I knew any of them, that did abuse me. I challenged one, and he confessed; then the officer, who was with the party, was put to discover the rest, which he did: so they were disarmed, and sent to the gaol at Maryborough. Then the two neighbours, that were with me, speaking of the abuses done to them, the judge checked them, for making some small resistance in their own defence at Mountmelick. Now having seen what they aimed at, we went home.

“ Those troopers that were committed, came soon after to Mountmelick (by the sheriff and gaoler's leave,) one of them came to my house, to ask me forgiveness, and said, they would make me what satisfaction I pleased. Then I went to Mountmelick where the rest were, both the abusers and abused, and discoursed privately with Justice Warnford, shewing him, we had got all we were like to have; for we saw how things wrought, and it was best to forgive them, for otherwise we should get nothing but their hatred, and perhaps a worse mischief than we had gotten already. Some were against it, but I went out to the soldiers, and told them, I hoped this would be a warning to them, to be civil for the future; and so forgave them what they had done to me, wishing them to satisfy the rest whom they had abused. They begged of me to write with them to the Lord Chief Justice Nugent, to give them their horses and arms, for they bought them; I did so, and they were very thankful, and promised to be kind to my Friends wherever they met with them. They had their horses and arms restored. Soon after this, the same troop came into our quarter, to take horses and arms from the Protestants, the captain alighted at my house, and was very courteous, promising to do what kindness in him lay for any of my Friends; notwithstanding which, they generally took Friends' horses as well as others.

“ Now trials and great exercises increased daily, and most of the eminent leading men of the English Protestants were gone, and those who staid were discouraged to appear to the government, for the preservation of the country. So things looked with a face of ruin and destruction; and through a sight and sense of it, a concern came upon me to appeal to the government in behalf of the Protestants, and in particular for Friends. I was often at Dublin, and used what interest I had gotten with the government, for the public good. Now the Irish army were marching to the North, against the Protestants there in arms, and I was much concerned with some Friends in Dublin, to use all our interest with the chief officers, to spare and be kind to our Friends in the North, for they were not in arms; and many of them promised they would, and performed their promises.

"Now calamity increased, the raparees on one hand plundered and spoiled many of the English, and on the other hand the army, marching and quartering, took what they pleased from us; and our families were their servants, to make what we had ready for them: and it looked like a sudden famine, there was such great destruction. Now I considered the way to prolong time, that the English might eat part of their own, was to get a guard of Irish soldiers in that quarter, which lay open to all mischief. So I went to Dublin, and got an order from the Duke of Tyrconnel, for one Captain Francis Dunn, and his company, to stay with us, and protect that quarter against thieves, raparees, and other violences. This put a little stop to plundering in our quarter, which sorely vexed plunderers and thieves. Then some evil-minded officers got this Captain Dunn removed, and he went on his march near forty miles; but King James being then come into the nation, another Friend and I procured his order to bring him back again; yet they were not quiet until he was again removed, then the Protestants with us went fast to wreck in their substance.

"In those times I was much at Dublin, applying to the government in behalf of the country, for the Lord had given Friends favour with the government, and they would hear my complaint, and gave forth several orders to magistrates and officers of the army, to suppress raparees, and restrain their abuses, and they stood a little in awe of me, for they knew I had an interest with the government.

"I was sometimes with King James, and told him of the calamity the Protestants were under in the country, and he would hear me quietly, for the Lord made way in their hearts for us, against such a time of great exercise and trial, and I had a concern upon me to make use of it for the public good, the chief of the English Protestants being gone, who might have appeared to the government for the safety of the country.

"Now was wickedness let loose, and got a head, so that by violence and cruelty most of our Protestant neighbours were forced from their dwellings, and several families came to my house, until every room was full; also most of their cattle, that were left, they brought to my land, thinking themselves and goods safer there than elsewhere. Now were we under great exercise and danger, not only of losing our goods, but our lives.

"At the Boyne fight, the Irish army being beaten, many of them fled our road, and plundered many in our parts; they plundered my house several times over, and we were in great jeopardy of our lives, for they were wicked and bloody; so the family were forced to go out of the way, and my wife desired me to go aside, lest they should kill me, for she would venture her own life to save mine; but I could not do it, though they should be permitted to kill me: yet the Lord's secret hand restrained them, and preserved our lives. They took all our household goods they could find and liked, and all our horses that were left. Now was violence let loose, and no government to make address to. The English army did not come near us for some time, and, to look outwardly, we were exposed to the wills of cruel blood-thirsty men.

"So I sent to the chief of the Irish near to us, who staid at home, and they came to me; I told them, they might consider we had lived as peaceable neighbours, and I wished we might do so still; and though at present the English in this neighbourhood lie open to the spoil of their countrymen, yet they might easily apprehend it would come to their turn; for the English army being masters in the field, would soon advance, and then they might expect the same measure from them, as the English now received from their countrymen. Wherefore I advised, that they would use their utmost endeavours to keep off their countrymen from spoiling the English of that little which they had left, and when the English army advanced to us, we would use our endeavours and interest to do the like for them. They seemed to accept the proposal gladly, and promised with many oaths to perform it to the utmost of their power; but did not: for there were few

nights passed, but some of our English neighbours were robbed or wounded; and when I told them of their promises, they would pretend ignorance in the matter.

“ Now the English, that remained near us, were forced to flee into the parish worship-house at Rossenallis (a little from my house), for safety. When the English and Scotch came into those parts, they plundered the Irish; but King William put forth a proclamation, that all the Irish, and others, who would live peaceably at home, should not be molested. Notwithstanding which, there came two captains, with about three hundred soldiers, and drove away about five hundred head of cattle and horses, also took away prisoners. One, William Dunn (who had been captain in the former wars) and two of his sons, one of whom they stripped out of his clothes, in order to hang him, having suspicion that he was a raparee; then the Dunns sent for me in haste, and acquainted me therewith: I took horse and rode after the parties as swift as I could, having regard to my promise of neighbourhood; when the Irish neighbours saw me ride after them, many followed in expectation to get their cattle and people released.

“ I rode four miles before I overtook them, when I came near, the two captains perceiving who it was (for they knew me before) made a halt and met me. I reasoned the matter with them, and told them of the king's proclamation, and how it would not be the soldiers, but they who commanded, that must answer the injury done; and that it was a reflection upon the king's promise, as also a great reflection on the English nation. So with much discourse and arguments to this purpose, the two captains seemed willing to release all, if the soldiers could be prevailed upon. I rode with them to the head of the party, but they were very angry, and would needs have killed the Irish that followed for their cattle: whereupon I quitted my horse, and ventured my life among the rude soldiers to save the Irish, and with much ado, I, with the captains' assistance, got them moderated, on condition to give them a small part of the cattle, to release the rest.

“ Then I mounted my horse, and sought out the man whom they had stripped for hanging: when I found him, I threw him my riding-coat to put on, and desired one of the captains to assist me, in finding him that had taken his clothes: when we had found him, I reasoned the matter with the captains and soldiers, telling them, it was unmanly, and not like a soldier, to strip men in that manner; for I had been a soldier myself, and would have scorned such a base action, besides it might be a precedent to the Irish to strip the English. Many such arguments I used, which at last prevailed: so that the captain made the soldier put off the man's clothes, and give them to him again. I also got both the father and his sons released, with all their cattle, and a great part of the others.

“ And frequently, when the English soldiers took away the Irish people's cattle, I persuaded them to give some of them again, or bought them for a small matter with my own money, and gave them to the owners; also let their horses graze on my land, to save them from the plunderers.

“ Now the English army settled in their winter quarters, and the raparees increased their number; most part of the Irish run out, and our quarter lay open to them: they burned many brave houses, and some towns; also killed several Protestants, and all was full of trouble; yet, through the wonderful mercies of God, we kept our meetings constantly, and enjoyed them peaceably, but in travelling to and fro, were many times in danger of our lives by the raparees, yet the Lord preserved us wonderfully, so that I do not know of above four Friends in this whole nation, that were killed by violent hands all the time of this great calamity.

“ Now the time of our half-year's national meeting at Dublin approached, beginning the eighth day of the ninth month, 1690, to which I went as usually: we had a heavenly blessed powerful meeting, and Friends were more than ordinarily glad one of another in the Lord Jesus, who had preserved us alive, through so many dangers, to see one another's faces again. In the time of the

meeting tidings were brought me, that the raparees had taken about twenty of my cows, but that none of my family were hurt. At which I was well satisfied, for then all were in danger of their lives, that saved any cattle about us, and lived out of garrisons. When the service of the meeting was over, I returned home, and found my wife and family well; which was great satisfaction: but spoil and cruelty encreased, and imminent dangers were plain in my view; yet I durst not remove, for I knew it would discourage Friends, and the English about us, and perhaps cause them to flee from their habitations, and so be exposed to want many necessaries; for they took notice of me, and many of them thought they were safer for my staying in my place. I also believed that one hair of my head should not fall without God's providence.

"Now on the three and twentieth day of the ninth month, before-mentioned, I went to Col. Biarly, then governor of Mountmelick, and told him, that if he did not use some speedy means to succour our quarter, it would be to his great damage, for I expected every night that my house would be burnt; and if I gave way all the English thereabout would flee: so the raparees might burn and destroy all the forage there: and urged him to take some way to succour us, informing him how he might easily do it; yet he took little notice of it, for that same night some hundreds of raparees beset my house, and I with my family being asleep, they fired several shots in at the windows, which were heard at Mountmelick, being two miles off; whereupon several went to the governor, Col. Biarly, and desired a party of men to relieve me, which he would not grant them; then a certain lieutenant (as they said) went to him, and desired a party of men, saying, I was an honest man, and he would relieve me, or lose his life: but Biarly answered, he would hang that man that would go out of the garrison. So the raparees set fire to my house, and I staid therein until much of it was burnt.

"When we could stay no longer for the fire, I made conditions with them, then opened the doors, and went out: but they soon broke their conditions; for though they had bound themselves with many oaths, they took what plunder they could get from the fire; which being very fierce, destroyed the greatest part. One lusty mare was burnt to death in the stable, and two more they got out of the fire, sorely scorched; they took my wife's uppermost garment, and so left her, but me and my two sons they took away prisoners, bare-legged and bare-headed, and not much better than naked; but one of them, (at my request,) lent me an old blanket of my own to lap about me; they took away all my cattle, (left not one,) then they took me and my two sons that night through rough places, bushes, mire and water to the knees in cold weather, when our bare feet and legs were sorely hurt, and bruised with the bushes, gravel and stones.

"The next morning they took us to a wood, and held a council upon us; who concluded to hang my two sons, and shoot me, because they said, I was a stout man. I told them, many of them knew me, and my two sons also; and I challenged them all to prove, that either I, or my sons had wronged any of their country-folks one farthing all these times of trouble; but on the contrary, had saved them what I could; sometimes with the hazard of my life among the English soldiers. Several of them made answer, and said, they knew I was an honest man. Then I told them, if I died, they were my witnesses I was innocent, and God would revenge my blood. They wondered at my boldness, and indeed my life was little to me, for I desired to die, if it were the will of God. Then they hood-winked my sons to hang them, and prepared two firelocks to shoot me; they came to hood-wink me also; but I told them they need not, for I could look them in the face, and was not afraid to die.

"Now came up one Lieutenant William Dunn, who was well acquainted with me and my two sons; he was son to old Capt. Dunn, whom I had got released, together with his cattle from the English soldiers, and brother to him whom they had stripped in order to be hanged, whom I got released also, as aforesaid: and he

who commanded this villainous party that burnt my house, with several others whom I had done kindness for, were present; so this Lieutenant Dunn, expecting to get preferment for what he had done, would take us to Athlone, twenty miles from that place. Thus the Lord interposed, and would not suffer them to take our lives, having a further purpose of service for me.

"The said Dunn kept us three nights by the way at a cabin, cold and hungry, so that they themselves wondered how I could endure it; but I told them, they had taken and destroyed my victuals, and the Lord had taken away my appetite, so I was fitted for it. As we went to Athlone, we met Lieutenant Richard Dunn, and one —— Poor, his brother-in-law, who railed against us; but I told him, he should not rail at us, for we were prisoners, and a right soldier would not rail at a prisoner. They said, they were going to burn Mountmelick, as also the rest of the country then unburnt. I told them, there were many honest people there, and said, God help them. After some other discourse they left us.

"As we went through Raghan, there came forth of a cabin an ancient Irish man, who looked on me with a sorrowful countenance, as though he pitied me, I looked on him, and asked him, if he could give me a piece of bread; for I knew my sons were very hungry. The man answered, and said, he would give me a piece of bread, if he bought it with gold, for he believed I was one that did not use to beg my bread: so he went into the cabin, and fetched as coarse a piece of bread, (I thought) as ever I saw, and said, he was sorry he had nothing to give me to eat with it; but I told him, it was very acceptable, and gave it to the lads. That night we got straw to lodge on, so rested well, and the next day came to Athlone; we were no sooner got into the great street, but it was filled with a crowd of rabble and soldiers, and the high sheriff of that county in the midst of them, calling us traitors, rebels, and such like names, that it was much they did not stab us, with their bayonets and skeins, through the sheriff's animating and encouraging them: but in the interim a genteel proper man crowded through them, and came close to me, and calling me Master Edmundson, asked me, how I did? I answered, saying, thou seest how I do; but I know not thee. He answered, and said, I know you to be an honest man, and spoke aloud to the sheriff and the rest, saying, I have known him above twenty years, and I know him to be an honest man, say you all what you will of him; this made them all quiet: thus the Lord provided succour for us, from their own people, in the time of imminent danger. Then they took us to the main guard, where the rabble thronged in upon us; but this man came there, and brought me a noggin of brandy, and told them, they did not know me, as well as he did; also acquainted me that William Dunn, who brought me there, had informed against me. Then I told him the whole passage, and he said, if that was all, he would not have me deny any thing. I answered him, I had done nothing that I need deny. This man's name was Valentine Toole, a lieutenant, I heard he was reprov'd for being so kind to me, and durst come no more to see me.

"In some little time we were taken to the castle, where the governor, Col. Grace, and the council of chief officers were met. I came in with my old blanket lapped about me, the governor asked, where I lived? and what was my name? I told him, I was old William Edmundson: he stood up, with tears in his eyes, and said, he was sorry to see me there in that condition; for he knew me well, having been sometimes at my house. Then the governor asked the lieutenant that brought us there, what he had to say against me: and he accused me of several things falsely, and I having free liberty to answer to every particular, did it so, that the council of officers were well satisfied, and the governor spoke roughly to the lieutenant, and asked him, what he brought us there for? He answered, (with this excuse, viz.) that the raparees were about to hang us, and he brought us there to save our lives. The governor said, if he had them there, he would hang them. And so he committed us to the custody of Captain Francis Dunn, and soon after sent us a loaf of bread, a piece of beef, a bottle of drink, and twenty shillings of brass money; but we could get no straw to lie upon, but lay

upon the bare floor, which was very cold and hard, we wanting clothes: and my strength was much spent, therefore was not likely to continue long, if the Lord had not provided succour for me.

“ Now John Clibborn, a Friend, lived six miles from Athlone; for most Friends in those parts were forced away, except he and some of his family, who hearing of me, came to Athlone; when he saw me in that mean condition, he cried out wringing his hands, and told them, that they had taken prisoner as honest a man as trod on the earth. After some time he went home to fetch us some meat, for he had little clothes left for himself, having been sorely plundered and spoiled. Now most of the field officers and captains knew me, I having been often at Dublin with the government, when King James was there, and they would discourse familiarly with me. One time I asked them, what they had against me: and what I had done, that they kept me prisoner in that sad condition, and did not bring me to a trial? Col. Moore answering, said, they had nothing against me for any thing I had done, and he believed, I was a very honest man; but they understood I was a witty man, and capable to do them an injury, and that was the reason they kept me. I told them, that was poor justice, to punish a man for what he was capable to do, and not for what he had done. The next day John Clibborn came again, and brought some victuals, but we could get no straw yet to lie upon. I was much spent, and my spirit grieved with their wicked company, so that I desired rather to die quietly in a dungeon, than to be among them.

“ I sent John Clibborn to the governor, to desire him, that I might come upon my trial, or be removed into the dungeon. The governor said, he was sorry for me, for I was an honest man, and there were none mine enemies, but the Dunns, who were all rogues; and he durst not release me, for there were many eyes over him, because he was kind to the English; but to send me to the dungeon, he could not find in his heart to do it. The town was so thronged of people, that there was no room to be had that I could be easy in; he was in a strait, and knew not what to do with me. So John Clibborn requested, to let me go with him to his house at the Moat, and he would engage his body, and all that he had, for my true imprisonment, and to come when he sent for me, alive or dead: so the governor was content, and let us go with him. Thus the Lord provided succour for me in a time of great distress. When I was there, with much difficulty, I got a few lines writ and sent to my wife, that she might know we were alive, and where we were; which was great satisfaction to her and Friends; for many were under great trouble of mind, and it was a trial on most of Friends in our country. The English fled to garrisons, and most of the Irish went to the raparees.

“ One of my sons, that was with me, had a tan-yard, well stocked with hides and leather, and about a week after our house was burnt, my wife went to fetch them off, and several English neighbours, with horses and cars, went to help her; but whilst they were loading the leather, &c. Lieutenant Richard Dunn, and his brother-in-law ——— Poor, (whom I had met in going to Athlone, and who railed at me as aforesaid,) together with a multitude of raparees, came upon them; so they were forced to run for their lives, and leave the horses and cars, the leather and hides, &c. which the raparees took and carried away: but my wife not being able to out-run them, they took and stripped her naked, being cold weather, in the beginning of the tenth month, alias, December; who being ancient, and going two miles naked, got a surfeit of cold, which continued with her until she died, being about seven months after. The next morning, a small party of English soldiers fell upon that great company of raparees, and killed the said Lieutenant Richard Dunn, also his brother-in-law ——— Poor, and a great many more of them: so were they prevented from burning Mountmelick, as he and others had threatened to do.

“ Now, while I was with John Clibborn at the Moat, many of the Irish came daily to get what they could; there came also Colonel Bourk, with about three

hundred firelocks, as a frontier, to intercept the English soldiers: he was very loving to me, and promised, that when he got to Athlone, I should have my liberty, for that he believed I was an honest man. So in a little time he and his party went thither; and with his assistance the governor set me at liberty, having set my two sons at liberty three or four days before, who were gone to their mother. So being at liberty, I got to Streamstown, which was the next English garrison, though it was difficult and dangerous travelling, because of the raparees, there being now little but killing and destruction on both sides. Here I met with my son Samuel, who, notwithstanding he had left the profession of truth, and cast off his education therein, yet was concerned for me in this great trial: he came to that place, being the utmost frontier garrison of the English, to use his best endeavours for my liberty.

“ From Streamstown I went to Mullingar, which was a great garrison of English, where the officers and soldiers were very kind to me, and expressed their great gladness for my coming safe off, though many of them had never seen me before, but had heard of me, and of my ill usage, for the noise of it went far, and several had sworn, that if they had killed me and my sons, they would have killed all the Irish they met with. So from Mullingar I came to Jane Barcroft’s near Edenderry, and from thence to Mountmelick to my wife, where many were glad to see me again. We shifted for house-room as well as we could, the town being thronged with soldiers, and families driven from their habitations in the country; many of whom died for want of conveniences and necessaries, together with grief for their losses.

“ Now the Irish preyed much abroad in the country, and destroyed it; so that the English army marched out to drive them back over the Shannon, and they burned much of the country, that harboured them on this side. At this time also Major General Kirk, with part of the army, came to Mountmelick, with intention to settle garrisons in convenient places, to save the country; some informed him of Rossenallis, to be a fit place for a garrison, telling him of me, and how I had been used there by the Irish. He sent for me, and commanded me to go with him to Rossenallis, and shew him the place; so (being commanded) I went with him.

“ Many Irish lived there and thereabout, under the English protection, who supposing that I had occasioned their coming to make a garrison there, were very angry with me, because this would hinder them from harbouring their kindred and countrymen who were raparees, as they had frequently done before: wherefore they got eight or nine bloody raparees, to lie in ambush between Mountmelick and Rossenallis in order to kill me, &c. as hereafter may appear. For young John Mac Lisha, (who had betrayed my wife into an ambush before,) together with Dennis Dunn, came to Mountmelick in pretence of great friendship, desiring me to go to Rossenallis, and speak with the officers in the garrison, and it would be better for the dwellers there; but as the Lord would have it, I did not go that day. Two days after they came to me again with the same pretence, saying also, that the soldiers were pulling down my out-houses, which were left unburnt; and using many arguments, in shew of kindness and friendship, to persuade me to go to Rossenallis, but I was restrained by a secret hand, that knew their evil design, and would not suffer me to fall into their snare. Howbeit next morning, James Dobson, with his son and cousin coming that way, they shot his son dead in the place, himself and cousin they took to the woods, and barbarously murdered them. That night the Irish papist inhabitants generally ran to the raparees. Thus the Lord preserved my life from the hands of cruel and blood-thirsty men.

“ Now as soon as the ways were opened to travel, I went into the North to visit Friends, and some Friends accompanied me. As we went by Dundalk, where the armies had been one against the other; there were many bones, and tufts of green grass that had grown from the carcasses of men, as if it had been from heaps of dung. Then I told Friends who were with me, You may remember,

that I declared it in public in the word of Truth, many years past and many times, in divers places, that the Lord would dung the earth with the carcasses of men, and would spread them as dung upon the face of the earth; and now you see it here fulfilled. In that journey, I had many sweet comfortable meetings in the North. Friends' hearts were glad, and we were greatly refreshed in the Lord Jesus, and one in another. When clear of that service, I came to Mountmelick.

“Not long after, I with my wife went to my son-in-law William Fayle's, who lived near Dublin. Our national half-yearly meeting approaching, we kept it at Dublin at its usual time, to which I went, and the Lord's presence appeared mightily among us, the hearts of Friends were tender before him. It was a blessed season, Friends being greatly bowed in thankfulness, under a weighty sense and consideration of the providential hand of God, which had preserved us through so many difficulties and dangers, in this time of great calamity.—We made inquiry into the sufferings and losses sustained by Friends in the several provinces, in the time of the war, and took care, that poor Friends every where in this nation should speedily be supplied with necessary food and raiment, until we could further assist them, as need might require, in order to their livelihood, and convenient settlement near meetings for the worship of God, and benefit of them and their families. Also, a weighty concern was upon Friends for the settling of godly discipline in the church, and many suitable things were opened, and communicated in the love and wisdom of God, tending to the promotion of truth, and its holy heavenly order and government among us; also divers testimonies in the power of the Holy Spirit, confirming us in our said christian care and concern. And Friend's spirits were subject to the will of God, giving him the glory, who is worthy for ever.”

ART. II.—*Derivations and Meanings of Words.*

Procession: pomp: pageant: triumph, &c.

The ancients made choice of *high places*, which they called *Omphi*, for the purposes of idolatrous worship. On these natural or artificial mounts (in rivalry it may be, of the Jews receiving the Law on the top of Sinai) they conceived themselves to be more favourably placed for an intercourse with the gods, and for obtaining Oracular answers to the questions they might propound. (See however Vol. I, p. 157 of my own work for a still more ancient origin of the high places.) They were called *Omphi* or *omphē*, by the Greeks, according to Bryant, from *am-phi*, the voice or oracle of Ham, the father of this kind of idolatry: a term which enters into many compounds having reference to religion, a familiar instance being found in the Greek Mount Olympus: *oros Olumpos*, or Har-al-ompi.

On these heights they thought also they heard voices, and obtained oracular dreams: and it was probably the strength of the people's faith, in this spurious and degraded revelation, which enabled the idolatrous kings of Israel so long to keep up the *Omphi* at Samaria, against the worship and temple of the true God.

Among the ceremonies belonging to this superstition, they had *processions* (Latin, for goings forth) in which the priests carried their 'dumb idols' in a shrine, attended by a vast concourse of people. The eighty priests who carried their god Apollo in a ship of gold, pretended (according to *Diodorus Siculus*) to have no guide in their movements, save the *influence* derived from the demon himself whom they worshipped—the spirit of the *Python*; (Acts, xvi, 16.) and

whithersoever he moved them, they went: another piece of rivalry of the service and worship of the true God.

The going forth being from the Omphi, the Greeks made the procession to be ap' omphi; whence *pompē*, Gr. *pompa*, Lat. in English, a *pomp*. And in modern processions, those which imitate the abundance of shew and company of the ancients, are said to be *pompous*.

The *pageant* is a different thing. What we have been treating of used to be, by the heathen, and is still by heathenizing Christians, accounted religious and sacred: but *this* partakes more of the Civil and profane. Johnson compounds pageant of the words *payen geant*, and makes it the figure of a pagan giant carried in a show; or the shew itself, from this. Tooke laughs at him for this blunder, and gives the Anglo-saxon *pæcceand*, a deceptive exhibition, from *pæcan*, to pack, patch, deceive by appearances or delude: and truly this *is* one end for which poor mortals are thus entertained; that they may lose thought, and drown reflection in sound and appearances, and approve whatsoever evil is going on. *Delusion* is, literally, the being *played upon*, in a matter that concerns our interest. But if we attend to the use of the word, we shall find the deception but a secondary meaning, the chief idea being that of *pomp*, though without the reality of greatness. May not the word have been framed in our crusading wars, or somewhere in company with the French (though not of the academy) to denote something, shewn off a *pas de geant*; the actors making as large strides as their legs would admit, and carrying their heads as high as possible? In which manner such things as our Lord Mayor's shews are commonly done. See Bryant's *Mythology*, i, 235. Tooke's *Epea*, &c. ii, 369.

There remains the *triumph*, a military pomp of the Romans; and named it seems from the Greek *thriambos*; otherwise *dithyrambos*, a march to music in honour of Bacchus. From *triumphus*, Lat. we have the French *triomphe*, *tromper*, *trompette*; and thus, our *trumpet*; the instrument from which processions and triumphs have derived, at all times, a great part of their *effect*: so that we need not doubt its having been named from them.

We must not however let the triumph go off without the *drum* (that spirit stirring instrument of more than the *pageantry* of war) in Erse *drumme*, in Danish *tromme*: but as this gives no meaning we will carry *tromme* a little further, and make it the same (in root) with the Greek *tromos*, trembling—the instrument being probably named from the manifest vibration of the head, when struck with the drumstick. The Irish, I believe, came from Asia Minor, where kettle-drums (if I mistake not) have from ancient time made a part of the music used in war. In *war* (Fr. *guerre*, guard) that *dream*—another form of this name of emptiness—that dream of future good to be got from present ills of their own making, with which God hath been pleased to *permit* men to afflict each other for their punishment and humiliation: and from which let us now pray that an oppressed world may be awakened, henceforth to dwell in peace' *Ed.*

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ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrine and practices of the Quakers.*

Continued from p. 239.

A. D. 1691. *Thomas Story* joins himself in society with the Quakers.

This laborious and sound minister of Christ was brother to the Dean of Limerick, and died in 1742; having been a quaker from his early manhood. He left a copious Journal of his Life and Travels; which was printed (pursuant to his directions by will) under the care of Trustees, for distribution among Friends. Many years ago, being in search of a copy and unable to obtain it by purchase, I was favoured with the gift of one (a handsome *folio* of 768 pages) by this trust; which is now, I believe, at an end, the whole impression being disposed of. A meagre 8vo. abridgment has alone been printed since; though we have not a biographical work more worthy the perusal of well educated Friends.

Thomas Story was the son of a gentleman of Cumberland; born at Justice-town near Carlisle, and brought up to the law. Like his cotemporaries *Penn* and *Ellwood*, he was accomplished in the 'manly exercises of the age,' and had learned to *fence*: a habit which we may observe, in perfection, in those animals on which the Creator has bestowed horns and hoofs, for their own defence and for the settlement of their jealous contests with each other: and in these it seems natural and becoming enough. But, as if to shew how little of *security* it confers on persons otherwise peaceable, it appears to have involved

Story, as well as Penn, in a duel ; the fairest mention of which will be in his own words : he writes of his state of mind in 1688. (a)

“ I think proper, in this place, to recount some of the gracious dealings of the Lord with me from my early days. I was not naturally addicted to much vice or evil ; and yet through the conversation of rude boys at school, I had acquired some things by imitation, tending that way ; but as I came to put them in practice, by word or action, I found something in myself, at such times, suddenly surprising me with a sense of the evil, and making me ashamed when alone : though what I had said or done was not evil in the common account of such as I conversed with, or among men, in a common acceptation. And though I did not know, or consider what this reprovcr was, yet it had so much influence and power with me, that I was much reformed thereby from those habits, which, in time, might have been foundations for greater evils ; or as stocks whereon to have engrafted a worse nature, to the bringing forth of a more plentiful crop of grosser vices.

“ Nevertheless, as I grew up to maturity, I had many flowings and ebbings in my mind ; the common temptations among youth being often and strongly presented : And though I was preserved from guilt, as in the sight of men, yet not so before the Lord ; who seeth in secret, and, at all times, beholdeth all the thoughts, desires, words, and actions of the children of men, in every age, and throughout the world.

“ The lust of the flesh, of the eye, and the pride of life, had their objects and subjects presented : The airs of youth were many and potent ; strength, activity, and comeliness of person were not a wanting, and had their share ; nor were natural endowments of mind, or competent acquirements afar off ; and the glory, advancements and preferments of the world, spread as nets in my view, and the friendship thereof beginning to address me, with flattering courtship. I wore a sword, which I well understood, and had foiled several masters of that science, in the North, and at London ; and rode with fire-arms also, of which I knew the use ; and yet I was not quarrelsome ; for though I emulated, I was not envious : but this rule as a man, I formed to myself, never to offend, or affront any wilfully, or with design : and if inadvertently, I should happen to disoblige any, rather to acknowledge, than maintain or vindicate a wrong thing ; and rather to take ill behaviour from others by the best handle, than be offended, where no offence was wilfully designed. But then I was determined to resent, and punish an affront, or personal injury, when it was done in contempt, or with design : and yet I never met with any, save once : and then I kept to my own maxims with success ; and yet so, as neither to wound, nor be wounded ; the good providence of the Almighty being ever over me, and on my side, as well knowing my meaning in all my conduct. But in process of time, as these prevalent and potent motions of corruption and sin became stronger and stronger in me, so the Lord, in great goodness and mercy, made manifest to my understanding the nature and end of them : and, having a view of them in the true light, and the danger attending them, they became irksome, disagreeable, and exceeding heavy and oppressing to my mind : and then the necessity of that great work of regeneration was deeply impressed upon me ; but I had no experience or evidence of it wrought in me, hitherto. This apprehension greatly surprised me with fear, considering the great uncertainty of the continuance of the natural life ; and it began to put a secret stain upon the world, and all its glory, and all that I had to glory in ; though I kept these thoughts within my own breast, not knowing of any soul to whom I could seriously and safely divulge them : and indeed none, for a considerable time, discerned my inward concern by any outward appearance ; which, I found afterwards, had been much to my advantage and safety.—

(a) *Story's Journal*, p. 11.

“Hitherto I had known the grace of God in me only as a manifester of evil and of sin, a word of reproof, and a law condemning and judging those thoughts, desires, words, passions, affections, acts and omissions, which are seated in the first nature, and rooted in the carnal mind; in which the suggestions, temptations, and influences of the evil one work and prevail: by which divine grace I was, in some good degree, enlightened, reformed, and enabled thereby to shun and forbear all words and acts thus known to be evil, and moral righteousness restored in my mind, and thereby brought forth in me. I became then sequestered, weaned, and alienated from all my former acquaintance and company; their manners and conversation, though not vicious, (for such I never liked) became burdensome, tedious, and disagreeable; for they had not the knowledge of God, nor such a conversation as I wanted. And yet I did not know the divine grace in its own nature, as it is in Christ; not as a word of faith, sanctification, justification, consolation and redemption; being yet alive in my own nature; the Son of God not yet revealed in me; nor I, by the power of his holy cross, yet mortified and slain; being without the knowledge of the essential truth, and in a state contrary to him, and unreconciled. But the Lord did not leave me there, but, in his matchless mercy, followed me still by his holy admonitions, and more and more inclined my mind in an earnest enquiry after himself, and his own essential truth and word; concerning whom I did not know of any in all the earth could teach me; the world being universally, as I judged, by the general ways and courses of men, of all forms and ranks, altogether ignorant of the Lord, knowing only some historical and traditional hints concerning him, and of his doctrine and ways; which having little or no effect or influence upon the minds and conversations of men, it seemed but a dead knowledge or image, and they, dead whilst they yet lived, did not really and savingly believe in the true God, and Christ Jesus, of whom they made profession and talked: So that I did not then know that the Lord had any people then in the world, owned, by his presence with them, as his flock and family; which reminds me of that saying of the Lord, Nevertheless, when the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?”

His progress, from this state of conviction for sin, to entire conversion through some very remarkable exercises of spirit, is described in his Journal: his first trial, as a quaker in principle, being by the refusal of an oath at the time of the assizes at Carlisle in 1691; previously to which he had attended (by invitation) a very solemn quaker's meeting for worship, and (what is not allowed to new converts by our present rule and practice) *one for discipline also*. The effects of the latter on his mind are worth notice: the description is that of the feelings of an impartial judge, while a difficult and important cause is trying. (b)

“The Meeting being set, they had first a time of silence, waiting upon God (as I did believe and practise) for the renewing and strengthening of their minds; and, after that, they proceeded upon the business of the day. And so it happened at that time, that a matter of great moment among them was debated, and not without some warmth on both sides; but the zeal of both did not arise from the same root.

“It was concerning the manner and essence of their discipline; which a sect among them had opposed, from the time of the first proposal of any discipline among them as a Society. The debates arising pretty high, and they observing me to be there, and most of them, I doubt not, having heard I seemed to favour their way; and, being cautious lest I should take offence from their debates, not knowing the state of the case, or, perhaps, not qualified to judge in matters so foreign to me, some of them, prudently, put that friend, who had introduced me,

upon an inoffensive way to procure my absence; and accordingly he called me aside into an outer room, offering to discourse on some foreign subject: But as my mind, in time of silence in the meeting, had been comforted in the life of truth, I remained under the sense of it; having taken little other notice of what had passed in point of argument, than in what spirit they managed and contended on each side.

“But though I observed the friend’s good intent in calling me out, I could take no cognizance of what he said; for a deep thought now entered my mind, whether these could yet be the people of God—since they seemed to be divided among themselves, and treat one another with an acrimony of language, which, I thought, could not arise from love, neither altogether suited the humility of Jesus, the true Christ.

“The friend, observing my silence, and that I was under a deep inward concern, became silent likewise and a trouble also seized him, but of another kind; for I was concerned to know the truth, and on what side, if on either, it might lie; and he was afraid I had, or might take offence, and depart from the beginning I had made among them.

“And thus we remained silent for some time; during which I plainly observed a struggle between two distinct powers in the Ground of Nature, working in myself, which exhibited two different ideas, or conclusions, in my mind, concerning the matter then in hand, and the spirits and persons concerned as agents therein, viz.

“That the first was Truth, establishing himself in his own nature, a lawgiver and ruler in every member of the church and body, as alone needful unto them who were truly so: But as he, who knoweth all things, did foresee that many would, in time, come into that profession, as of old, without any knowledge of the divine truth, or work of it in themselves, but, as thieves and robbers, climbing up some other way; by education, tradition, imitation, or sinister interests, and worldly views; who, not being under the rule and law of grace in the second birth, would act and say of themselves, contrary to the way of truth, and church of the living God: and therefore, in his wisdom and power, working in the minds of the just, he had early established, and was yet more firmly establishing, a due order among his people; for preserving the right, and passing judgment and condemnation on the wrong, and evil-doers; that such as should profess the truth of God, and yet walk contrary to the same, bringing forth fruits of another kind, might be bounded and confined by outward moral rules, adapted to human reason and understanding.

“And, secondly, on the other hand, that the spirit of this world had been, and still was working in the other sort, to oppose all order and discipline, and to live loose as they list, without any rule, or account to the Society, though professing the same truth with them; and to be judged only by their own light, or what they called so, and accountable only to the spirit in themselves: though several among that party were only against some branches of the discipline, already established by the body of the Society; and not against the whole.

“And, during this time of silence, I clearly beheld the contrary natures and ends of these differing spirits; the one truth, the other error; the one light, the other darkness; the one for moral virtue, and a holy pure mind, and the other for a loose unbounded liberty: and yet, that these last, as creatures, did not see the sophistry of the evil one, to whom themselves were instruments, nor the snare, but intended well, in their own view, and way of conceiving things.

“And, in proportion and degree, as these distinctions were gradually made clear in my understanding at that time, the load and trouble I was under abated; and, at last, my mind settled down again to its own center in peace, and became serene, as before; which, being fully sensible of, I was cheerful, and said to the friend, We may now return into the house, for the danger is entirely over. I knew thy meaning before we came out of the other room; and commend your

care and caution. With this he was greatly pleased; and so were the rest, when they came to know it."

His refusal to swear had involved in great difficulty, along with himself, an acquaintance for whom he had made some writings, on the proof of which depended a considerable property. But the secret hand of Providence wrought for them both, and extricated him after an unexpected manner. Having spent the night after the requisition in a severe but successful struggle with the Spiritual adversary, striving to introduce a slavish fear, and bring his mind into bondage, 'in the morning [he says] I went up towards the hall where the Judges sat, expecting to be called as a witness in the case before-mentioned; but before I reached the place, I saw my said acquaintance [who had been enraged at his declining the oath] approaching me with an air in his countenance denoting friendship and affection; and when met he said, *I can tell you good news; my adversary has yielded the cause, and we are agreed to my satisfaction!*'

Bearing with meek resolution the jeers and scoffs of the many who had witnessed his conduct on this occasion, as well as 'the fool's pretended pity and instructions, who could not see and pity his own miserable case' this young gentleman devoted himself to the study of his own heart in retirement, and to the service of Christ his master, in the society of the despised quakers. He had something (but not so much as Penn and Ellwood), to bear from the displeasure of his earthly parent, on this account: and after travelling some time in the work of the ministry, and tasting of the suffering and humiliation which attends it, settled to the practice of conveyancing in London, and became the intimate friend of William Penn.

In 1698, being on a journey in Ireland, in company with the latter and John Everot, their horses were seized under a Law of the Irish Parliament 'that no *Papist* should be allowed to keep a horse of the value of five guineas or upwards:' the law directing that any Protestant, making information of the case on oath, might possess himself of the horse, tendering that sum to the owner; *the test of whose protestantism was to be found in oaths and declarations*, already mentioned in this work; and with which *Friends* could not comply. The malicious purpose, however, of these 'Protestant' plunderers—(a lieutenant and a cornet of horse) was defeated by a replevy which was made of the horses: and the two officers, upon William Penn's representation of the case to the *Lord's Justices*, were confined to their chambers; and not released till they had given him satisfaction; paying all charges and relinquishing the suit. (c)

(c) Story's Journal, p. 131. The following relations of manifest Providential escapes from imminent danger appear too valuable to be passed over in this work. Thomas Story took occasion from the latter instance (drawn forth probably by his mention of the former) to inculcate on the minds of the hearers *the Christian doctrine of invisible, intelligent and beneficent agents*, watching over believers, and suggesting at the instant, even through the medium of the passions, the conduct necessary for their preservation: as also of the probable access, to the mind, of those of a contrary nature, to prove and refine us,

"On the 7th we went forward for Youghall, though not without some danger,

In 1700, Thomas Story having visited, in his capacity of minister, the meetings of Friends in the colonies of North America, and being ready to return to England, was prevailed on by William Penn to remain in the province of Pennsylvania, and render him in the present embarrassed state of his affairs what assistance he could. His Friends at home and in the province also encouraged this undertaking, of which he says (*d*)

“ I having a very great love and respect for the proprietor, and his regard likewise so to me, and not under any engagement in myself to return immediately to England; and seeing I might probably be of some service there, and elsewhere in America, on several accounts, by staying for some time; and the friends in the country being also generally desirous I should, and my companion also being departed this life, I consented to stay so long as I might see it my place.

“ And being altogether transient, and unengaged in any business, and a proper subsistence necessary, the Governor appointed me to be a member of the council of the state of the province; but, as there was not any income or advantage arising thereby, but loss of time, and divers fatigues, exercises and troubles attending that place of empty honour, he made me Keeper of the Great Seal, Master of the Rolls for recording of all patents, and of the other office, for the enrolling of deeds, and one of his Commissioners of Property, for enquiring into and confirming of old rights, and granting lands upon new purchases; with proviso in my patent for those offices, to have deputies therein respectively, when and so often as my calling in the truth, and service thereof, might require it: and the rest of the Commissioners of Property, being honourable persons of integrity, were always to be my deputies in the office of the seal: And though I was a stranger in the country, as to any business there before, the Governor, knowing me himself, did not insist upon any other security from me than only my own word, to be faithful in those several posts, and to execute those offices truly: And, under these circumstances, I settled there for a time; and fell also into much business in my own way of conveyancing, to which I had been eured in England: And besides, before the proprietor returned to England, which was in about two years after his arrival in the country, he granted a Charter to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, and thereby erected the town into a city or corporation, with divers ample privileges, and appointed me the First Recorder thereof in the original patent; but, being averse to that station, I resigned it as soon as the corporation was regularly settled, and habituated to their business.”

In 1709, we find him engaged on a religious visit to ‘Barbadoes and the Western Isles;’ having finished which, he was (with two other

(*d*) Story’s Journal, 245.

of which we were not then aware: For we were told afterwards, that the Raparees usually haunted some waste places we had passed over; and that there had been about fourteen of them in ambush under a hedge, on the side of a mountain in our way, to have set upon us: for they said, if they could seize Mr. Penn, they should have a hatful of guineas. But it being a heavy rain, and some of us staying behind, on occasion of that and removing our horses shoes, our company was divided into several parties, riding at certain distances one from another; and several of the raparees knowing some of our company belonging to Youghall, they did not attack us, or appear: But, whether for fear that some who knew them might escape, and make discovery who they were, or that our number (though unarmed) over-awed them, or (which is most likely) the Lord by his power restrained them, I shall not determine; but, through his good providence, we went all safe to Youghall in the evening.

“ The Lord is good to them that love him, and near to preserve those that trust in him, and mean no hurt; and all those can praise his never-failing power.

Friends) taken at sea by a privateer, and carried into Port-a-paix in Hispaniola : where, and at Cape François, the captives remained above three months (suffering much from disease and want of necessaries) till being released they got back by a Flag of truce to Antigua. (e)

In 1714, he repeated the visit to Barbadoes, and proceeded thence to England : of his arrival here he writes as follows (f)

“ Now, as I returned into my native land, in the drawings of the love of God, and power of his holy commandment, in the simplicity of the blessed truth, I appeared [in the ministry] as the Lord was pleased to make way for me, being reconciled unto God and to all men, and unengaged in their various feuds, strifes, and emulations; which I found to be many. On the 12th, being the first of the week, in the Meeting at Gracechurch-street, in the morning, I prayed for the King, as my concern was at that season; from which some made this remark, That I was no Jacobite, (a distinction now on foot, it seems, among such as concern themselves in the states and kingdoms of men, and are in emulation in their minds who shall rule, and who shall not) supposing me, as I may collect from hence, to concern myself, as too many, even among our own selves, unwisely do, in the advancement or disappointment of particular persons unto the thrones and dignities of this world; which I never took to be my business, but to leave it to God, and pray for those he advances in the course of his providence, that they may rule in moral righteousness and truth; and we be protected, relieved, and defended by them, against all those who would oppress or injure us, in things pertaining to this present world.”

In 1715, he made a religious tour in Holland, Friesland and Germany; and another the following year in Ireland. The latter is remarkable chiefly on account of his repeated imprisonments contrary to law, by the procurement of the *Bishop of Ossery* (Sir Thos. Veazie) being taken from different meetings in *Kilkenny*, and committed by the Mayor to the common gaol of that city; from whence the friendly *Sheriff*, Anthony Blunt, as often took him to his own house: the proceedings of this ‘high and Haman-like man’ being as much against the mind of the government, and King George, as the Bishop in his affections was thought to be against them. But the judges coming in to the assizes, he was by their influence set at liberty, and departed :

(e) Story’s Journal, p. 445. (f) Idem. p. 463.

“ At Youghall we staid one night, and had a small meeting with Friends there; it being usual for them to meet at our Friend William Fennell’s, as on that afternoon.

“ On the 7th we went into the barony of Imokilly, where lies great part of William Penn’s estate in that kingdom, some of which he viewed, and we staid thereabout till the 10th; and being at the Castle of Shannigary, belonging to him, a gentlewoman, of good sense and character, related to me the following passage, viz.

“ That she, being in the city of Cork when it was invested by King William’s army, and having a little daughter of hers with her, they were sitting together on a squab; and being much concerned in mind about the danger and circumstances they were under, she was seized with a sudden fear, and strong impulse to arise from that seat, which she did in a precipitate manner, and hasted to another part of the room; and then was in the like concern for her child, to whom she called with uncommon earnestness to come to her, which she did; immediately after which came a cannon ball and struck the seat all in pieces, and drove the parts of it about the room, without any hurt to either of them.”

having done his utmost to vindicate the right of the king's subjects to Religious liberty, in that place. (g)

He was a sufferer again for conscience sake in London, in 1720 and the following year. 'On the 18th of the First month 1719-20 [he says] I was committed to the Fleet for not taking the affirmation; in which suffering I had great peace and acceptance with the Lord, who hath forbidden swearing to his disciples.'—'On the 18th of the Sixth month 1721, I was released by order of the Lord Chancellor' (h) To explain this seeming incongruity I must add that this Friend, in common with many others, considered our affirmation, as at first settled by Law, to be *in substance an oath*; on account of the appeal to God's omniscience which it included; and that those of this persuasion were accordingly constant in their endeavours, to obtain it in the simple form in which it now stands. (i) Thomas Story, in particular, had interviews with many of the men in power on the subject; some of which are related at length in the Appendix to his Journal. It is remarkable that in one of these the Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Bradford, is represented to have said, that he believed Christ and his Apostle had forbid all swearing, and that the time would come (though the state of mankind would not yet bear it) *when there would not be any such thing in the Christian world*. And moreover, that the Bench and Parliament did not grant the affirmation (as it then stood) *in any other view than as a solemn oath*; but they thought, that Friends had acquiesced in it under their own view of the subject. (j)

I must omit noticing further the journies, and labours in the work of the ministry, of this able preacher and disputant: referring the Reader to the work itself (k) for accounts of many large disputes and conferences, and copious letters in reply to individual enquirers, on the subject of our principles: his education fitting him more particularly for such service; and especially with great persons, and ministers of the Established and other churches, in this country and abroad.

In his successful endeavours for the passing of the Affirmation Act in 1721, he solicited severally the Earl of Carlisle and the Lord Morpeth, the Earl of Sunderland, the Duke of Somerset, and "the Bishops of Canterbury, York and Carlisle." In his conference with the Duke of Somerset, we have the following curious passage in reference to a Petition against the Bill.

"Then I informed the Duke, that I had also heard that morning, that many of the petitioners were threepenny curates, and unbeficened.

"The Duke asked, 'What are they?' I replied, That I had been informed they were poor clergymen, without benefices, and had but few friends, and perhaps some of them nonjurors, who hang on about the town, looking for preferment; and, being very indigent, say prayers for the richer sort for threepence a time, which is paid, twopence in farthings, and a dish of coffee.

"This first occasioned the Duke to smile, and afterwards drew from him some warm expressions of resentment, that the poorer sort should live so abjectly, whilst the rich were so high; but most of all, that the rich should set so low a price on the services of their poor brethren, who did the work: And then he added, 'We (meaning the Legislature) know how to apply a remedy, and relieve them; it is but to take off the pluralities, and make more equal distribution, and then these poor fellows may be better provided for, and live.'"

(g) Story's Journal, p. 552—568. (h) Idem. p. 634. (i) Idem. p. 476, 529, 617. (j) Idem. p. 766, 768. (k) Which should be found in the following public libraries: Bodleian; Cambridge University; British Museum.

ART. II.—*Remarks on Scripture Passages.* Continued.

Rom. ii, 13, 14, 15, are clearly a *parenthesis*, and may be thus separated from the text for consideration: and as this Chapter has been made use of, in defence of Friends' doctrine of Universal and Saving light (see Barclay, Prop. v. vi. § 26.) I shall here bestow a little upon them.

Ver. 13, Contains a general proposition of the Apostle's, applicable to both Jew and Gentile, 'The *doers* of the law shall be justified.' Let us see how this is applied. Ver. 14, 'For when the Gentiles, which have not the Law, do by nature [*Vulg.* naturaliter, *naturally*: as if without constraint or a penalty] the things contained in the Law, these having not the Law are a law unto themselves.' By what *nature* were these enlightened heathen (the very contrast of the characters before described) to do the moral law, as Moses had laid it down, without a knowledge of Moses, or of the Jewish institutes? Surely not by the nature derived from Adam, but by the *new nature*, brought forth in them by the operation of the grace of God on the heart. It is plainly said in the text, that they observed the moral law of themselves, of their own free will, unconstrained by the Jewish penalties—thus they were *doers* of the law; and doing it freely might be said, in a figure, to be 'a law unto themselves.' Now if any choose to deny that this is possible (by God's grace) they must reject *Job's* claim to stand 'in the latter day' before his Redeemer, (whom he *knew* to live) and unto the baptism and Christian profession of *Cornelius* and his friends!

And with regard to the change, or choice, of terms in use with us, who are prone in this argument (or *vere* so—for I fear we are swerving, somewhat, in doctrine) to put *Light* for *Grace*—knowing that it is more immediately applicable to the principle of all knowledge and all righteousness, *Christ* the WORD, let it be considered, that the same Apostle, in writing to the Ephesians on this very subject of a *moral cleansing*, declares to them, that 'all things that are reprov'd are made manifest by the *light*: for *whatsoever doth make manifest is LIGHT*; another general and very important proposition. In ver. 14, we have the application of it: 'Which shew the work of the law written on their hearts [who wrote it there?] their [now enlightened] conscience also bearing witness [to this law and the infractions of it] and their thoughts [here figured by the eloquent writer as persons] the mean while accusing, or else excusing, one another.' Conviction and justification, both; Justified in *doing*, (yet not hearing) the law of Moses!

Again, should any one choose to put this *grace*, afforded for *Christ's* sake to the Gentiles at large (while God laid up the knowledge of his own name and acts with his own family, the Hebrews, against the day when all mankind should be made partakers of it) in place of the Gospel, and the grace of God now revealed through Jesus Christ, he will surely incur a large measure of the blame, here laid by the Apostle on those Gentiles who, when they knew God, glorified him not as God, neither were thankful—but became vain in their imaginations,

and *thus* their foolish heart was darkened. What shall we offer in this day to such, but sound instruction in charity, and a good example?

Ver. 24. For (to judge by what is written to us) the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles, through you.

Chap. iii, 27. Where then is boasting? It is shut out. Upon what ground—upon that of works? No—but on that of faith.

Ver. 30. Since it is one and the same God, who will justify the circumcision *which is of faith*, and the uncircumcised [doer of the moral law] *through faith*. It is not to be supposed that any should become obedient to a law, or principle, of righteousness in their minds, without a measure of faith in it, as of Divine origin: and this (in substance) *is faith in Christ*.

Chap. iv, 4, 5. Now the wages of a workman are not accounted matter of favour but of debt. But to him that *in this case* worketh not, but believeth on Him who justifieth *such* (in the non-observance of *our* ritual) his faith is counted for righteousness.

Ver. 10. The faith of Abraham being counted to him for righteousness, and he being thus justified, *in uncircumcision* (as were those believing Gentiles *through faith*, in submitting to circumcision) he held the same faith in God still, and remained in a state of justification.

Chap. v, 9. Here is justification *in* the blood of Christ (for so it should be rendered) made consequent on redemption; and (as we find by various other scriptures) experienced *on* belief in the Saviour, set forth as such. Hence the contrast in ver. 10, of *reconciliation* by the *death* of Christ (opening the way to holiness) and *justification* in its full sense, effected by becoming partakers of his *life*.

Ver. 18. The benefit of these large insertions in *Italics*, here, may teach us the free, but still guarded and consistent use of them, in other places where they are needed.

Ver. 20. Now the law came suddenly in upon this offence: upon which, offences against it abounded. But where sin abounded, &c.

Chap. vii, 11. For sin, availing itself of the commandment (Comp. Gen. iii, 1-6.) laid a stratagem for me, and by it slew me.

Ver. 17. 'And now it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me.' The unconverted, whose *null* is in the deed, have no right to speak thus. Yet I believe none are more ready to lay their *sins* to the account of human weakness!

Ver. 21-25. I find myself, then, in this condition, that when I would do good, evil is present with me. For I delight (as to the inward man) in the law of God. But I perceive in my members another influence, warring against the decisions of my better judgment, and bringing me into captivity under the dominion of sin, which remains in my members. O wretched man that I am! Who shall release me from this connexion with a dead body? [As though chained to a fellow-prisoner, who had died by his side.] I thank God for that he will do it, through Jesus Christ my Lord!

So then, I myself am subject in my spirit to the Law of God; but in my flesh, to the influence of sin.

Chap. viii, 18. The Apostle, in this and the five following verses, contrasts the actual state (which in respect of the argument is also the present) of the *Christian* world, with the glorified state of the *Church* after the resurrection. It is, therefore, not the world, as consisting of the outward creation, but the *new Creation by the power of Christ* in the Gospel, that is to be kept in view, here.

Purver has the passage as follows: 'For I reckon that the sufferings of the present time are not worthy of the glory that will be revealed to us: since the earnest expectation of the Creation waits for the revelation of the sons of God. Because the Creation has been subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who made it subject in hope. For the Creation itself will also be set free from the servitude of corruption, into the glorious freedom of the children of God. Forasmuch as we know that the whole Creation both groans and are [is] in labour together, till now. Not only so, but also ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, the redemption of our body.' There are awkward phrases, which might be mended, in both this and the Common Version: but the sense cannot be made obvious to every reader.

Chap. ix, 1. Compare viii, 16: by which it may appear that the *Gr. summarturouses* being taken in the dative, and removed to what was probably its original place, the passage will read thus, 'I speak the truth in Christ, (I lie not) yea in the Holy Ghost, the witness to me of my inmost thoughts.'

Ver. 15. May there not exist here a distinction, like this, 'I will give alms [out of my house] to whom I will, and I will take in [and feed at my table] whom I will. The former would apply to the Ishmaelites, and others out of the line of Israel; the latter to the Jews. The latter under a Theocracy, as God's peculiar people; the former, as the objects of his general mercy and compassions.

Ver. 18. Indisputable as a *general proposition*: but when applied to the whole race, in the way of personal choice and rejection, utterly destitute of proof from Holy Scripture, and contrary to the analogy of Christian doctrine. Let us ever bear in mind, that 'mercy' supposes previous rebellion (a *departure* from a state of subjection to God's law,) and that he whom God 'hardeneth' must have been in this rebellious condition, before the hardening dispensation came.

Ver. 20. 'Why hast thou made me thus?' viz. a descendant of Esau rather than of Jacob; or of Ishmael, and not of Isaac.

Ver. 30-32. What shall we then conclude but this? That the Gentiles, who followed not the observances of the Law in order to attain to righteousness, have nevertheless attained—to that righteousness, however, which is of faith. While Israel, who have been seeking righteousness in the Law, have not attained; because they sought it not by faith, but as if it consisted in outward performance.

Chap. x, ver. 6. In Deut. xxx, 11, we have this subject introduced, by a direct reference to the description given by Moses in the

preceding part of the Chapter, of the *kind* of obedience which, in the latter ages should be rendered, and which God would at all times accept, *as the fruit of faith*, from Israel. 'For this commandment, *which I command thee this day*, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off.' The requisitions to present duty, whether mandatory or prohibitory, the effects of which I have now explained, are from an inward principle, the *WORD nigh in the heart*, that thou mayest *do it*; as well as *in thy mouth*, that thou mayest *teach it*.

Ver. 16. 'Who hath believed our report?' possibly an allusion to the rejection of the report of Caleb and Joshua, concerning the good land of Canaan: Num. xiv, 6-9.

Ver. 17. 'Faith then is by hearing: and *that hearing*' is, of the speaking of God.' This sentence is elegantly introduced as if it were the remark of a bystander, listening to the Apostles' discourse. The argument has the style of a rapid and abrupt conversation.

Ver. 18. The Gospel was already known to many nations: and this quotation from the Psalms is made, not to show that a prophecy there extant was thus fulfilled, but by a borrowed poetical figure adapted to his discourse, to describe that fact which the Apostle himself contemplated with delight.

Chap. xi, ver. 1. The Greek seems to require, 'I say then, Let not God *be said* to have cast off his people: no such thing. For, &c.

Ver. 2. 'Whom he foreknew.' Whom he foresaw surviving the wreck of the Legal dispensation, and the dispersion of the Jews into all nations.

Ver. 5. 'A remainder is found;' as if by figures in calculating a loss. This I believe to be the true sense.

Chap. xii, ver. 8. 'He that giveth [on behalf of the Church, as treasurer] *let him do it* with liberality; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that succoureth by alms [or hath the care of the poor, a troublesome office, and *under the former*] with *cheerfulness*.'

Ver. 16. 'Aspire not to high places, but be companions of the humble.'

Ver. 17. 'By no means recompensing evil with evil; keeping in mind that which is honourable in the sight of all men.'

Ver. 19. 'Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but give place, rather, to arrogance: for it is written, Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.'

Ver. 20. A figure borrowed from the operation of extracting lead from the ore. 'Thou wilt melt him down by kindness.'

Chap. xiii. The Argument of the chapter, in modern phrase, may be thus given:

Civil government is the ordinance of God, who in his Providence leaves no country wholly without it. Obedience is, therefore, to be rendered to the powers thus constituted; even by such as, being in the practice of good works, have no dread on their minds in reference to the power: a conscientious obedience, preferable to that arising from the fear of punishment. And in order to this, we are not only to pay tribute, and give honour to those to whom it is thus due, but to see

that we fulfil the Law of love to our neighbour—a law, the observance of which takes away all just occasion of displeasure, on the part of Civil government, towards us.

Chap. xiv, ver. 7. For none of us liveth to himself, and none dieth being his own. Comp. 1 Cor. vi, 19, 20.

Ver. 13. But rather determine that no *man* shall put, &c.

Ver. 20. Destroy not for eating or fasting the work of God.

Ver. 22. Happy is he who condemneth not himself [upon his own principles] in that which he alloweth [to himself or to another, in practice.]

Ver. 23. Very harsh in the phrase, at present, in our version. 'And he that [professeth a scruple and] doubteth, is condemned if he eat, because it is not of faith: for whatsoever is not of faith [in matters of observance like this, is in insincerity, and therefore] is sin.

Chap. xv, ver. 15. Nevertheless, brethren, I have upon occasion now given written to you with freedom, recalling these things to your remembrance; considering the grace which God hath bestowed upon me, &c.

Chap. xvi. It is worthy of consideration *whether this whole Epistle was sent to the Romans at one time.* There is mention of an intended journey to visit them, in Chap. i, and again in Chap. xv: which may seem in favour of it. But, if we compare the first eleven Chapters with what follows, we shall find the style and subjects to differ exceedingly: and the many salutations, in this Chapter, seem to be to disciples with whom the Apostle *had previously become personally acquainted.* It is possible the address of a second Epistle, containing the matter from Chap. xii to the end, may be lost. *Ed.*

ART. III.—*A remarkable dream of Thomas Story's, Anno. 1686: with an interpretation.*

The Dream. "I thought I stood in an outward court before the gates of a castle or fort, and there stood one by me that was a great sinner. And I beheld five great lights in the heavens: four whereof were as Moons greatly eclipsed, and of the colour of blood; and the fifth, as the Sun under a thick cloud and hardly to be discerned. The first was placed in the South-east, or where the Sun riseth in the Winter-solstice; the second a degree further South; the third South: the fourth Moon a degree towards the West; and the fifth [light] being the Sun, in the South-west, or where the Sun sets in Winter. Whilst I looked stedfastly upon the four former with admiration, the fifth passed insensibly below the horizon, and vanished out of my sight: and then also the Clouds departed, and the four sanguine Moons wandered to various and opposite points in the heavens: after which, being violently moved towards the zenith, they met there, and were dashed to pieces one by another, and fell to the Earth. After this, I saw the Stars of heaven, and they appeared bright and innumerable; and remaining in the firmament a short season, they also moved

suddenly and with violence, one against another ; and being broken to pieces fell likewise to the earth, as the falling of fruit from the tree shaken by a mighty hand. And as the stars fell, they gradually lost their light ; and as they approached near the earth, they altogether ceased from shining. And I also beheld the light of the candles to be extinguished, and the fire would not burn any longer ; and total and thick darkness was upon the face of the whole earth, and covered the deep and was over all flesh. And I was afraid with exceeding great amazement, and so was he that was with me : for the great day of the Almighty appeared to be come, even the day of his righteous judgment. And we fled with horror unspeakable and precipitant haste, and in confusion ran towards a stable : where hiding us under an ark [a large chest on feet] we remained in agony, expecting the earth should be dissolved and the elements melt with fervent heat ; and to receive a reward according to our works.

“ But in the midst of this fear, I resigned all to the will of him who shaketh the heavens, and dissolveth the earth, and doeth what pleaseth Himself, in time and [in] Eternity. And immediately after, though all hopes were gone, the Sun arose towards the North-east, as in the strength of Summer : and all fear vanishing I came from under the ark, *but saw my companion no more*. And I went out into a spacious and verdant valley, where the flowers were many, fragrant and perfect, and young men walking in their full strength, innocent as little children ; and women also, as the tender babes ; and discoursing together with countenances bespeaking a sense of deliverance : telling of their absence from their own dwellings, and journeying homewards, when the Stars fell ; and a thick and black corruption which came from them fell on their faces, to their great hurt, hinderance and annoyance in their return. But we, being delivered from the horrible darkness, by the return and coming of the glorious light, *rejoiced together in unspeakable Love*.” Story’s Journal, *folio*, 1747, p. 2.

The Interpretation. The Author makes no remark on his dream, further than that he considered it as of Divine or Providential origin, and received it as, in degree, an ‘immediate revelation’ to him for his own instruction and benefit. He was then (though quite a young man) inclined to solitude, under religious thoughtfulness and in search of the Truth ; but he had not become acquainted with the people called Quakers : to whom he subsequently joined himself in religious fellowship.

The dream plainly relates to a general and individual religious Reformation. The Sun of Divine Truth is setting under the wintry cloud of the great Apostacy, while the heaven is occupied by mere human systems of Religion, and those darkened by fables. These at length come to nothing ; while they mutually contend, and strive for the *ascendant*. Then comes the Reformation, (so called) and abundance of teaching by ministers of the Gospel under it : who, shining at first as the stars in the firmament of heaven, become suddenly involved in Religious controversy among themselves ; and thus, losing their heavenly mindedness, fall and lose their light—yea, their very zeal for the Truth :

all their paltry illustrations of texts for gain, in the earthly covetous spirit, conveying no warmth or instruction to the hearers.

In this state of deep Religious darkness, come the judgments of a just and holy God for sin upon the community and individuals. The terrors of the Lord for sin are felt, and the Old *Formalist* and new *Seeker* are alike forced to flee to the nearest refuge; which seems here to be described as Christ in his Nativity at Bethlehem. The one who is saved, having been engaged in the sincere pursuit of Truth, is yet saved as through the fire: and the Old professor, the earthly minded man and the great but unrepenting sinner, appears no more.

The newly revived truth of God is now found to prevail, in all its warmth and brightness: the young believers walk regenerate, in the abundance of his gifts and graces; and the rejoicing of these is not only in God's present favour, and in entire Charity with each other, but also in a thankful sense of their deliverance from the corruption out of which they have come. *Ed.*

ART. IV.—*Bishop Cleaver and Hannah More on Music: with further reflections on its use.*

Let the Reader peruse what he finds on the subject of Psalmody in Vol. 2, p. 75, with the following Texts, 1 Cor. xiv, 26; Ephes. v, 19; Col. iii, 16; and that of the Apostle James, in Chap. v, ver. 13, 'Is any merry [in sober modern phrase,—as that was in the more ancient,—cheerful in spirit,] let him sing *Psalms*.'

Friends have carried their testimony against superfluity and formality in worship even to the neglect of *psalmody*, here so clearly recommended. Let us hear what a celebrated modern writer has said on the art itself.

"My conclusion is, that wickedness is wickeder than it used to be, and that goodness is better. [A very possible result of the experience of a religious woman, in advanced age: but it seems natural, besides, that where the light shines the strongest, the shadow should be darkest.] Religion [which is LIGHT, if the true] certainly has increased much among the higher classes in England, and perhaps still more in Ireland. Yet I will venture to say, even to the *religious* world, 'I have a few things against thee.' With no small number of happy exceptions, I cannot help observing the common fault of 'good people'—*the misappropriation of time*. I will only instance two particulars, of the evil of which they do not seem to me to be sufficiently aware, *music and light reading*. Twenty years ago, when I wrote 'Strictures on female education,' Bishop Cleaver of St. Asaph was at Bath. He was much attached to me, though we differed on many points. Talking on this subject, he was so much of my opinion, that he wrote the following statement, which I inserted in a note in the first volume.

'Suppose your pupil to begin music at six years of age, and to continue the average of four hours a day at her instrument (a very low

calculation) Sundays excepted, till she is eighteen, the statement stands thus. Three hundred days multiplied by four, the number of hours, amounts to twelve hundred: this, multiplied by twelve, which is the number of years, amounts to 14,400 hours,' [or 900 days, or THREE YEARS without the 'sundays,' of the *waking time*, let her be never so good a riser, of such a young person.] *Letter of Hannah More in 1822.*

But my daughter (who has had much experience in schools for the children of the people) informs me while I am writing, she perceives that simple psalmody may be taught to girls by short daily lessons in six weeks. Thus the far greater portion of the time spent in learning music is devoted, if we have regard to its original and legitimate use *the praise of our Creator and Redeemer*, to very 'superfluity of naughtiness!' For it will scarcely be pretended that one in a thousand, of those who become such exquisite performers, has an equal knowledge of music as a real *science*, or a true intellectual enjoyment from it.

I shall not quote here what my author says of the excess of light reading; because it is not to the point treated in the Text. The mischief this does to the understanding must be obvious, to those who have about them any measure of solidity of mind and religious feeling.

It may be said (truly, if not emphatically) of the things which fashionable people make their chief occupation, and which in their beginnings give to the young such exquisite pleasure, that they 'perish with the using.' What—do they ring *now*? said the shoemaker in Cheapside to a friend of mine, when he told him he could not hear him for the noise of Bow bells. And thus it is I believe at last with the *animal* gratification derivable from music: persons sit at the other end of the room talking, and scarce know whether the voice accompanied by the Piano sounds, or not!

'To use this world,' of which music, (*however it came into it*) is certainly a part, 'as not abusing it' seems to me the point worth aiming at by the Christian; in this as in other parts of social enjoyment. And to conclude with *Psalmody*, (as we began) 'the worship, preaching, praying and *singing which we plead for*,' says Barclay, '*is such as proceedeth from the Spirit of God; and is always accompanied with its influence*, being begun by its motion, and carried on by the power and strength thereof; and so, is a worship purely spiritual: such as the Scripture holds forth, John, iv, 23, 24: 1 Cor, xiv, 15: Eph. vi, 18, &c.' I should have been curious to know whether our Apologist, after having written this, would have permitted his children to learn to sing, at all. *Ed.*

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ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrine and practices of the Quakers.*

Continued from p. 248.

A. D. Decease of Stephen Crisp: disownment of George Keith as 1692. a Minister, by Friends at Philadelphia.

‘In this year Stephen Crisp of Colchester terminated a life of righteousness and repute, very much and very successfully employed in propagating the doctrines of truth as held by the people called quakers; amongst whom he was distinguished for his labours in the ministry, and for his eminent qualifications for service.’ He was born at Colchester, 1628, and convinced by the testimony of James Parnel, who laid down his life for the Truth in prison, in that place. He appears to have been for many years previously ‘a seeker’—one of those who in that age were proving all things in the various professions, in order to hold fast the best. ‘Amongst the rest, falling in with the Baptists, they told him the only way was, to be obedient to the commands and ordinances of Jesus Christ; to imitate the primitive saints; to walk in church order and communion, *where every one had the strength of many, and all the church are bound to watch over every member.* To these sentiments [very sound and good ones, certainly] he yielded assent, joined them in communion and submitted to their mode of baptism, expecting to attain thereby greater power over sin than before; but found it not to be ‘the baptism which now saveth,’ being only a washing away of the filth of the flesh; which conveyed

not the ability he was looking for to attain the essential part, 'the answer of a good conscience towards God.' And though he strove much, in the strength of his own will and wisdom, *to subdue his inclination to levity and jocularly*, and by a more stayed and sober conduct to contribute to the reputation of the religion he had chosen, that he might not appear to have run and changed all in vain, he still continued to want what he wanted before, power to gain the victory over his corruptions. He was therefore induced to look for something more substantial than signs and shadows; being impressed with a belief that a way would be revealed, superior to all he had been acquainted with; though he knew not what it might be. (a)

From being but an indifferent baptist, that is to say, *an unconverted though seeking person under that name*, it was, next, his happiness to be baptized with the baptism he had so long been in search of, among the despised quakers—no matter of disparagement, this, to the spiritual life in those under his former profession; nor of glory to the flesh in those he had joined: and in due time he came to testify to others of the efficacy of Truth, as he had now received it.

The following short account of the conclusion of his life, with some notice of his labours, is taken from the Collection of Memorials of deceased Ministers, which I have so often before quoted.

"Stephen Crisp, of Colchester in Essex, received the blessed truth about the year 1655, when he was about twenty-seven years of age, and was a preacher of the everlasting gospel of Christ Jesus about thirty five years; and in that service he travelled in many parts of England, Scotland, Holland, Germany, and the Low Countries (as by the printed Journal of his life more largely appears) and endured many hardships for his faithful testimony to the blessed truth. He was greatly capable, through his long experience, to advise and give counsel to persons in all conditions.

"In the latter part of his days, being unable to travel much, through an indisposition of body, yet he was diligent in preaching the gospel in Colchester and London. He lay some time under great exercise and weakness, occasioned by a stone in his bladder; and about four days before he died, being under much bodily weakness and pain, he said to George Whitehead, who came to visit him, 'I see an end of mortality, yet cannot come at it: I desire the Lord to deliver me out of this troublesome and painful body; if he will but say the word, it is done: yet there is no cloud in my way; I have a full assurance of my peace with God in Christ Jesus; my integrity and uprightness of heart is known to the Lord, and I have peace and justification in Christ Jesus, who made me so;' (that is upright to God) and remembered his love to all the faithful in the church of God. And to another friend he said, 'I have fought the good fight of faith, and have run my course, and am waiting for the crown of life that is laid up for me.' And to another friend that visited him, he said, 'Serve the truth for the simple truth's sake, and it will preserve thee to the end, as it hath done me.' And in his great pain of body, feeling the word of patience to support him, he said to the friends watching with him, 'Grow in the word of patience, that it may keep you also in the time of need.' And the day before he died, he said, 'I hope I am gathering (as his expression was understood) 'I hope, I hope,' being then hardly able to speak out his words. George Whitehead, near parting from him, said, 'Dear Stephen, wouldst thou have any thing to friends?' After some pause, he gave

(a) Gough iii, 360.

this answer, 'Remember my dear love in Christ Jesus to all.' And on the 28th day of the Sixth month, in the year 1692, he died in the Lord, at Wandsworth, near London, about the Sixty-fourth year of his age." (b)

On the 20th of the Fourth Month, 1692, a declaration or testimony of denial was drawn up against *George Keith*, at a meeting of the *Ministers* of the Society at Philadelphia. This testimony was signed by twenty eight Friends. It sets forth that this once eminent man, while he kept his first habitation in the Truth, and knew its government over his own spirit, was serviceable both in pen and speech to the churches of Christ. But now and of late being degenerated from the lowly, meek, and peaceable spirit of Christ Jesus, and grown cool in charity and love towards his brethren, he is gone into a spirit of enmity wrath and self exaltation, contention and jangling: and as a person without the fear of God before his eyes, and without regard to his Christian brethren, and letting loose an extravagant tongue, hath broken out into many ungodly speeches, railing accusations and passionate threatenings towards many of his brethren and elders; and that upon slender occasion.—The particulars follow, which I shall not here repeat: but it is added, that he proceeded in bitterness of spirit to charge Friends' Meetings with coming together to cloak heresy and deceit: and published several times that there were more doctrines of devils and damnable heresies among the quakers, than in any profession among the Protestants. And further (after taking occasion about the want of a *Confession of faith*, and the rejection of a system of discipline proposed by himself) had *set up a separate meeting*; where like an open opposer he had reviled several Friends; endeavouring in mixt auditories of several hundreds, and also by means of the press, to render them a scorn to the profane and the song of drunkards.

The Meeting states the pains used, in order 'to have gained upon him by friendly converse, and other means not inconsiderable to a brotherly freedom,' and his rejection, in an insulting manner, of all its advice; concluding, as to his own part, thus, 'We are hereby brought under a religious constraint (and to prevent other Meetings from being further injured by him) to give forth this *Testimony*, strained as it were from us by his many and violent provocations, viz. That we cannot own him in such ungodly speeches or disorderly behaviour, or in his separate Meetings: and that we disown the same as proceeding from a wrong spirit, which brings into disorder inwardly and leads into distraction and confusion outwardly. And, until he condemn and decline the same, *we cannot receive him in his public ministry, and would have him cease to offer his gift as such [here] or elsewhere among Friends, till he be reconciled to his offended brethren.*' (c)

This testimony was approved and the disownment sanctioned, by the Yearly Meeting at Burlington, New Jersey, on the 7th of the Seventh Month following. The further causes, of a civil nature, requiring his being tried by the country with another person, and fined, with his

(b) Piety promoted. pt. 1. (c) Proud's Pennsylvania, Chap. xi.

disownment at London, must be reserved to the date of the latter proceeding. Here is enough to justify Friends in rejecting him as a preacher.

William Penn (in retirement and under a political persecution, occupies himself in writing various works. He is deprived of his government of Pennsylvania, which is given to Col. Fletcher, Governor of New York.

From the time at which we last noticed this eminent man, he had been constantly losing, in interest with the government and in favour with his Friends. His attachment to the excluded Prince, perhaps some honourable but covert attempts to serve him in his adversity, but above all the enmity of the new king's most influential counsellors, kept him involved in a succession of political charges, false indeed, but for the present borne out by perjuries; and which, after being repeatedly met in public, were found incapable of being warded off but by retreat. After considerable injury to his private estate, the disorders in his province, arising chiefly from his absence, were made use of further, to ruin his political character: while this, in its very success, had embroiled him with the narrow minded of the Religious society to which he belonged. Thus prevented from returning to his province, he occupied himself in writing for the benefit of mankind; and among other things produced 'An Essay towards the present and future peace of Europe:' of which work Clarkson gives an account (as to its general principles) in the following terms. 'He laid it down, that *Peace* was a thing most desirable: that peace was promoted more by *Justice* than by *War*, and that Justice was as much the natural and expected result of *Government*, as Government itself was the natural and expected result of *Society*. He then proposed his plan for the great object contemplated in the title of his Essay. He was of opinion that, as Government held their parliaments, sessions and assizes at home, to over-rule men's passions and resentments, so that they who had been injured might obtain justice at home, so he saw no reason why Princes might not, by a mutual concurrence, *establish assemblies or diets abroad*, to overrule the same bad affections, with a view of obtaining *justice in their disputes with each other*. He suggested, therefore, the idea of a great diet on the Continent for this purpose: that is, that the Princes of Europe would, for the same reason which first occasioned men to enter into society, namely love of peace and order, *establish one Sovereign assembly*, before which all differences between them should be brought, which could not be terminated by embassies; and the judgment of which should be so binding that, if any one Government offering its case for decision did not abide by it, the rest should compel it. Such a Diet might have one session in the year, or one in two or three years; or as often as occasion might require. The rest of the work goes to details: but in drawing his conclusions he states, that it was the intention of Henry IV of France, to have obliged the Princes of Europe [better, have *persuaded* them] had he not been taken off by the hand of Ravallac, to some such balance as

this. 'His example tells us, that this is *fit to be done*: Sir William Temple's History of the United Provinces shows, by a surpassing instance, that it *may be done*; and Europe, by her incomparable miseries, that it *ought to be done*. My share [says Penn] is only in thinking of it at this juncture, and putting it into the common light for the peace and prosperity of Europe.' (d)

Clarkson published the work, in which he reviewed the mention of this project, in 1813—a period at which 'the miseries of Europe' of later origin gave it, certainly, an accession of weight: and the proceedings of the different powers in reference to differing and belligerent parties, since, may be thought (though I would not justify every step they have taken) to have been somewhat influenced by Penn's and the great Harry's counsels. Let us hope that, as peace is still prolonged, —*alterum in seculum, meliusque semper, prorogent ævum*,—they will shew us, still, more and more of their justice, honour and humanity!

The Commission from *William and Mary* to Benj. Fletcher, Esq. Captain General and Commander in Chief of New York, to take upon him the like powers in Pennsylvania and its dependencies, bears date the 21st Oct. 1692. He wrote civilly to Governor Lloyd from New York, April 19th, 1693, and presently followed his own letter.

Col. Fletcher arrived at Philadelphia, with more of pomp and splendid attendance than had been usually seen before in Pennsylvania—and soon after his arrival called an Assembly of the Province, *but not with the forms prescribed by the Pennsylvania constitution*. The Council remonstrated against this invasion, by an 'humble address' and the Assembly met. No sooner, however, had they presented Joseph Growdon as their speaker, than the OATHS and TESTS were presented to the whole house. The quaker members of course declined to swear; and were indulged, as a matter of *grace* on the Governor's part and not of *right* on theirs, with subscribing, in their stead, the declarations and professions mentioned in the Act, 1 *William and Mary*, so recently passed *for the benefit of their Friends at home*. Thus, what was Constitutional freedom in England was to be arbitrary power in the colonies belonging to it.

The Assembly being qualified, the Governor laid before them a letter (bearing nearly even date with his own appointment) from the *Queen in Council* to himself, complaining of the expence of defending *Albany*, the frontier of New York, against the French and Indians; and putting him upon applying to the neighbour colonies, and among these to Pennsylvania, for aids in money or men to that end. The Assembly choosing to have a redress of grievances first, the Governor detained their Bills, instead of passing or returning them for amendments; and the dispute continued till, having obtained a 'rate for the support of Government (that is, of the *Military Executive*, under which they were now placed) of one penny per Pound for one year, amounting to £760, on the clear value of all real and personal estates in Pennsylvania (which supposes £182,400 in the province) beside six shillings

(d) Penn's Life, ii, 108. It is not in his Folio Works.

per head on all freemen not worth £100, the necessary Bills were at length passed, with amendments, and some old Laws confirmed; and Fletcher returned to New York, leaving *William Markham* his Lieutenant at Philadelphia.

The letter from the QUEEN *in Council*, sent in the king's absence in Flanders, may serve to shew that Penn was indebted to those who had influence over *her*, for the loss of his government; and the following passage, in a reply of the Governor to an address of the Assembly, in behalf of the freemen's rights by charter and usage, indicates the real design (soon after more clearly developed) which lay under these pretences of 'neglects' and 'miscarriages,' and 'the danger of being lost' to the enemy. '*The constitution of their Majesties' government and that of Mr. Penn are in direct opposition one to the other: if you will be tenacious in sticking for this, it is a plain demonstration (use what words you please) that indeed you decline the other.*' (e)

A. D. Decease of *Thomas Lloyd*, sometime deputy-governor of the 1694. province of Pennsylvania.

The life of this excellent man was terminated by a fever on the 10th of the Seventh Month, 1694, about the Fifty-fourth year of his age. 'His father was a person of some fortune, rank and esteem; of an ancient family on an estate called *Dolobran*, in Montgomeryshire, N. Wales. This his son *Thomas* was a younger brother, and was educated in the best schools, from which he was removed to the University of Oxford. Here he is said to have made considerable proficiency; and being endowed with good natural parts, and an amiable disposition of mind, he attracted the regard of persons of rank and figure, and was in the way to considerable preferment: but being of a sober and religious way of thinking, he joined with the Quakers, renouncing all worldly considerations for peace of mind—and became an highly esteemed preacher in the society.'—'Dr. *William Lloyd*, the learned and liberal-minded Bishop of *St. Asaph*, inquired according to his custom, both of him and his brother *Charles* when they separated from the Church, their reasons for so doing. They consented to give them in public, but in no other way. Accordingly a religious conference took place at *Welchpool*, which lasted from two in the afternoon to two in the morning. It was then adjourned to *Llanvilling*, to the Town-hall, where it lasted two days. It was not a conference of disputation, for the Bishop confined, himself, principally to the proposing of questions and hearing of answers. On the last day, he forced *Thomas Lloyd* into no less than twenty-eight syllogisms *extempore*, which were put down in writing as they were delivered, on the subjects of baptism and the Lord's supper. *Thomas Lloyd* acquitted himself so well on this occasion, that the Bishop greatly commended his learning.'—'He removed among the first to Pennsylvania, and was one of *William Penn's* most intimate friends. He was mostly one of the principal persons in the government from his first arrival, and of

(e) Proud's Pennsylvania: Chap. xii.

very great service.' He much preferred the quiet of a private life, and gave up to his offices (for he was also President of the Council) from a motive of public spirit; his own estate being considerably lessened thereby.

Though insulted and reviled by such as *Keith*, in the firm but mild and equitable discharge of his duty as a Magistrate, he was universally beloved by his fellow-citizens. 'He died on the sixth day of his sickness: some of his expressions were, I die in unity and in love with all faithful friends. I have fought a good fight; I have kept the faith, which stands not in the wisdom of words but in the power of God. I have sought, not for strife and contention [which had of late abounded among them] but for the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the simplicity of the gospel.—I lay down my head in peace, and desire you may all do so.—Friends, farewell all!' (f)

ART. II.—*Derivations and meanings of words.* Continued.

Lad: lass: youth: child: man: woman: infant, &c.

The first of these is derived by Johnson from a Saxon word (not very like it) signifying *people*, but sometimes (says Mr. Lye) a boy. I shall judge for myself: I do not believe such a word would have lost so much *in transitu*, by so plain a descent.

Lad is, I think, one *led* by the hand, by his parent or tutor. If the reader will consider the *age* to which it applies, he will see a fitness in the term. And if the Saxon *leode* be to be understood in this sense, let it stand: only let us not confound the term for the individual with one which signifies the many.

This term is especially used (and I believe strictly, if they knew it) in the sense above given, by subaltern officers in reference to their men. I remember well the strings of 'growing lads,' (taken somewhat under height, from the emergency of the case) which I have seen *led* after the Sergeant, to the beat of drums, in a market town, in my youth. And I recollect once an officer saying, when some proceeding of his was called in question, that he did it 'to keep *the lads* in heart.' I will not here attempt the reader's feelings, by saying to *what* these poor thoughtless youths were led: but proceed to the next term, *Youth*; most easily explained as meaning one that *boweth* or is *subject*, by reason of his age. I cannot give the *Saxon* properly here, for want of letter; but it includes in it the name of the tree, which was called *eugh* (when bows were in use) and noted for its flexibility: *One that eugheth*. 'The time,' says Johnson, 'from fourteen to twenty-eight:' and I declare I could wish, sometimes, that youth now lasted as long—in respect, I mean, of the quality of *being subject to the counsels of age*, abovementioned. For, since the distinction in dress, and other marks of *youth* have been abolished, we have seen little *men* on

(f) Proud's Pennsylvania, Chap. xii. Life of Penn, ii, 144.

'Change (by the help of a high-crowned hat and plenty of assurance) looking as budge at twenty, as the 'fathers' of three times their standing!

'From lad is named *laddess*, by contraction *lass*:' Hickee *apud* Johnson: Who gives no example higher than the age of *Waller*; so that it *may* be the true account. But I do not like (here in Yorkshire) to see the term let down, as being used now 'only to *mean* girls.' I know many *lasses*, who are in every way respectable, hereabouts.

Child. A word strictly Saxon; and, from the circumstance of our having a verb in our old writers like it—'to child' i. e. to bear children, in all probability to be understood as equivalent to *offspring*. I have formerly imagined that it had relation to the verb 'to chill:' one *chill'd*, and requiring to be wrapped up by the mother.

Man: woman. Strictly Saxon, again. I believe an investigation of the meaning of this term, (for it is plainly one *term*, qualified by the change of sex) would lead us further into the Metaphysics of our forefathers (an instructive subject to those who are capable of it) than I incline to go in this publication.

Infant. In Dr. Johnson's church discipline, 'a child from the birth to the end of the seventh year:' but in *law*, 'a young person, to the age of one and twenty.' And why (for Johnson does not tell us) but because 'till he have attained what is called *age*, or *majority*, he cannot be heard in his own cause? Here he is *in-fans*, Lat. no speaker. In *nature*, however (according to the modern use of the term) the *infant* pleads effectually his own cause, from the time he is born. Now for something for the young folks: '*Hot-Cross-buns!* Three a penny [I am afraid not quite so cheap, now] hot-cross-buns!'

Who would have thought that our little loaf called a Bun (made in the manner of leavened bread and sweetened) was known and so named in very ancient times? 'One species of sacred bread (says the learned Jacob Bryant) which used to be offered to the gods was of great antiquity, and called *Boun*: [made of fine flour and honey]—Hesychius speaks of the *boun*, and describes it, *eidōs pemmatos kerata echontos*; a kind of cake with a representation of two horns [I conclude placed thus Χ]. It is said of Cecrops, *protos bounethuse*, he first offered the *boun* [he founded Athens in the sixteenth century before Christ] whence we may judge of the antiquity of the custom.'—The prophet Jeremiah takes notice of this kind of offering, when speaking of the Jewish women of Pathros, and of their base idolatry: Chap. xlv, 18, 19: vii, 18. The word in these instances for cakes [in the Hebrew] is *cunim*, plural, with a C for the B. *Mythology*, vol. 1, p. 298.

I would here ask permission, in so highly learned company, to put the query, whether these little loaves were not in reality a promissory note for the payment of a burnt offering to the gods, *through the priest's hands*, so soon as the offerer should be able to afford the *ox*; or *oxen*, which *boun* denotes. Cecrops may have been very deficient in this kind of wealth, when he came into Greece from Egypt; and may have

thought it needful (while he spared every thing that had life) to keep up at least *the memory* of the richer gifts of his former countrymen. We have a fable by Æsop, (rendered in vol. i, p. 80,) intended to warn religious persons *against making such vows as they can have no reasonable hope of performing*, in which the substitute for the *hecatomb* seems to have been a hundred *boun*.

It is apparent, I think, that the Christian Church has borrowed, as in many other things (*Mince-pies* not excepted, which are perhaps the original *piaculum*, a sweet mouthful for the priest) so in this, 'the customs of the heathen: ' and, finding on the *boun* something like it, have stamped this relic also with Christ's mark, and made it an affair of religious observance to eat these crossed buns at *Easter*; as they did the *Mince-pies*, for a similar reason, at 'the time called *Christmas*.' The word *boon*, which Johnson derives (against its *use* by his authorities) from the Saxon *bene*, a petition, may very probably have had the like origin.

I make no objection, (be it understood) to any young persons who may be in any measure under my care, partaking of both these treats: believing that what they are taught of the substance of their faith, will suffice to keep them from paying a superstitious regard to these or any other of the passing shadows of it. *Ed.*

ART. III.—*Written or extempore SERMONS?*

"You desire my judgment on the important subject of preaching written or extempore sermons. I believe most men, who have thought on the subject, are agreed that young men [in the ministry] should write for some years—perhaps five, or seven; and afterwards when they speak, they should certainly have a plan, and the great outline of their sermon before them. They should speak, *not extempore*, but after premeditation, study, and self-abasing prayer.

"When these rules are constantly observed, no written sermons will in general be more connected, more full of matter [than such premeditated and studied preaching] nor can they ever be delivered with so great advantage. For after such due preparation [premeditation and study—a plan and the great outline] a pastor comes up into the pulpit, *weak and ignorant in his own eyes*, yet full of affiance in his Great Master; so that he will be jealous of his glory and pity the people. He will have *His* presence and find his understanding enlightened, *even while he speaks*; and feel His word has authority and power over the congregation. When he has done, he will feel ashamed of himself; and be filled with wonder that the Lord God should make use of *him*.

"*In this manner*, joined to constant reading the word of God, and constant cries to be formed and fashioned as a vessel of honour to bear witness of Christ, *an able minister of the New Testament is formed*.

Those ministers, whether young or old, who dare to be idle, to venture into the pulpit without looking up and sighing [I suppose before they say to the deaf and dumb *Ephphatha*, Mark viii, 34, but what if they be *blind*, themselves?] without feeling [or perceiving by the trial] their total inequality to the subjects they are to prove, explain or enforce—are in a terrible state; and some severe correction will be sent, to bring them to themselves; or they will proceed from bad to worse.—

“I have known *them* [certain ministers named] *sometimes*—that is by due preparation, do justice to their subject—instruct, convince, exhort, persuade, to the feasting of the soul. *At others*, through sloth, love of company, self-confidence and little love to souls, I heard them lean, incoherent, defective and *sadly ludicrous*. I have been myself greatly guilty, through the causes above named; and suffered and smarted for it, long after! But when I had prepared myself, and sought the Lord fully [Puritan doctrine, complete!] I do not know that I have been left to wander, or to utter small talk and any thing that came uppermost, above five or six times.

“Upon the whole I much prefer speaking [with previous study] to writing, but upon this condition, that the speaker read much, *write much*, think and pray much. *As for those speakers who know not their subject till the Bible is opened in the pulpit, their preaching must be deplorable.*” [And so, doubtless, it will be if, *not knowing their subject* RELIGION, they have been formed by the rules of art.] *Life and Letters of the late Rev. Henry Venn, M. A. 1834. p. 358.*

On the whole of which (after my interpolations in places), I have to remark: 1. That this mode of reasoning tends altogether to set aside ‘prophecy,’ or the speaking *in the name and power of another*, according to the ability received at the time, *and in simple faith*. Yet, as one who has, during much of his life, derived great spiritual benefit from the exercise of a Scriptural ‘prophecy’ by others, I may acknowledge myself thankful to God, for this gift to some of his servants even in this latter age: and should be very sorry (much as it is mixed with ‘strange fire’ in its present use among us) to see it wholly disclaimed.

2. That the very manner of preaching, first advised against and then by a strange inconsistency recommended in this letter, is by the writer himself owned, in places, as strongly as we could desire, to be found (in the experience of the faithful) sound and edifying. I remember well to have been told very seriously, when young, by a learned Clergyman of the Establishment, that he sometimes wished for a short-hand-writer, to take down what he found himself unexpectedly led to deliver, in preaching from his MS. or notes. Now if this were the case with him at certain favoured seasons, why not, with more of prayer and self-abasement, at all? The reply must be, I think, that *he* is expected to be *always, ready*; and that God’s time is not always ours.

3. And lastly, this being the advice of one, of whom ‘it has been stated in print, that he was the first London minister who revived the practice,’ I may here add, in justice to him and his friends, that the method prescribed appears to me excellent for introducing to a con-

gregation *the mere human teacher* (understand it of the converted and pious man, still) who having received at College a certain stock of learning for pay, is willing for a maintenance to deliver it out to others, as Milton hath it, 'in his weekly dole.' And certainly it is both ill management and ill manners, for *such an one* to ascend the pulpit quite unprepared. He is called (and supposed to be qualified) so to deliver himself on a stated text, as to instruct the attentive hearer *less read* than himself, and to please or satisfy the judgment of the best informed Christian. Let *him* preach to the more genteel and wealthy congregations.

But there is, still to be treated, a character in the Christian world who is (blessed be God!) above the mere 'teacher'—who is worthy to be called an 'Evangelist' (to the poor and unlearned) be he whose 'Apostle' he may—for these are, by their own account, the Apostles of those who ordain them: who were themselves ordained by such and such before them, and they by others; and so on, up to Christ (as they say): of whose immediate call and sending they can yet give us no very clear account. This person, having received of the Lord in secret, and having in himself, *the gift* (not looking for help to the mind and memory of another or, what is still less scriptural and sound, to a set of *Notes*, as he proceeds) is able, in demonstration of the Spirit and with power, 'to instruct, convince, exhort, persuade'—yea *to baptize with the Holy Ghost*, to the plucking the brand from the burning,—to the saving of souls!

This is the ministry which I verily believe *they* exercised, who first preached *the Gospel as held by the despised Quakers*. I deny it not to any others, who can prove their mission by its effects; for 'by their fruits ye shall know them' still. But let those who have it not, *who never own it*, cease to call themselves or expect that others should call them the *Evangelists* of the day. *Ed.*

ART. IV.—*A paraphrase, from the Latin, of the Twenty-eighth Chapter of JOB.*

In the Latin Vulgate, this Chapter has the following curious heading: *Capitis summa: 'De Ecclesiâ et Synagogâ: de inveniendâ sapientiâ: de adventu Christi.'*

Not any thing does it contain, however, bearing the remotest allusion to the Church or the Synagogue, or the coming of our Lord: it is strictly an *Episode* in the poem, containing a description of the operations of a mine; and drawing from the products, and from the docimastic processes connected with them, an impressive lesson on Divine wisdom and human conduct.

Paraphrase. The silver hath its veins in the earth, and gold its place where they refine it. Iron is dug from the sand, and brass molten out of the stone. The miner spends his day in dark caverns, making diligent search for these; amidst rocks and obstacles, and in

danger of sudden death. Should they cease to pump with the foot above ground, (a) the waters would break in upon the poor inhabitant of the place: but, thus dried up, they are no more in the workman's way. Out of the soil cometh our bread: yet from beneath it is turned up as it were fire! (b) It hath sapphires in place of stones, and the very dust of it is gold. (Here is a path which the Vulture's eye hath not seen; which no fowl of the heaven knoweth. The Lion's whelps have not trodden it, nor hath the strong Lion passed by it). Laying his hand upon the rock, he upturneth the mountains by the roots. He cutteth out rivers among the rocks; his eye discerneth every precious thing: he bindeth the flood from overflowing, and bringeth what is hidden to light.

But where shall we dig for *Wisdom*: what is the mine in which to search for Understanding? Man knoweth not its worth: it is no where to be found in a land of luxurious livers. (c) The abyss saith, it is not in me: the sea hath it not in all its depths. It cannot be gotten for gold, which is despised for its sake: silver could not be weighed sufficient for its price. The dyes of India are not to be put in competition with it: no, not the most costly blue, nor the scarlet. Crystal set in gold, or golden vases the largest and most finely wrought, shall be deemed of no consideration by it. No mention needs be made of coral or of pearls, for the price of *Wisdom* is above that of Rubies. Yet is it brought out of the depths: though the topaz of Ethiopia cannot rival it, neither can it be paid for in fine gold.

Whence then cometh *Wisdom*, and what is the place of Understanding: seeing it is hid from the eyes of all living, and kept close from the fowls of the air? The very people in Hades may say, *We* have heard the report of it with our ears. (d) But God understandeth its way: he knoweth perfectly where to find it: for He looketh to the ends of the Earth, and beholdeth all that is under heaven. When he holdeth the balance for the winds, and dispenseth the waters by measure: when he decrees the season for the rain, and marks out their course to the sounding tempests. (e) From these it is manifest, that in perfect wisdom he sees all things; pronounces upon all, prepares for all; searches out all for himself. But to man he saith, Behold, the fear of the LORD, that is wisdom for thee; and to depart from evil, a right understanding!

ART. V.—*Remarks on Scripture Passages.* Continued.

1 Cor. xii, 7. The literal meaning of the text seems to be as follows: 'But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to each, for the common good.'

(a) Draining is performed in the East in this way. (b) Comp. vol. 1, p. 268.

(c) In terrâ suaviter viventium: *Vulg.*

(d) 'Death and destruction'—put for those in that state: Comp. *Paradise Lost*; Bk. ii, the interview of *Satan* with the anarch *Chaos*.

(e) Qui fecit ventis pondus, et aquas appendit in mensurâ. Qui ponebat pluviis legem et viam procellis sonantibus. *Vulg.*

Ver. 8-10. This relates (we may observe) to different operations of the Spirit upon different persons; leading them into different services *profitable to the whole*, as in verse 7. On this ground I would read the third clause, which begins verse 9, 'to another *the word of faith*, by the same Spirit'—and understand it of the simple preaching of the faith in Christ, according to Rom. x, 8, 9.

There is a manifest gradation in the gifts here set down: 1, Divine *wisdom*: 2, Human *knowledge*, improved by and subject to the former: 3, A willingness and constancy in preaching Christ—a *faithful* ministry. After which follow other gifts, to be treated of presently: meantime I may observe of the term 'faith' here used, that it cannot mean the common faith of believers. The person must have *this* before he can receive any gift of the spirit: his *faith* (simply taken) is his own, for his own salvation;—but these are gifts to individuals, to be used for the common good.

Ver. 28. Compare with ver. 8-10. We find thus in connection, 1, The word of *wisdom*, in the *Apostles*: 2, the word of *knowledge*, derived from their teaching, in the *prophets* or preachers under them: 3, the word of the *faith*, in the *teacher*: 4, 5, *Miracles* and gifts of *healing* (in any of these, but) placed here, in both passages, as below all the former. 6. *Prophecy* (again)—*spiritual discerning*, but with *discipline and rule*: 7, *Learning and tongues*, or the knowledge of various languages; (however acquired, for we are not to suppose *those taught of men* excluded, when dedicated to this ministry) with a capacity for the interpretation of the tongues employed.

Thus we see the Apostle placing in the foremost rank those by whom the Gospel had been first preached, *under the immediate orders of Christ*. These are followed by such as preached it, by an authority *derived through the former*. Miracles and gifts of healing he makes a subordinate matter: such as the preachers might, or might not have to do with. But another thing he brings in immediately, quite necessary to the Church, *the gift of usefulness in the discipline*: and this too a preacher might have, or might not—as is found, by experience, now. Last, come the qualifications the most near to the merely human—learning, study and research, applied with honest diligence to the support of the cause of Truth, and the furtherance of the Gospel. But all those (let us remember) are gifts of the Spirit, dividing to every man severally the *ability* as it pleaseth Him. And the essential requisite to the right use of them all he shews in Chap. xiii to be CHARITY, *the love of God and man*. In this 'more excellent way' than that of simple zeal or knowledge, they were to exercise them, *for the common good and their own salvation*.

Chap. xiv, 34. 'Let your women keep silence *in conferences* in the church:—35. And if they wish to learn aught, *of what is going on*, let them enquire of their husbands at home.'

Let the reader now compare Chap. xi, 3-16, and judge for himself, after having considered how fully and clearly the Apostle writes there, about the ministry of women in prophecy and supplication in the

church, *whether he could possibly have so far forgotten himself, as here to forbid the very thing he there regulates.*

1 Cor. xiii, 12. For now we see things, as we see ourselves by reflexion from a dark mirror, dimly; *then, we shall behold them, as persons do each other when they stand face to face.*

Chap. xiv, 6. Unless I shall speak to you either by revelation, or of my own knowledge:—in prophecy *by the former*; or as teaching, *from the latter.*

Ver. 10, 11. There are I know not how many languages in the world:—Unless therefore I know the power of the sound *used* by the speaker, I shall be to him as a foreigner, and he as a foreigner to me.

Ver. 14. For if I perform worship in an unknown tongue, my spirit indeed worshippeth, but the service is unprofitable to another.

Ver. 27. By two, or at the most three sentences at a time: and that, by turns with one who interprets for him.

Chap. xv, 29. In the Vulgate, in Eccles. xxxiv, we read, *Qui baptizatur a mortuo et iterum tangit mortuum, quid proficit lavatio illius?*

It is clear that the care of the dead, among the Jews, involved those who touched the corpse in a legal uncleanness, which was removed by a ceremonial washing. This very thing may have been converted, among the superstitious of the primitive Church, *into a baptism*: the persons who subjected themselves to it imagining that it might avail the dead, *as if done for them.*

We know that baptism was by many superstitiously deferred to the last hour of their lives, that they might not be made unclean anew, by sin committed after it. And in this case, the person called to administer it might chance to arrive too late. It was, then, an argument *ad hominem*, to say to such, Why are you baptised for such, if they are never to rise again?

Ver. 56. 'The strength of sin is the law.' The *law* is that by which sin is found to be 'exceeding sinful:' by which, in a metaphor, it takes us by surprise and kills us. Comp. Rom. vii, 7–12.

Chap. xvi, 2. 'Upon the *First day* of the week, let every one of you lay by in store, as God hath prospered him.' The question arises, whether out of the gains of the week, or of *that day in particular.* The *Seventh* being devoted to rest, this was probably the day, both for the Church-meeting on its proper business of social worship and then the discipline, *and for the public market afterwards*; in which many Christians would be *sellers.* I have treated this subject elsewhere. See Vol. i, p. 292.

2 Cor. iii, 13. The putting of the vail over his face by Moses is here, I think, a figurative expression. He did not *let them into the whole secret* of those institutions, which were afterwards to be abolished.

Chap. iv. 2. 'But have renounced the hidden things of dishonesty,' *marg.* 'shame.' This seems to mean 'have renounced a dishonorable concealment.' It plainly relates to ministry, not conduct.

Ver. 7. 'This treasure in earthen vessels.' An elegant allusion

to the practice of putting coin into earthen pots, for concealment in subterraneous treasuries.

Ver. 11. May refer to some persecution then raging, of which we have not the record. It appears, by verse 16, *that some were losing their lives.*

Chap. v, 1. 'For we are assured that, although our earthly dwelling of the body should be broken up, we have a structure in reserve with God (an house not made with hands) eternal, in the heavens.'

I believe the Gr. *skenos* will bear to be rendered 'body.' It is very awkward to say *the house of a tabernacle.*

Ver. 13. For whether we exceeded [discretion] it was to God; or whether we were discreet, it was for your sakes.

Chap. vi, 4-10. 'By much patience in afflictions: amidst vexation, coercion, stripes, imprisonments, tumults; in labours, in watchings, in fastings; by pureness, by knowledge, by longsuffering, by service in the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned; by the word of truth, by the power of God; with the armour of righteousness in the right hand and in the left [spear and shield;] through honour and dishonour, good report and evil; as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold we live: as chastened and not killed; as sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich: as having nothing, and yet possessing all things.' A full and very just description (I have no doubt at all) of the condition of those who faithfully preach, and extensively labour in, the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ! *Ed.*

ART. VI.—*Doctor Blackmore's Verses of Content and Discontent.*

From a MS. of the time of the author: the spelling corrected to the modern standard.

CONTENT.

CONTENT alone can all our wrongs redress,
 Content, the other name for happiness.
 The men that suit their wishes to their state,
 And pleas'd still with themselves enjoy their fate,
 Whose modest passions reason's nod obey,
 Are greater kings than those who sceptres sway.
 They can the triumphs of a Court despise,
 And the rich toys that charm deluded eyes;
 And rather chuse to tame their thirst, than have
 All the supplies their feverish drouth can crave.
 Free from desire, they are as free from want,
 And from the cares that envied greatness haunt:
*Though spoil'd by prosperous robbers, still they find
 The large possessions of a peaceful mind.*
*They face the storm, and stand its fiercest shocks
 Bold as the winds, unshaken as the rocks.*

*No tempest that invades th' ambitious breast
Can the calm region of their minds molest.*

DISCONTENT.

Sour *Discontent*, that quarrels with our fate,
May give fresh smart, but not the old abate.
Envenom'd with its sting, each harmless loss
Grows wondrous sharp, and proves a deadly cross :
Th' uneasy passion's disingenuous wit
The ill reveals, but hides the benefit :
It makes a toy press with prodigious weight,
And swells a mole-hill to a mountain's height.
So melancholy men lie down, and groan
Prest with the burthen of themselves alone ;
Crush'd with fantastick mountains, they despair ;
Their heads are grown vast globes, too big to bear ;
A little spark becomes a raging flame,
And each weak blast, a storm too fierce to tame.
So peevish is the quarrelsome disease,
No prosperous fortune can procure its ease :
Their breasts are ne'er from inbred tempests free,
Restless as winds, and troubled as the sea.
The pleasure now they seek would bring content,
But, when enjoy'd t'was something else they meant :
Some absent happiness they still pursue,
Dislike the present good, and long for new :
The man now thinks he sees his bliss, and flies
With greedy arms to grasp the gaudy prize,
But, when enquiring what his hopes have won,
Vain man, he sees the cheating shadow gone.
Oft does the fair illusion by him stand,
But, when pursu'd, gives back and mocks his hand ;
Sometimes he sees the beckoning phantom here
That, when he follows, doth elsewhere appear.
The wretch, though tantaliz'd and often crost,
Yet still pursues, though still his labour's lost.
The unhappy man, slave to his own desire,
By feeding it foment the raging fire ;
His gains augment his inextinguish'd thirst,
With plenty poor and with abundance curst.

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ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrine and practices of the Quakers.*

Continued from p. 263.

A. D. Thomas Wilson and James Dickenson accomplish a Religious 1691-3. visit to Friends in North America and the West Indies.

The former of these, a Cumberland man and for aught that appears a day-labourer (certainly a husbandman) was a Minister of great note and usefulness among Friends. He was born at Soulby, of Church-of-England parents, and zealous in religion in that way in his youth: but becoming thoughtful about the performances in which he had been brought up, was first stopped in his mind as to the practice of *psalmody*. 'In the time of singing psalms,' he says, 'a thoughtfulness came into my heart, *that men should be made holy before they could rightly sing to the praise and glory of God.*' Through a godly sorrow on account of his state, and earnest seeking 'with secret cries and humble prayers to the Living Lord God of heaven and earth, for the knowledge of the way of salvation' he came, at length, to sit down in silence with the quakers. How he came by his ministry, must now be shewn from his *Journal*.

"And now was a time of the Lord's fierce anger because of sin, he having shewed me all things that ever I had done, and condemned the evil; so I was made willing to love and dwell under his righteous judgments, being truly convinced, that was the way to come unto the mercy-seat. And then it was upon my mind, that I must cease from all the doctrines of men, will-worship, hearing the priests, and repeating their sermons, which I had delighted in, and was in the

practice of, as religious duties; it being made plain to me, that I should turn from them, and mind the gift which was in me, and sit down among friends in their silent meetings, to wait upon the Lord in retiredness of mind, for his heavenly teachings and holy leadings, in the performance of which inward, divine, and heavenly worship, the great power of God did wonderfully break in among us, and many young people were convinced of the inward work of God, and turned to the Lord with all their hearts. The meeting, in general, became very tender and heavenly-minded, and friends had great love one to another; the heart-melting power of the Lord being much felt and inwardly revealed, when no words were spoken by either man or woman. In this state we travelled in the silence of all flesh, in which time the Lord often renewed our strength in the inward man, so that we knew and experienced what the apostle exhorteth the primitive Christians unto, (even) 'Christ to dwell in us by faith,' and the renewings of the Holy Ghost increased, and were shed on us abundantly in our meeting, whereby some were so filled, that they were concerned to declare and preach the things of the kingdom of God, and what he had done for their souls. One of the first that came forth in prayer and supplication to the Lord, was William Greenup, and I was the next that came forth there in a testimony for the Lord, which was in very great fear and much trembling: the word of the Lord, in and through me, was as a devouring fire, burning against all sin and iniquity; and the Lord made us cry aloud to turn people from all vain worships to the living God, that is a Holy Spirit: and the precious life of Jesus broke in wonderfully amongst us, so that we felt drawings to visit other meetings in the country, wherein the Lord's heavenly power was plentifully enjoyed amongst us, and several convinced of the truth, who turned to the Lord with all their hearts, and joined with friends; particularly in our own meeting, whereby it was enlarged. I was often very much affected in feeling the love and power of God break through the whole meeting; and many such heavenly meetings we had, and the word of the testimony, in the Lord's ministers, increased amongst us. I then found further drawings to other counties, and visited the meetings of friends in Lancashire and Westmorland." (a)

I shall next give from the same publication the Testimony concerning him of his companion James Dickenson, another Cumberland Friend (as it seems of about the same age with himself) in which are to be found some lively traits of character.

"James Dickenson's Testimony concerning his Friend and Companion, in the Work of the Gospel, Thomas Wilson, deceased:

"Being a testimony to the sufficiency of the Lord's power, and work thereof, as it is revealed in the hearts of the children of men, in this age of the world (as well as in former ages) unto all who have their minds turned to the light of the Lord Jesus Christ, so as to believe and walk therein. These come to have fellowship one with another, and know the blood of Jesus Christ to cleanse them from unrighteousness, and are fitted for the service of God; one of which, was this my dear friend and companion, Thomas Wilson.

"The first time I was acquainted with him, was in the year 1682, when he had the motion of the Lord's power upon him to preach the everlasting gospel in the nation of England, he being at our week-day meeting at Pardsey, where his mouth was opened in a powerful testimony, to the tendering of many hearts, and the meeting was brought under a deep baptism of one spirit into one body, and drank into one spirit; after which, he soon took shipping for Ireland, and I having a concern upon me to go into that nation, hastened after him, where we found it our place to travel together, (as doth appear in his Journal:) the power of

(a) A Brief Journal of the Life, Travels, &c. of Thomas Wilson: 2 Edition, London, 1784.

the Lord was wonderfully with him, and made him as a cloud folded, full of rain, carried by the breath of the Almighty, to water the ground. He had great service while I was with him, and several were convinced by him.

“In the year 1683, he visited several counties in the North of England, it being a time of great persecution, and the Lord’s power was wonderfully manifested for our help and preservation. Some officers came to Kendal, where Thomas was then declaring the way of life and salvation, in the mighty power of God, so that the testimony of truth was set over all; and though they pulled him out of the door, yet had not power to take him away with them, but let him return in again, and we kept the meeting in the authority of the Lord’s power, until we found freedom to conclude it in a sense of the love of God, with thanksgiving unto him.

“In the year 1684, we travelled together through many counties in England, and through Wales; in which journey he had great service, the Lord making him as a flame of fire against sin and wickedness, and often as a cloud full of rain, to comfort the afflicted. We met with no informer in this journey, till we came into South Wales, at Red-Stone, (as may be seen in his journal) where they endeavoured to break up our meeting, and could not; but (as we heard afterward) the friends of that meeting were very largely fined, though the distress was prevented by means of moderate justices, after the death of King Charles the Second.

“And when the said informer came also to Haverford-West, with a justice to assist him, the power of the Lord was so eminently with Thomas, in his testimony, that the Justice said, ‘If these be the Quakers, I never heard the like, let them alone.’ In the time of this his travel (or journey) many were convinced, and turned to the Lord’s teaching. He also travelled in the year 1688, through the South and West parts of England, wherein the Lord supported him by his heavenly power, still adding a blessing to his labours.

“In the year 1691, we entered upon our long voyage to America, taking shipping at London for Barbadoes, (and the Lord shewed us things to come) it being a time of war between France and England. It was shewed him, we should meet with the French fleet, which we did: and it was an exercise to us, but our cries and tears being poured forth to the Lord, he stretched out his arm for our help, and wonderfully delivered us, by sending a great fog (or mist) which blinded the eyes of our enemies; they took all the fleet, except the ship we were in, and other two. My companion had been exercised three days in prayer and fasting, that we might be preserved, and the Lord heard his prayers, and restrained the hands of wicked men; so that all those on board were made to confess it was a miraculous deliverance; and even in the time of trial, we felt the Lord’s living presence wonderfully with us, to the melting of our hearts, and strengthening our faith, in the sufficiency of his power, that is over all. After which, on a first day of the week, the company of the other two ships came aboard the ship we were in, and we had a large meeting, wherein the everlasting gospel of life and salvation was declared amongst them, and they were made to acknowledge it was the truth.

“When we came into the latitude of Barbadoes, we met with another trial, in being chased by a man of war; but our eye was to the Lord. The company concluded to fight him, and made preparation for it, having their places ordered them where they should be; but the captain (knowing it was matter of conscience to us) was civil, and bade us go to the doctor, if we pleased; at which the passengers were very angry, saying, ‘We deserved to be shot to death.’ We told them, Christ’s kingdom is not of this world, and therefore his servants cannot fight. But seeing the captain was so kind as to give us liberty of choosing our places, we whould be on the quarter-deck with him: which greatly confounded those who were so much against us, and gave us an opportunity to set the testimony of truth over them. It proved to be an English man of war.

“We landed in Barbadoes the twenty-fourth of the sixth month, where my said companion had great service for the Lord, many hearts being tendered under

his testimony, and several convinced. His labours were also great in New-England, Rhode-Island, Long-Island, East and West-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, Antigua, and Nevis, where many were convinced by him : in some of which places he passed through many perils by sea and land, lodging out in the woods in winter seasons ; and the greatest of all was false brethren, but the Lord's power supported him over all.

“ When we were clear of America, we took shipping at Nevis, the twenty-sixth of the twelfth month, and landed in the Highlands of Scotland, the fifteenth of the second month, 1693, and thence returned into Cumberland, being filled with thankfulness to the Lord for his wonderful deliverances ; and though we went forth weeping, bearing precious seed, we returned rejoicing, with sheaves in our bosoms : and afterwards travelled together up to London, where we met with friends from most parts of the nation, who were glad to see us, and the Lord's power was still made manifest for our help in his service, blessed be his holy name for ever ! We being sensible, that without Christ we could do nothing, he wrought all for us, and in us, and strengthened our faith in the sufficiency of his power : in which faith, this my said friend lived, and went through great tribulation, and I doubt not is entered into rest. Our fellowship was great, and the Lord made us one, both in tribulation and joy, being bound up together in the bond of love.

“ In the year 1713, we took our second voyage together for America, and the Lord made way for us, both inwardly and outwardly, and preserved us near to himself, and one to another, he having nothing in our eye, but the honour of his name, and good of mankind. And I know there was not any thing more delightful to my dear companion than to be under the influence of God's Holy Spirit, wherewith he was often filled, not only for his own good, but the good of others : he having a dispensation of the everlasting gospel committed to him of God, which he preached freely, and it was his care to keep it without charge ; and though he had a large gift, beyond many, yet was glad of the least child who spake from the motion of God's Spirit, he having learned to cast down his crown at the feet of the Lamb, for whose exaltation he was given up to spend and be spent. He had great service in this last visit in America, and was greatly comforted in seeing the fruit of his former labours ; and those who had been convinced by him, walking in the light of the Lord Jesus Christ.

“ I might say much of my own knowledge concerning his great, faithful, and diligent labours in the work of the gospel, (of which a small account is given in his Journal) yet what I have said, is not to attribute any thing but to the Lord's power, (which wrought effectually in him, and whereof he was a faithful witness) to whom be glory for ever, Amen. James Dickenson.

While Thomas Wilson travelled among Friends, on this side the Atlantic, he exhibited in one thing a remarkable example of conscientious feeling and dedication, in respect of his service. When at any time he found that the motion of life in him for travelling ceased (he makes clearly a distinction between ‘ that sense ’ which the Lord at times took away from him, and his habitual life in the Truth) he ceased from travelling and betook himself to ‘ harvest-work ’ or whatsoever suited his outward calling, on the spot : and, on the renewal of his ‘ concern,’ set forward again to preach the Gospel. This is the way in which the gift of the simple Evangelist might (methinks) be most profitably exercised (were our ‘ prophets ’ content thus to speak by revelation, one by one) and a living ministry of the word experienced, in their sittings with our scattered congregations. I know by recollection to this hour, and can feelingly testify to the good effects of such

Cumberland preaching on my own heart, in my wild youthful days. Among other meetings, he visited that at Oxford; and in justice to the students I must shew how he was received.

"I went into Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, and Oxford city, where I heard the scholars had been rude, and much abused friends. I went into that city on a first-day morning, in great fear and humility, being a stranger to all friends there, and sat me down in a corner of the meeting-house. Friends sat by the sides of the house, and left the middle empty for the rabble (as I thought); we having sat a little time, a friend began to speak, and had spoken but a very few words before the scholars came in, in such abundance, that I supposed they filled the middle part of the house. The friend sat down as soon as they came in, and the meeting being in silence, they began to talk one to another, and spy out who would preach; and seeing me like a traveller, said, That in the corner; looking rudely upon me: and, thus talking one to another for some time, the word of the Lord was strong in my heart to preach unto them; but I was first to say, Sit down, young men, we shall be glad of your company, so long as you are civil: which done, they all sat down, and began to listen earnestly what I would say. I preached the way to the kingdom of heaven to be in Jesus Christ: regeneration, and to be born again; and that blessed Jesus taught this doctrine to Nicodemus, 'Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.' John, iii, 3. And though he was a master (or teacher) in Israel, yet being carnally minded, he could not understand these things; neither can any carnal-minded men now know the things of God: 'For no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.' So those that preach against revelation, they preach against the true knowledge of the living God, and life eternal; for our blessed Lord said, 'This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.' And this was in and by the Spirit, and Holy Gift of his saving grace that brings salvation—and so went on in preaching as it opened in me. The scholars went away quietly, and the meeting ended in prayer to Almighty God." (b)

I must conclude this article with some further notice of their passage and service, on the occasion first mentioned. It appears that they embarked with the approval and concurrence of Friends at London, the 9th of the 5th month, 1691; the French having a great fleet at sea, of which the rumour was that it lay in their intended course for the West Indies, about thirty or forty leagues from the Lands-end. Being strong in faith that it was easy with the Lord God to deliver them, these Friends trusted in His holy power; and were favoured (as stated by each in his separate narrative) with a prophetic sense of their approaching danger, and certain deliverance from it. Thomas Wilson believed that their vessel was at one time within musket-shot of a Ninety-gun ship: and some on board informed him that, behind the twelve men of war which pursued them, they counted seventy sail. He states also that, upon their getting clear along with 'other two ships' they called their companies aboard them, and had 'a large and good meeting, giving glory to the Lord's holy name for his great deliverance.' (c)

The course of their journey has been already stated, in general terms, by James Dickenson: the following Extracts may suffice to

(b) Journal, p. 18.

(c) Idem. p. 26.

shew the nature of the service, beginning with their arrival at Barbadoes 'the twenty fourth of the Sixth month.'

"Here we found a great sickness amongst the people, but friends were glad to see us. The first meeting we had there, was at the burial of a noted friend, where we sounded forth the word of the Lord, a multitude of people being there, both white and black, and the Lord's holy word powerfully reached, and broke many of their hearts into great tenderness; the blacks stood astonished, with tears running down their cheeks and naked breasts. We staid above two months in that island, in all which time the sickness raged, yet we had many large and precious meetings, to which there was great flocking, the people being very much humbled by the sickness: and several received the truth, and joined with friends. So being clear in our spirits of that island, we parted with friends in great love and sweetness.

"When we came to Philadelphia, there was a great division raised amongst friends by George Keith. We preached the Lord Jesus powerfully amongst them, and had some labour tending to peace. My companion had it often upon him to warn them all to keep more inward to the Lord. After we had staid some time there, and visited friends in that province, (having had many precious meetings amongst them, some of which were kept without doors, for want of room, and great flockings to hear the truth declared, although it was winter time) we went from thence into Maryland, and visited friends on the eastern and western shore; and travelled to Virginia, and had many good and comfortable meetings amongst them, the Lord's good presence accompanying us from time to time: and we found a tender humble people there.

"We went from Virginia towards North Carolina, where the floods were so great, that we could not travel on horseback, but waded bare-foot through swamps and waters; friends and people were exceeding glad to see us, they not having had any visit by a travelling friend of the ministry for several years before. We had good service amongst them, for the Lord's heavenly power wonderfully supported us under our difficulties and hard travel: the country being so full of wild creatures, that wolves would come and roar about the houses in the night time. So after having had many good and heavenly meetings with friends there, we took leave of them, and returned through the wilderness to Virginia; and so travelled up James's River, having meetings as we went, until we came to Currells's, where we had some meetings to satisfaction amongst friends and people.

"We went from Currells's through the woods to Black-Creek, where we had appointed a meeting; and none having been there before, the sheriff, with some officers, came to break up the meeting; James Dickenson being then declaring, the sheriff asked him, From whom he had his commission to preach? James answered to this effect, I have my commission from the great God, unto whom thou and I must give an account. At which words the sheriff seemed much astonished; and after they had some further discourse, the sheriff swore, for which James reprov'd him, and said, The sheriff should not swear: who answered, I know I should not swear; seeming then very mild, and said, We had a gracious king and queen, and they had given us our liberty. I then stood up, and asked the sheriff a question, being he had said, that we had a gracious king and queen, that had given us our liberty; (which was true) then by what law would the sheriff persecute us? He then turned about, and went away. Whereupon James Dickenson spake aloud, saying, Let the sheriff answer the question: which it doth not appear he did, but took the man of the house along with him a little way, and sent him back to bid us go off his land; I told him, We did not come there without his leave, and both he and the people might know, we had not broken the king's law, but were there upon a religious account; and if they would have a little patience, and hear what we had to say for the Lord, we would go peaceably away. Most of the people staid, and we had a heavenly meeting

amongst them ; several were convinced, and in a short time after a meeting-house was built, and a meeting settled there, which I think is kept there still.

“ After the said meeting at Black-Creek, one Charles Fleming, who had not been at any of our meetings before, being reached by the truth, kindly invited us to lodge with him that night, which we did, and from his house travelled towards Maryland, having company a little way of the first day’s journey, and then left in the woods ; and after having travelled all day, we sat down in the dusk of the evening to eat a little bread and cheese. My mare went out of my hand, and in a little time I perceived she had found water, at which I was very glad ; and, I think, I never drank any wine more sweet and pleasant to me, than that water was.

“ We lodged that night in the woods, and as soon as the day brake set forward on our journey through the woods, northward ; and as we were travelling, met with two men, one of which being an ancient comely man, kindly invited us to his house, where we staid two nights, and had a meeting, though he was an elder among the Presbyterians ; he also lent us his boat to go over Potomack River, and that night we lodged at a poor man’s house, and had no bed to lie in ; as we were sitting by his fire, he told us, that George Fox and John Burnyeat had travelled in those parts, and had meetings on both sides the river, and many were convinced, but several of them fell away. We got next day over Pattuxent River, into Maryland, and had many blessed meetings amongst friends on both sides of the bay ; and being clear of those parts, went towards the lower counties of Pennsylvania, and so the yearly meeting at Salem, in West-Jersey, which held several days, the Lord’s holy power was largely manifested therein, and friends were in great love and unity. From thence we went to Philadelphia, where we found the difference between George Keith and friends broken out to an open separation, he having gathered a company to himself, and set up a separate meeting, which was cause of great exercise to faithful friends, and he seeing we did not go to his meeting, sent us a challenge to dispute, which we readily complied with, and had a meeting with him and his party, a great many faithful friends accompanying us. We sat a while in silence to hear his charges against friends, viz. that some of them were not sound in faith, doctrine, and principle ; but did not prove, it, nor suffer friends to answer him, but went on in railing ; we made remarks though said nothing, which raised a great desire in him and his abettors, to have another meeting with me and my companion ; which we readily agreed to, provided some faithful friends went along with us, to bear witness : for I knew that the like separate spirit, which had appeared in England, was a *lying spirit*.

“ Some time after, having divers friends along with us, we met again with the said George Keith, and the chief of his abettors ; and being quietly set to hear what he had to say, he advanced his former charge against friends, as being unsound in faith, doctrine, and principle ; unto which I answered, saying, No error in faith, doctrine, or principle, of particular men, or persons, was a sufficient reason for him to set up a separate meeting. He opposed me ; then I asked liberty to be heard, and told him to this effect, If he and his company were sound in faith and doctrine, and men of God, they should have kept up their testimony for the Lord in the meeting ; and if there must have been a separation, such unsound men or persons would have gone away from friends, as those did formerly, of whom John said, ‘ They went out from us, but they were not of us ; for if they had been of us, they would, no doubt, have continued with us ; but they went out, that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us.’ 1 John ii, 19. I also asked them, Where ever they knew faithful friends in England leave their meeting, and set up a separate meeting ? Thus we left the dispute at that time, and went to visit the meetings of friends in the Welsh track or plantation, and to and fro in the country ; so returned again to Philadelphia, and had a third meeting (very large) with Keith and his party. I told them, They were gone from the Lord in an airy flourish, and the wit of man, and had set up a separate meet-

ing; but in a little time the Sun of Righteousness would shine amongst them, and drive away the misty doctrines of men; and that they (meaning the separates) should dwindle, die away, and come to nothing, except such who were most honest towards God, who should return to truth and friends; which in a little time, was fulfilled in both respects.

“ On the seventeenth of the sixth month, 1692, we took shipping at Boston for Barbadoes; and after we had been about two or three days at sea, the ship being new, sprung a leak; and part of our lading being tar, some ran out of the barrels into the hold, and our pumps clogged, so things looked very dangerous. I stripped myself to work at the pump, and James went with the captain to search the hold, where they found a treenail-hole that the carpenter had left unfilled up; and after they had got it stopped, (through the Lord’s great mercy) we arrived safe at Barbadoes: but some time before we went in, it fell thick, dark weather, continuing so all the forenoon; but about twelve of the clock, the sun broke out, and our sailors got an observation: immediately after which, the mist struck in again, and the darkness so great, that although there was a privateer which had lain several days in that latitude, we escaped him, and got well in. So that we saw the same hand which preserved us in our first going there, (by bringing in a thick mist) had again preserved us in like manner, a second time; which was cause of great joy to us and friends on the island, who gladly received us.

“ We landed at Barbadoes on the second day of the eighth month, 1692; where we staid some time, and visited friends meetings thoroughly, and had good service for the Lord, the sickness which was in the island at our first coming still continuing, whereby the people were very much humbled; and their exercise further increased by a plot the blacks had laid to murder the white people, which was discovered in manner following.

“ A certain man having a black servant, which he respected, called him in and gave him a dram; wherewith he was so well pleased, that upon his going out, he said to himself, My master is a very good man, great pity to kill my master; and being overheard, some made information thereof to his master; upon which he had him apprehended, and examined before the governor, but denied all. However, they sent him to prison, and set a private watch to see if any of the blacks would come to speak with him; which several did privately, and charged him not to confess, for a great many hundreds would come and rescue him out of prison, and also go on with the massacre: which occasioned him to be brought again before the governor, and then he confessed the whole plot, which was, to kill all the white men on Sunday night, and to seize the fort, shipping, horses, and arms; but being thus discovered, *many of the blacks were taken and hung up in gibbets alive, till they died.*

“ Being clear of Barbadoes, we went from thence to Antigua, where we staid some time, and had several large meetings amongst the people; the Lord’s power did so prevail over them, that several were convinced of the truth, and afterwards became faithful friends. So passed thence to the Island of Nevis; and when near it, had a consultation, whether to go in on the north or south side thereof; and by the favourable direction of Divine Providence, for our preservation, we went in on the south side; where we heard that a French privateer, that lay on the north side of the island, had taken a vessel about the same time. We staid several weeks in that island, and had sundry good meetings therein, and had good service for the Lord. Many of the inhabitants had been visited with a mortal distemper; of which many were taken away, as they told us. There had been four priests on the island before; but when we came, there was but one of them living: he was a great drunkard and a swearer; and when the inhabitants came to our meetings, and were reached by the Lord’s power, so that they confessed to the truth, then this wicked priest was very angry, and told them he would come and dispute with us at our meeting on the first-day. This being spread through the island, many of the inhabitants of great note came to the meeting, though the

priest did not come, but went to the governor to inform him against us. We had a large meeting, in which the everlasting gospel was proclaimed amongst them, and all were warned to repent of their sins, and turn to the light of Jesus Christ. Many hearts were reached: one that was a justice of the peace confessed to the truth; he also wrote to the governor on our behalf.

“ Now being clear of this island, our names were put up at a public place, as the law required, of our going off the island, and certificates written, and carried by a friend to the governor to be signed by him: but he would not, for he had been much enraged by the priest, and threatened that he would put us in the fort, and see us before we should depart. So we took horses, and went with the master of the ship, with whom we had taken our passage: and went to the governor's house. He appeared very angry with us, and said, we were spies, come to spy out the strength of the island. We told him, we were no spies, but true men; and to satisfy the governor, we shewed him a pass that had the secretary's seal at it, which we had at our coming out of England; wherein all governors and officers were commanded to let us pass. When he saw the broad seal, his countenance fell, and he asked us why we had not shewed him it before? We replied, we had not shewed it then, but for his satisfaction that we were not spies, but true men; and further told him, we came in the love of God to visit our friends, and the inhabitants of the island. Then he signed the certificate, and called for a bottle of wine to drink with the captain and us, but we would not drink any with him; for we were deeply bowed under the sense of God's goodness to us; who had not only drawn us into his service, but also had made way for us, and wrought our deliverance. For, in the latitude of Bermudas, a Tornado came, which is a gust of storm, our top-sails being a-trip, laid the vessel on the one side like a log of wood, and remained so for some time; in which time, the glory of the Lord did so shine upon us, that the fear of death was clearly taken away, and our hearts were filled with the joy of God's salvation.” (d)

A. D. Friends of Scotland adopt at Aberdeen the practice of appointing Overseers, and hold *weekly family Meetings in rotation, at each others houses.*

These improvements appear to have been added about this time to a previous arrangement, adopted at the instance of George Fox, of having appointed Correspondents, to keep up their connexion with Friends in London, and receive and circulate the books, tracts, and Epistles by them from time to time published. My notice of the Society, now settled in good order and a regular discipline, *in this part of the island*, comes here to its termination. I may refer however, before I leave it, to John Barclay's works heretofore cited, for a remarkable account of a Religious visit paid them by Peter Gardiner in 1694-5, and for Memoirs of several of their worthies deceased. (dd)

Decease of Gulielma-Maria, wife of William Penn; of Thomas Goodair, William Yardly, John Delavall, William Stockdale.

Of the first of these Friends it is recorded that she quietly expired in her husband's arms, (her children and most of the family being present) with a sensible and devout resignation of her soul to Almighty God, the 23rd of the Twelfth month, 1693, in the 50th year of her age. ‘ In the height of her sickness she said, It is the great goodness of the Lord, that I should be able to lie thus still: he is the physi-

(d) Journal, p. 26, 28—34, 37—41. (dd) Diary of Jaffray and Memoirs, &c. Chap. xvi—xviii.

cian of value to me, can I say: let my tongue set forth his praise and my spirit magnify Him.'—And, speaking another time solemnly to her children, she said, 'I never desired any great things for you; but that you may fear the Lord and walk in his truth among his people, to the end of your days.' (e)

2. Thomas Goodair 'was one of the first convincement, when George Fox came out of Derby prison to Balby in Yorkshire, in the year 1651.' He became a minister himself, and like George suffered for his testimony to the truth, in several prisons; and was at last pre-munired, but released, probably in 1672. After his appearing at the Quarter-sessions at Oxford, 1660, and refusing to swear, sentence having been passed on him, That he was out of the king's protection, and all his lands, goods and chattels forfeited to the king; and he to remain in prison during the king's pleasure, Sir William Waller bid the gaoler take him away. Thomas asked him, *if he ordered the gaoler to put irons upon him* [which had been cruelly done] and was told, the gaoler might do what he would with him, for he was out of the king's protection. The gaoler, thus encouraged, told the common prisoners, that if they wanted coats they might take off the quakers' (Benjamin Staples being prisoner along with him) from their backs; they could have no law against them: but one of them answered, *he would go naked, first*. In 1691 he published 'A plain Testimony to the ancient TRUTH and work of God;' and died in it, at Selby in Yorkshire, the 8th of the 2nd month, 1693.

3. William Yardley, formerly of Ransclough near Leek, was an ancient labourer in the gospel of Christ, and very serviceable in [Staffordshire] Derbyshire, and Cheshire, and travelled in many parts of England; but about 1681 went with his family to Pennsylvania, and died there in Bucks county, 1693.

4. John Delavall was the son of Thomas Delavall a merchant of New York; where, being convinced of the Truth he received a public testimony, in which he was very zealous. He removed to Philadelphia, and was first a coadjutor (against Mather) and then a public opponent of Keith: but retained his integrity to the last, and died at Philadelphia, 1693.

5. William Stockdale in his early time travelled much in the service of Truth in England and Scotland, and suffered by beatings and bruises from the hands of professors in the latter kingdom, at the first spreading of it there. He removed (1687) from Ireland to Philadelphia; and, like the former friend, was concerned in the controversy with George Keith; and died there in the same year with the above-mentioned. (f)

1694. William Penn reinstated in his government of Pennsylvania.

The following is a copy of a duplicate of the Instrument by which this was done.

"William and Mary, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defenders of the Faith, &c.

(e) Piety Promoted, Pt. 1,

(f) Whiting's Memoirs, p. 488.

“ WHEREAS, upon information, that, by reason of great miscarriages, in the government of our province of Pennsylvania, in America, and the absence of the Proprietor, the same was fallen into disorder and confusion; by means whereof not only the public peace, and administration of justice was broken and violated, but there was also great want of provision for the guard and defence of our said province against our enemies; whereby it was apprehended that our said province, and the adjacent colonies, were much in danger of being lost from the crown of England: for prevention thereof, as much as in us lay, and for the better defence and security of our subjects, inhabiting those parts, during this time of war, we did find it absolutely necessary to take the government thereof into our hands, and under our immediate care and protection, and did therefore by letters patent, under our great seal of England, bearing date the twenty-first day of October, in the fourth year of our reign, constitute and appoint our trusty and well-beloved Benjamin Fletcher, Esquire, our Captain General and Governor in Chief of our province of New York, to be our Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over our said province of Pennsylvania, and country of Newcastle, and all the territories and tracts of land depending thereon, in America, with directions to take the said province and country under his government; and did thereby grant unto him, the said Benjamin Fletcher (and in case of his death, or absence out of our provinces of New York and Pennsylvania our country of Newcastle and our colonies of East and West Jersey, unto such person as should be appointed by us to be Commander in Chief of our said province of New York, or to our Council of our said province) the like powers and authorities, as were granted by our commission to the said Benjamin Fletcher, bearing date the eighteenth day of March, in the said fourth year of our reign, for the ruling and governing of our said province of New York. And whereas, humble application has been made unto us, by our trusty and well-beloved William Penn, Esquire, Proprietor of our said province of Pennsylvania, that he may be restored to the administration of the government thereof, as formerly. And whereas, the said Proprietor has given us good assurance, that he will take care of the government of our said province and territories, and provide for the safety and security thereof, all that in him lies, We have thereupon thought fit to restore him to the administration of the government of our said province and territories, and accordingly Our Will and Pleasure is, That so much of the said commission, bearing date the twenty-first day of October, in the fourth year of our reign, as doth constitute and appoint our trusty and well-beloved Benjamin Fletcher, Esquire, to be our Captain General, and Governor in Chief, of our said province of Pennsylvania and country of Newcastle, and the territories and tracts of land depending thereon in America, together with all the powers and authorities thereby granted for the ruling and governing of our said province and country, do, from the publication of these our letters patent, cease, determine, and become void, and accordingly the same are hereby declared void; of which all persons, whom it may concern, are to take notice, and govern themselves accordingly, under pain of our highest displeasure.

“ In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent Witness, Ourselves, at Westminster, the twentieth day of August, in the sixth, year of our reign.

“ By Writ of Privy Seal,

“ PIGOTT.” (g)

The ‘absence of the Proprietor,’ to which in the above recited document the ‘great miscarriages’ of the province are attributed, had been plainly forced upon him by the political persecution which he had to endure. In 1691 (before his deprivation) he had actually made arrangements for returning to Philadelphia, and was shortly to have

(g) Proud’s Pennsylvania, i, 403.

gone on board a vessel engaged for the purpose (and under a government convoy) when he was accused afresh of treasonable practices on the oath of one *Fuller*; a wretch who was afterwards prosecuted, in pursuance of an Address of the House of Commons, by the King's Attorney General, and [who] had to stand in the pillory as 'a notorious impostor, a cheat and false accuser; having scandalized the Magistrates and the Government—and falsely accused several persons of honour and quality.' (h)

The vessels (for there were several, a number of settlers being then in motion) proceeded without him: and having narrowly escaped an arrest (after preaching at George Fox's burial to about two thousand hearers) he was obliged to remain in private, until his case could again be submitted to the King. This was at length done by the Lords Rochester, Ranelagh and Sidney. They represented his case '*as not only hard but oppressive*: that there was nothing against him but what impostors or those that were fled, or that had since their pardon refused to verify (and asked William Penn's pardon for saying what they did) alleged against him: that they the said Lords had known William Penn, some of them thirty years, and had never known him to do an ill thing, but many good offices; and that, *if it was not for being thought to go abroad in defiance of the government*, he would have done it two years ago; that he was therefore willing to wait to go about his business (as before) *with leave*, that he might be the better respected in the liberty he took to follow it.' (i)

So far in my historian's words—the rest I must give in his own, from a letter, dated Hodsdon the 11th of the 10th Mo. (Dec.) 1693, to Thomas Lloyd and others: 'King William answered that I was his old acquaintance, as well as theirs—that I might follow my business as freely as ever, and that he had nothing to say to me.—

"Upon which they pressed him to command one of them to declare the same to the Secretary of State, Sir John Trenchard, that if I came to him or otherwise, he might signify the same to me;—which he also did;—The Lords were, Rochester, Ranelagh, and Sidney; and the last as my greatest acquaintance, was to tell the Secretary: accordingly he did; and the Secretary after speaking himself, and having it from King William's own mouth, appointed me a time to meet him at home: and did, with the Marquis of Winchester, and told me I was as free as ever; and, as he doubted not my prudence about my quiet living, so he assured me, I should not be molested, or injured in any of my affairs, at least while he held that post. The Secretary is my old friend, and one I served, after the D. of Monmouth and Lord Russel's business: I carried him in my coach to Windsor, and presented him to King James; and when the Revolution came, he bought my four horses, that carried us. It was about three or four months before the revolution. The lords spoke the 25th of November, and he discharged me on the 30th.

"From the Secretary I went to our meeting, at the Bull and Mouth: thence to visit the sanctuary of my solitude; and after that, to see my poor wife and children; my eldest being with me all this while. My wife is yet weakly; but I am not without hopes of her recovery; who is of the best of wives and women.

"From all this you may apprehend that I may yet see America, and shall certainly judge things, as I find them: for I have had hard measure among

(h) Clarkson's Life of Penn, ii, 59.

(i) Proud, i, 401.

you; the province disgraced, and all our interests wounded: though I am tender and merciful, I am just; and neither my relations in blood, nor in judgment, I hope, shall be able to bias me into a wrong sense, or apprehension: and I hope once more to unite you upon a common bottom:—Thus far of my enlargement, which, from a multitude of business, at this time, I send in another hand: I was also surprised at the short notice given me to write in.”

Thus reinstated (if not with honour, at least with *justice*; but this, as it seems, too long withheld) the Proprietary sent out a Commission to William Markham, constituting him his Lieutenant Governor over Pennsylvania and the territories, dated the 24th of Ninth Month 1694; and continued to occupy himself in the ministry, and in vindicating and explaining the principles of Friends.

ART. II.—*A Charity Sermon, &c. by Geo. Fox. ‘To all the Magistrates in London:’ 1657.*

“ Friends, that are called Christians and Christian Magistrates, are you not worse than the Jews, that took Tythes, and had storehouses whereof all the strangers and widows and fatherless were satisfied, and there was not to be a beggar in Israel? And *your* blind men, widows and fatherless children crying up and down, lying in every corner of your streets; crying up and down, half a dozen together, up and down your streets for bread, poor and lame! Is not this a shame to your Christianity? How dwelleth the love of God in you—how clothe you your own flesh—how feed the hungry? Are you not come, here, under the reproof of James? How are you in the pure religion, to visit the sick, the fatherless and the widows; when both blind and sick, and halt and lame, lie up and down almost in every corner of the city: and men and women are so deck’d with gold and silver, in their delicate state, that they cannot tell how to go? Surely, surely, you know not that you are all of one mould and blood, that dwell upon the face of the earth! Would not a little, out of your abundance and superfluity, maintain these poor children, halt, lame and blind; or set them at work that can work, and they that cannot, find a place for them: would not that be a grace to you? Is not that a disgrace to you, for them to be up and down in corners of your streets and highways, and steeple-house doors? Doth not this shew that you want the wisdom of God, to order the creation? And is not this a grief, think you—and do you not believe it is so—to all the tender and sober people? Is this true Christian religion, to see so much preaching, praying, sermons, lectures, and to see so many blind and lame, poor men and women, and children up and down the streets, and at the steeple-house doors? Is not this an ill savour among you and in you, and the high profession ye profess?” [After which follows more of Scriptural exhortation, to the duty of Christian charity, and of warning against the neglect of it].

Subscribed ‘From a lover of truth and a friend of all your souls. G. F.’ p. 105 *Doctrinals*.

The Serious people's reasoning and speech with the World's teachers and professors: By Geo. Fox, 1659.

The following must serve for a specimen of the manner of this piece. "The world's teachers and professors say, the quakers are fools, because they will not wear ribbands;—and idiots and novices, because they will not wear feathers in their caps, and great scarfs atop of their hats, and to hang over their hat-brims and shoulders, and their backs: therefore they are like fools; idiots and [like] nobody.

"Aye but, says the serious people to these professors and teachers of the world, *you* are more like novices, idiots and fools—who have lost your sincerity, whose minds are taken up with those foolish things which destroy your seriousness; and so you are not like the saints (you professors, and teachers of the people!) but are like the heathen in your gorgeous apparel."

Let us see in what this gorgeous appearance consisted, that we may compare it with our own time. He instances then, in the course of his expostulation, the following superfluities: '*Gold Laces*, three or four, upon their coats and petticoats'—'*Ribbands*, in their hats, at their knees, about their wastes,—a bunch of ribbands before them' and another 'at their backs, as big as one's fist'—'ribbands at their bosomes and down their bosomes' and 'at their gloves;' *tashling* about their hands, and *flapping* upon their hats, and at the backs of the women 'like a besome; with broad tassels (great staring things) atop of their shoes: the hair plaited and hung about with ribbands, and laid over the brows.' 'This is *our* liberty [says George, for them] and to set spots in our faces, of half-moons and a coach and horses, and curl and powder our hair, and tie it up with ribbands and jewels.' It is clear from what followed, that they used to *patch* in the whimsical shapes above mentioned: but he stops not at the Ladies: 'The *Priests and professors* of the world say, These fools, the Quakers, cannot endure to see *us* with two or three rings on our fingers, nor jewels in our ears, nor bracelets about our necks, nor ruffs, nor double ruffs, nor great *tashling* [tasselling] band-strings: they cannot endure we should wear a *laced cap of twenty shillings price*, or less, or more, [I perceive these are coming up again, for the gentlemen to travel in first I suppose, and then be about the streets in] and a pair of double cuffs up our hands, and double white *boot-hose-tops*: these novice quakers cannot endure to see us with this garb upon our backs: And how should poor people live, if we should not wear them? [My wife has often remarked on this subject, that there would be no want of employment in our manufactures from any such cause, if only the poor and labouring class were all supplied with proper clothing, &c.]

"Say the serious people, all your gold rings, your cuffs, your great band-strings, your lace, your jewels, your bracelets, your gorgeous apparel and attire, turn it all into money, and give it to the poor [better give them work, methinks, and wages in a more useful employ. *Ed.*] to buy them bread, and I will warrant you they and you will all have enough, and there will be no want amongst you. For *you* are always wanting—Rings or ribbands, Gold hat-bands, Laces or

bracelets,—you are always wanting one thing or another. If you *see* another fashion, the other [present] is old; and you want to get into it, and you envy others that are gotten into the fashion before you.

“And here is the devil, the king of pride, that murderer that leads people to consume and destroy the creatures upon their lusts—for his lusts they do. And so *you* are more like fools, that are slaves to the devil (who is out of the Truth) that leads you to destroy the works and creatures, and creation of God: for you want God and his wisdom to order you.’—‘Are you drest for a sight and a shew, that people should wonder and stare at you—or are you drest according to the Scripture, and the Apostle’s doctrine and commands? Give some example for your fruits among the *Saints*. Saith the serious people, *we* have seen Bedlam-people and mad men hang ribbands in their caps, and at their horns’ ends; and mad people hung about with clouts: so *you* are more like fools and mad people than the quakers: and it is a wonder that you professors and teachers, and people, should be so offended at the Quakers; for they see no people outstrip you [it should be out-*dress* you] except the mountebanks, and stage-players and French lackies.’

“Hark! (cries the priests and professors, and teachers of the world) we cannot get a Quaker to the Ale-house nor tavern, nor to feast with us, nor to dance with us, nor to hear our fiddlers and music—a company of precise people, there is none knows how to have *them*!’—The quakers are come into the wisdom of God, by which all things were created: so that if *they* eat and drink it must be to the praise and glory of God, being in his fear. So that they cannot have fellowship with the destroyers and marrers of the workmanship of God, and the Creation.

“The Priests and professors and teachers of the world say, the Quakers will not d’off their hats, nor scrape a leg, nor make a courtesie—a company of clowns! Saith the serious people, where do you read in the Scripture, that the Apostles taught any one that they should scrape a leg and make a courtesie; or pull off their hats? For great men will stand with their hats on, one to another; and sometimes they will bow, and stir them: but they will *seldom* bow to the poor [George might possibly have seen an election-cavass going on, which was a rare occurrence. *Ed.*] or scrape a leg to a beggar. So if he hath got a feather in his hat, and a few ribbands on his breeches, and hair powdered; and if *she* hath gotten a bunch of ribbands on her back, then there’s ‘Your servant Madam—Your servant, Sir—your humble servant Mr.’—: then scrape and courtesie and d’off the hat, and ‘You, Sir!’ And this pleaseth proud flesh: but to say ‘Thou, Friend!’ makes him or her mad: which is a proper loving word, and Scripture order and practice, and a sound word that cannot be condemned.—

“The Priests and professors of the world say, The quakers (those fools) cannot endure our puppet-plays, nor our stage-plays, nor our may-games, nor our shovel-boards, nor our tables, nor dice, nor our sports, nor shews; nor that we should make pictures, of things in heaven and things in earth: nor our little babies [dolls for children]

that we sell ; nor our images [to please *adult* connoisseurs. *Ed.*] these fools the quakers cannot endure these things !

“ Are you not ashamed (saith the serious people) for shame hold your tongues—do *you* call yourselves teachers and professors, and Christians, and name the name of Christ and profess the Apostle's words?

“ Why, it is *our* recreation, say they. Recreation ! Away, away : the recreation [of Christians] is in the law of God, the delight [of these] is there, day and night ; and the exercise [of such] is there ; and the glorying is in the cross of Christ, that crucifies to the world.— Away—for shame hold your tongues ! For they are the works of the flesh, and works of vanity, and delights of fools !” . [Follows some reproof on the subject of cursing, swearing, obscene, language in the streets,—which I shall leave where I find it. *Ed.*]

“ Priests and professors of the world, say they, These clownish quakers will not drink to one ; neither say Good morrow ! or Good evening !—

“ Let every one take the creatures in their service, and drink as he needs. They stand [are formed] to serve ; and [we are] not to tempt, one another, to drink more than doth him good.

“ Aye, aye ; we thought ye would destroy all *good-fellowship*, cry the teachers and professors of the age. Nay, cry the serious people, the *good* fellowship is in the Spirit, which gives an understanding, and wisdom that is pure and gentle, from above, with that to order the creatures to the glory of the Creator. And the morning is good and the evening is good, [without our wishing it. *Ed.*] for all things that God made were good.—And them that do not know all things that God made to be good, we tell them they are [so]. And them that say the morning and evening is bad [finding fault with the weather] we tell them it is good : but the night of darkness [spiritual] is bad, where all the works of darkness are done. And the morning of Judgment is good (but he will think it is bad) that [in which] his works, and he, must be tried by fire which cannot be quenched.

“ And those are the Clowns, that do not *know* the morning good, and the evening good, but must [yet] be saying the words, one to another, all their life time. And they that say *Thou* to a particular, are not clowns—for it is sound Scripture language. *David* was not a clown, nor the prophets, nor Christ, nor the Apostles, that *thou'd* particulars and *you'd* many : but those be clowns that be out of the sound speech. And surely these teachers and professors might have known, ere now, and have taught the world, singular and plural numbers, and have learned their accidence and their grammar, ere now, and not have called them clowns, that come into the practice of the singular and plural. A clown is [one] untaught : and one that hath learned and doth not practice [is as bad as he].” *Gospel Truth demonstrated*, p. 157–163. If the Reader will now advert to the *date*, and turn to Vol. 2, p. 20. 49, &c. he will find that these absurdities (for which he may have been laughing with himself at the *Cavaliers*) belong to the Commonwealth's-men, who imprisoned the quakers and distrained their horses for riding to a Meeting on the Sabbath ! *Ed.*

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PRO PATRIĀ.

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ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrine and practices of the Quakers.*

Continued from p. 285.

A. D. Decease of Queen *Mary 2.* and of *Tillotson*, Archbishop of 1694. Canterbury.

“Towards the conclusion of this year, *Mary 2.* Queen of England deceased. She was a Princess eminent beyond many, being well versed in reading and of great knowledge, of which [says Sewel] I will mention only this passage, viz. That the Ambassador of the king her father at the Hague, having tried by many arguments to bring her over to the Papal religion, said afterwards in the presence of some great men, ‘that he never before believed that a woman was to be found, any where, so well experienced in the doctrine of the Christian religion: that therefore he would not advise any to enter into discourse with her about that matter.’ (a)

This was a good reason, methinks, why they should rather desire to hear what she had to say! However it is a specimen of the policy of the Church in question, in respect of her attempts at conversions. While the Reformer publishes the Truth to multitudes at a time, appealing to the judgment and offering the evidences of Scripture and reason, and thus leaving the Light on the candlestick goes his way, the emissary of Rome steals in the dark to the object of his attack (which is

(a) History of the Quakers, ii, 507.

commonly some person of rank, property or influence) making no noise in *his* controversy, and taking especial care not to subject his party to reprisals, by incurring a defeat.

Bishop Burnet, too, gives Mary a very high character, for the economy of her time and the regulation of her household—setting a good example to the sex; for right principles, and just notions of things; for an exact and guarded yet engaging deportment—with a becoming distrust of herself and deference to the judgment of the king her husband: and, with all this, for sincere piety. So that she submitted in early life (being not yet thirty three) and in a sudden and unexpected illness, by the small pox, without fear or disorder of mind, to the fatal summons: thanking God that she had always carried this in her mind, that nothing was to be left to the last hour: and professing that she had nothing then to do, but to look up to God and submit to his will. (b)

Tillotson died rich in good works, but poor in regard of the gains of a great benefice: he survived the rich *Sancroft* about a year, and was succeeded by *Tennison*, Bishop of *Lincoln*. Of his predecessor *Sancroft* I have already made mention, as coming to this see in 1677. (c) He was deprived on refusing to acknowledge King *William*: and *Burnet* says, he died ‘in the same poor and despicable manner in which he had lived for some years—in a state of separation from the Church; of which fact he yet had not the courage to take public notice.’ In this, perhaps, he had reason: since his party still held *him* to be the ‘Primate of all England’ and the other but an usurper. He is mentioned here (after what he had professed about their crooked policy) as an example of fallen intolerance, and of the abuse of a dangerous and unscriptural power in the Church.

Decease of Patrick Livingston.

I have already given an account of the constancy and patience of this preacher of righteousness, in suffering for the Truth in Scotland: we have now to record his peaceful close. ‘After [his troubles, see p. 190] he returned into England to his dear wife, who at that time dwelt in Nottingham: but in his latter years he, with his family, lived in London. And he continued to the end a diligent labourer in the Lord’s vineyard; several times visiting his native country of Scotland.’—The day before his departure he said, *I am in unity with all faithful friends* [there were now many, who had shewn themselves unfaithful] *and in love to all men*.—About half an hour before he was removed hence, pulling off his night cap with his own hand he said, ‘Blessed, praised, magnified and exalted, be the mighty, powerful, great and everlasting name of the LORD GOD, for evermore. O that thy Life may arise in full dominion over all, and that Friends may feel it so in all their assemblies; that they may be kept in love, concord and unity together, and shew it forth in word, work, testimony, life and conversation unto all.’—‘Here is victory over death, hell and the grave,

(b) Hist. of Friends, iii, 189. (c) See p. 69. of this Vol.

and resting in peace with the Lord for evermore!' He died the 15th of the 4th Month, about the sixtieth year of his age'. *Piety Promoted*, pt. 1.

A. D. 1694-5. William Penn travels in the West of England, and preaching at Wells is arrested by the Mayor, but discharged: Bishop

Kidder behaves with candour and kindness.

"In the 9th, 10th, and 11th Months this year [1694, William Penn] travelled in the work of the ministry in the counties of Gloucester, Somerset, Devon, and Dorset, having meetings almost daily, in the most considerable towns and other places, at which the people flocked in abundantly; and his testimony to the Truth, answering to that of God in their consciences, was assented to by many." (d)

"About the latter end of the summer [1695] he again went into the West of England and was present at a dispute held at Melksham, between John Plympton a Baptist, and John Clark a quaker. The Baptist had dared the quakers to a conference on five heads, viz. 1. The universality of grace: 2. Baptism: 3. The Supper: 4. Perfection: 5. The Resurrection. John Clark notably answered his objections [until the auditors were satisfied.]—The evening approaching, and William Penn finding himself under a concern to bear his testimony to the Truth in that assembly, terminated the dispute by an open and free declaration—and concluded the Meeting with prayer.

"On the 15th of the Ninth Month a Meeting was appointed at Wells; a large room at an Inn, with a balcony next the street, [or Market-place] was taken for the purpose, and the Bishop duly certified of the same. The room was quickly filled, and there was also a great concourse of people in the street (*) so that, for the convenience of his double auditory, William Penn placed himself in the balcony and thence preached to the people: but in the midst of his declaration came officers from the Mayor with the following Warrant, viz.

"*Wells City and Borough.* } To the Constables, Verderors and Serjeants at Mace of the said City.

"Whereas William Penn, and several others called Quakers, are now riotously and unlawfully assembled and gathered together in this City, and the said William Penn is now preaching or teaching in an house not licensed according to the late Act of Parliament, These are therefore in his Majesty's name to require you to take the said William Penn, and him immediately to bring before us to answer the premises. Given under our hands and seals this 15th day of November, 1695. *Matthew Baron, Mayor. William Salmon.*

(d) Penn's Life, preface to Works in folio, xlix.

* This place was not of their own choosing. *Whiting*, who was present, says; 'We got a grant of the *Market-house* from the Clerk of the Market: but, the day before we were to have the Meeting there, some of the envious party, *having been drinking Col. Berkeley's election ale*, turned the Clerk of the Market, so that when we came he refused to let us have the house, except we would enter it by force (it lying open to the street) threatening to take advantage of us if we did.'

“The officers forced him away instantly before the Magistrates, who upon examination finding the house was certified, and that by disturbing a lawful assembly they had overshot themselves, excused the matter as well as they could, and presently dismissed him.” (e)

The Innkeeper, however, was threatened with a fine for a Conventicle; upon which John Whiting waited upon the Bishop: I shall repeat this interview (with other matter) in his own words.

“I told him he might remember that, about two weeks ago, I brought him a Certificate that we intended to have a Meeting at the Crown Inn; and that the Mayor, sending his warrant to take up our Friend William Penn, broke up the Meeting: on which I told them that the house was entered, according to Law; but that since I was gone they had reported I had told them an untruth; though we had done *our* part. ‘Do they so (said the Bishop) I will do you right.’ And putting his hand into his pocket took out my Certificate, as readily as if he had but just received it; and said, Go to my Registor [registrar] and tell him from me that he must give you a Certificate [of the house as licensed] again. I told him, May be, he will not believe me—but if he pleased, to send somebody with me—which he did. When I came to the Registor, a high proud man, I told him what the bishop said, which the messenger confirmed. ‘Doth my Lord say so?’ Yes, said I, he doth. ‘Well’ said he ‘I won’t give you a Certificate if you will give me five hundred pounds, till I have spoke with my Lord; for I do not know but he may be imposed on.’ Well, said I, thou mayst speak with him. But I expect it to-night, or tomorrow morning early, for I must go out of town betimes.

“So I left him, and came again in the morning: but he had not done it, nor knew how to do it (such hard work it was to record a Quaker’s Meeting for worship, though they could make records of them fast enough formerly, in order to convict them on the Conventicle Act) but he must then go and advise with the Chancellor, and I followed him thither. At last I got him to hammer out one at a hard rate: and then I was to go seek out the Mayor to clear myself to him: and understanding he was at a public-house, as I went up the street I saw him look out at the door, but presently drew back again: so that when I came to the house and enquired for him, David Trim the Town-clerk came out, and told me the Mayor was not there. I told him, ‘I saw him but now.’ He said he was gone (which I was afraid was true, knowing the house had a back-door into the graveyard,) I told him I *must* speak with him. He desired me not to trouble him now, but next time that I came to town, he and I would drink a bottle of wine together, and all should be well! I told him, *that would not do, the Mayor had wronged and abused me, and I must clear myself to him.*

“So at last, when they saw I would not be put off, the Mayor appeared. I told him that I understood he had raised a report, that I had told him an untruth in saying, the house where we had our meeting was entered according to law. Whereas we had done our part, *and I had now a Certificate from the Bishop to shew it:* and that I took it very unkind, that they should not only disturb and break up our Meeting [at which were supposed to be two or three thousand persons] but raise false reports on us when we were gone. The Mayor stood like one speechless, and [when he came to his speech] had hardly a word to say for himself. So I left it upon him, having cleared myself, and returned home in peace.

“And afterwards we hired a house at Wells for a Meeting, and William Penn came again and had a Meeting there, on a First-day: so that we had many brave meetings there afterwards, notwithstanding all the opposition we had met with, and many came to them: so that the standard of Truth was set up in that town.

(e) *Idem. l.*

O that they may not slight the day of their visitation, or put the good away from them and so render themselves unworthy of Eternal life!"

At their Quarterly Meeting time, in the following First-Month, John Whiting waited upon the Bishop (as the latter had desired him to do) and they fell into some discourse about oaths—that subject being then before Parliament. J. W. gave the prelate such satisfaction by his replies and reasons that he was 'very mild and moderate,' and invited him to a second conference. 'And as I came away (he says) he came to his palace gate with me; and just as I took leave of him I said, 'Well, we have this to say for ourselves, that inasmuch as we have such an express command of Christ on our side, we deserved to be judged charitably [in] that we were so tender of breaking it. At which the Bishop looked pleasantly on me, and, as if he assented or had nothing to say to the contrary, laid his hand on my shoulder and said, *Well, pray God bless you!*—Desiring me to come and see him whenever I came to town, and invited me to come and dine with him:—but I never made so bold with him as that, though I went often to visit him." (f)

1695 George Keith, who had returned from America, and appealed to the Yearly Meeting in London against the judgment of Friends there, is finally disowned; and becomes an open adversary of the Society.

This appeal took place in 1694, at the Yearly Meeting in London, to which he came from Philadelphia; and was followed by an Epistle from that Yearly Meeting, 'specifying very particularly all his contentious proceedings there, the grounds of *their* disowning him (after repeated labours to bring him to a better way of thinking and acting had proved ineffectual) and his and his partisans' setting up a separate Meeting.'

The Epistle being read in course, George Keith desired to be heard; and when other business had been gone through, the Meeting took up this difference, and 'spent near ten days in reading books and papers relating thereto; and in hearing George Keith and his party on one side, and Samuel Jennings and Thomas Duckett on the other; with Thomas Wilson and James Dickenson, just returned from their travels in America. They used earnest endeavours to reconcile the difference, and prevail upon George Keith with his party [one of whom, Thomas Budd, attended him] to return into unity and amity with their Friends. But Keith, seeming predetermined either for carrying every thing his own way or for a separation, eluded all endeavours for reconciliation and peace.—The Yearly Meeting having fully heard, and considered the circumstances of the difference, at last came to this judgment, 'That the separation lay at George Keith's door, and that he had done ill in printing and publishing those differences as he had done. And therefore the advice of the Meeting to him—was, to call in those books of his; or publish something, innocently and effectually to clear the body of the people called Quakers, and their Ministers, from those gross

(f) Memoirs, p. 511—519.

errors charged on some few in America [but in no wise proved by him] and to retract the bitter language in them, so far as he was concerned; and sincerely to use his utmost endeavours with his friends to remove the separation.' Which judgment and advice being drawn up in writing was in the Meeting delivered to him, and soon after printed by one of his party, with very invidious reflections upon it." (g)

The offence continuing, with many aggravations, the next Yearly Meeting, after hearing Keith again 'till he withdrew of his own accord,' drew up and published a Testimony of denial, in which they say after a preamble, 'It is the sense and judgment of this Meeting, that the said George Keith is gone from the blessed unity of the peaceable spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, and hath thereby separated himself from the holy fellowship of the Church of Christ; and that, whilst he is in an unreconciled and uncharitable state, he ought not to preach or pray in any of Friends' Meetings, nor be owned or received as one of us, until by a public and hearty acknowledgment of the great offence he has given, and hurt he hath done, and condemnation of himself therefore, he gives proof of unfeigned repentance, and does his endeavour to remove and take off the reproach he hath brought upon Truth and Friends; which in the love of God we heartily desire, for his soul's sake.'

I have alluded at p. 259 to some judicial proceedings in Pennsylvania against Keith and others; which in themselves exhibit also ground enough in his conduct for church-censure. He had, early in the dispute, gained to his cause the services of the public press in Philadelphia: and publishing several virulent things against the Magistrates, they were obliged to take notice of them. By warrant from Arthur Cook, Samuel Jennings, Samuel Richardson, Humphrey Murray and Robert Ewer, the two printers *William Bradford* and *John M'Comb*, were taken up and examined; and upon their contemptuous behaviour to the Magistracy and refusing to give security to answer the charge in Court, were committed. They were however not confined, but left at large on their parole: in which circumstances they had the impudence to date a further publication *from the prison*, though they could not have been further than the porch for the purpose.

The same lenity was exercised, and with as little of good result, towards Keith and Budd, who had been prosecuted by the Grand Jury for a publication reviling and defaming Samuel Jennings, a Judge and Magistrate of the province. The effect of which being found to be injurious in respect of his office, it was thought proper that this presentment should be prosecuted: so that the matter was brought to a trial and the parties fined Five pounds each; but *these fines were never exacted.* (h)

Keith made what use he could to the prejudice of the Society of this exercise of Judicial power: as likewise of the conduct of the government in Philadelphia, in causing some persons who had stolen a sloop

(g) Gough's Hist. iii, 382. Whiting's Memoirs, 494. (h) Proud's Pennsylvania, chap. xi.

from a wharf on the river, and committed divers robberies with it, to be apprehended and brought to justice : which he would have made to be a proceeding (for Quakers) inconsistent with their peaceable profession !

I have now shewn enough, I think, of the grounds of this petulant man's disownment *as a member*. At p. 147 of my first Volume, the Reader will find some particulars of his subsequent conduct: he gave abundance of trouble to Friends after this; but *his* case will be mentioned in this work no more.

1695. Decease of William Shewen—Andrew Sowle—Mary Molineux.

1. "William Shewen of London (or rather Southwark, as dwelling therein—) was a very serviceable man on Truth's account several ways, and an elder in the Church: of a sound judgment and understanding in the truth, and had very clear openings in relation to the work of it; and also of Satan's wiles to hurt and hinder the progress in it (having had long experience of both) and therefore could advise and direct the Christian traveller, how to keep in the one, and be preserved out of the snares of the other.

"He wrote 1. The True Christian's faith and experience briefly declared, concerning God, Christ, the Spirit, the Holy Scriptures, the Gospel and the doctrine thereof: 2. A few words concerning Conscience: 3. A Treatise concerning good and evil Thoughts: 4. Counsel to the Christian Traveller, with Meditations and Experiences: 5. A brief Testimony for Religion against the penal laws, &c. He died, in peace with the Lord and unity with his people, the 28th of the Third Month 1695, about 64 years of age." (i)

2. "Andrew Sowle, of London, received the truth as professed by the people called Quakers, in his young years, and became obedient thereunto, and gave himself up to the living power thereof; which enabled him with much cheerfulness to undergo those manifold afflictions and persecutions with which he was exercised; for being a just and upright man, he was zealous for the propagation of the truth, to which (both by conversation and sufferings) he bore a faithful testimony.

"He was a printer by trade, and engaged himself freely in the printing friends' books, when he had large offers of advancing himself in the world, made to him by his other friends and relations, if he would have desisted therefrom: but his love to truth, and the desire he had to be instrumental in his calling for the spreading it abroad, would not suffer him to hearken to any of those offers; but he freely gave himself up to the service thereof, even in times of the hottest persecution; believing it his duty so to do, though therein he should hazard not only his life, but also that outward substance God had blessed him with: being for several years together in continual danger upon that account, his house being often searched, and his printing materials, as presses, letter, &c. as often broke to pieces, and taken away, as any friends books were found printing by him; and this they

(i) Whiting, p. 508.

did for many years together : during which time, though he met with great losses, and had at one time, by his adversaries, about a thousand reams of printed books taken from him, yet he was never heard to complain ; but would say, he was glad he had any thing to lose for truth, and that the Lord had made him worthy to be a sufferer for it: which quiet resignation of himself to the will of God, caused one of those that came to seize upon his goods, to do what he could with his partners to put a stop to the seizure ; and when he saw he could not prevail, he went out and wept. And when at another time his adversaries came to take away his printing house, he was so resigned and easy, in giving up all to his persecutors, that when they had done their work, and seized upon all, he (as he often did in like cases) set forth meat and drink before them, according to the command, Rom. xii, 19, 20, to feed even his very enemies : and his good so overcame their evil, that some of them departed under a concern ; but one of the chief being filled with malice against the truth, survived not long after, but died in a miserable condition.

“ As this sincere man met with great sufferings, so had he also large experiences of the goodness of God towards him, in many remarkable providences : as, at one time, he was taken at a meeting of the people called Quakers, and carried to Newgate ; and being examined by Sir Richard Brown, the persecuting mayor, who understanding he was a printer, threatened to send him after his brother Twin, (as he called him, who some time before suffered in Smithfield for printing a treasonable book) to whom this meek man replied, ‘ Thou wilt not live to see it : ’ and the event justified it, for Brown died soon after.

“ And after many exercises and trials divers ways, (which it would be too long to recite) he was visited with weakness of body the beginning of the Tenth month, 1695, and grew weaker and weaker till the 25th of the same month : his patience and resignation to the will of God, during the time of his weakness, was such, that he seldom was heard to complain, but would say, he was given up to the will of God ; saying often, that he had no dependance on any thing, save upon Christ Jesus, the good Samaritan ; on whom was his whole dependance.

“ George Whitehead, with another friend, coming to visit him, he said he had served Truth faithfully, according to what the Lord had been pleased to make manifest to him ; and that in what he had done, he had not sought himself, but the honour of God. He would often exhort his family to faithfulness, and the young ones also to seek the Lord in the days of their youth. His reproofs to those that had done amiss, were so kind and so convincing, that a servant of his said he stood more in awe of a reproof from him, than the severest treatment from another : ‘ His end ’ said he, ‘ being in love to convince me, that I have done that which is not right.’

“ William Penn, the night before he departed, came somewhat late to visit him, and finding him in a sweet composed frame of mind, (for indeed he was to appearance as though he ailed nothing) asked him how he did ; he answered with much cheerfulness, his satisfaction and peace of mind was great and that he waited for his change. The said

friend, who had been many years acquainted with his industrious, and yet innocent life, after some discourse with him, kneeled down and prayed that the Lord would give him the reward of his labour; for through him many blessed Truths had been brought into the world, &c. After prayer was ended, he acknowledged William Penn's love, telling him he was well satisfied in his condition, and in the truth of God which he had professed; and that he had nothing to do, but to wait in the will of God till his change came: and so in much love they parted, he signifying his love to, and unity with all friends, in the truth. After that, he lay sweetly retired waiting for his change, and had his senses perfect and clear to the last, which was about eight the next morning, at which time his wife came to his bedside, and asked him how he did; he answered, 'Oh Jane, never such a good night as this!' and the same minute shut his eyes, and with a hymn of praise to God, offered up his last breath, and fell asleep, not so much as fetching the least sigh, or any alteration seen in his countenance; so easily and so quietly did he leave this world, in which he had known much exercise, and is gone to his everlasting rest, among God's faithful servants.

"He finished this life the 26th of the Tenth month, in the year 1695, about eight in the morning, at his house in Holywell-lane, London, in the Sixty-seventh year of his age." (k)

3. Mary Molineux, wife of Henry Molineux of Liverpool, whose maiden name was Southworth, a literary character and author of some poems on Religious subjects, was brought up by her father to more learning than is commonly bestowed on her sex. She well understood the Latin tongue and fluently discoursed in it: she made also considerable progress in Greek. She wrote several hands well, and was a good Arithmetician. She studied several useful arts, had a good understanding in physic and surgery, and delighted in natural history; and to admire the Great God of nature in the various operations of his power and goodness.

She was one who loved the Blessed Truth (and those who walked in it) from a child, being early convinced thereof: and was not satisfied with a profession of Religion only, but earnest for the life of it, both in herself and others (shewing it in her conduct in the several relations of life): not proud or conceited of her parts or learning, but adorned with humility: plain and decent in her clothes, which she valued for service more than sight. She loved to read the Holy Scriptures, and delighted much in solitude, setting apart some time in the day for retirement.

She suffered imprisonment in Lancaster Castle, for meeting with Friends, in the year 1684, when single. When married, she was noble 'in enduring hardship, on the account of her husband's several imprisonments:' and for him and his fellow-sufferers she made application to Dr. Stratford, bishop of Chester—after which the Friends were set at liberty. But the priest (who had before prosecuted them to a

(k) Piety Promoted, pt. 1.

writ *de capiendo*, for not appearing when they had no lawful notice) threatened them again. Which she having understood spake these words, and one took them down in writing :

Even what the hungry wolf in field would do
To feeding lambs, so would the wretch to you :
The cruel priest, fierce, covetous, unjust,
For money, not for souls, doth cark and lust.

On the 8th of the Tenth Month 1695, she was taken with sickness, under which she continued near a month. About nine days after she was taken ill she said, ' I am well content, if the Lord see meet, that he take me away : for my pain is great, and I know not what in this world I should stay to enjoy, except it be my husband and my little lads : (her two sons ; of whom she then said) ' I would rather have my children enriched with the fear of the Lord, than with all manner of worldly riches.'—

She spoke in Latin of being clothed hereafter—whereby they understood that she was minding how the Lord would clothe her, when her mortal clothing was put off.—When company were present she sometimes used that language to her husband : who expressing to some Friends his concern for her she said to him, *Ne nimis sollicitus esto!* Afterwards, being asked how she did, her answer was, ' Drawing nearer and nearer.'—She departed on the 3rd of the Eleventh month, aged Forty-four years. (1)

ART. II.—Remarks on Scripture Passages. Continued.

1 Cor. i, 2. ' Our Lord, both theirs and ours.'

The Apostle affectionately precludes any possible misinterpretation of the term ' our Lord,' recollecting that they were *Gentiles* to whom he had used it: and in the next verse he styles Jesus Christ ' the Lord.' Chap. ii, ver. 2. The *Vulgate* has this verse thus ; ' Non enim judicavi me scire aliquid inter vos, nisi Jesum Christum, et hunc crucifixum.' The reader conversant with Latin will perceive here a somewhat different sense : ' I consider myself as knowing nothing else : '—The text is now and then used, I believe, in vindication of a wilful neglect of due information in a minister, concerning the people to whom he preaches.

Ver. 13. ' Comparing spiritual things with spiritual.' In the *Vulgate* ' Spiritualibus spiritualia comparantes : ' but in *Martin's* French Bible, ' appropriant les choses spirituelles a ceux qui sont spirituels.' Interpreting once, in a Meeting for worship in London, for a minister of our society who spoke French, but knew the English, he stopped me at this sentence as given after our version, and gave his own sense, thus ; ' Explaining things which are spiritual after a spiritual manner.' The reader may now choose for himself. I shall add, that the further opening of the subject in ver. 14, 15, seems to give it to the *French*.

(1) Idem. p. 2.

Ver. 16. Yet he who knoweth the mind of the Lord may instruct such an one: but *we* have the mind of *Christ* [therefore are able to do this.]

Chap. iii, ver. 12. Now if any man build upon this foundation with choice stones [adorning the walls with] gold and silver; [or, contrariwise build with] wood [stuffed between with] hay [and thatched with] stubble, &c. The contrast is plainly between a solid and elegant little temple, all of stone; and a paltry shed or hovel. Ver. 16, 'Know ye not that ye are the temple of God:' the former metaphor resumed—they were God's building, through the labour of his servants.

Chap. vii, ver. 14. 'Sanctified:' in a formal and Ecclesiastical sense; *as to the satisfaction of the Church in its own member, and his or her children.* When our Christian testimonies shall have become also Law and practice, we may perhaps be found ready (as a Society) to put the children, (where *either* parent is in unity) on the footing of full members with us.

Chap. viii, ver. 7. With consciousness of the honour given to the idol, in the sacrifice of the animal which afforded it. Compare x. 25–39; where the question is, of meat purchased from such as had acquired it at the priests' market; or who sold it on their account.

Ver. 10. 'In an idol's temple;' *Eis eidoleio*, Gr. *in delubro*, Lat. But this *delubrum* might be an apartment in the house of the host, where the idol or idols of the family were kept. It is not so probable, that Corinthian believers would be found feasting *in public, in a heathen temple*: and in a private chapel, they might be observed by such as inclined to the Christian faith; but had not courage to profess it.

Ver. 13. 'Were there no flesh meat to be had but in this way, I would relinquish the use of it for never so long a time; rather than cause the offence.'

Chap. ix, l. This opening is so remarkably abrupt and spirited, that I cannot but suspect the whole text, as far as x, l (where the subject reappears with a clear connexion) to have formed a rescript of the Apostle's, to some authoritative enquiries made in behalf of the Church in Corinth, as to some part of his conduct (and that of Barnabas his fellow traveller) on a special occasion: the copy of which, being preserved with that of the Epistle, was inserted here by a scribe.

Ver. 26. I therefore so run, not as one who has not been set forth *for the race*: so I fight I—and not as one who [doing his exercise, merely] beateth the air.

Chap. x, l. The subject is here again abruptly changed: as if this, again, were a separate communication—but it is in continuation of viii; and that throughout the chapter.

Ver. 17. Gr. *Oti eis artos en soma oi polloi esmen.* Literally 'So that one bread one body we the many are.' *One bread, one body*, seems very like a proverbial expression, here adapted to their case, with this reason added, 'For we are all partakers of that one bread.'

Ver. 29. It appears to me that the Apostle must have meant to say, here, 'For why should my liberty be *made* the rule of another's con-

science.'—*I could eat, without offence to my own; but in so doing I should influence him to eat, with offence to his in the retrospect.*

Chap. xi, 5. 'Dishonoureth her head'—to-wit, *the man*, by the want of deference to him; shewn in not observing the distinction of sex. See ver. 3.

Ver. 10. For this reason should the woman have upon her head the sign of his power over her—to-wit, as in ver. 9, that she was created for the man's sake; and also *dia tous angelous* 'because of the angels;' but *dia* has other meanings beside *propter*, because of: and *angelos* does not every where signify a celestial being, but is sometimes a messenger, sometimes the minister or overseer of a church. It seems to me not very likely, that the Apostle should refer in this brief way (as about an obvious circumstance) to *celestial* witnesses; who were not fit (it seems) to look upon a woman (for levity) when she came under an unusual concern and appearance.

Gal. i, 14. 'Above many of like standing with myself'—to-wit, in the college. 'Being the most zealous of any for the doctrines inculcated by the ruling elders.'

Ver. 15. 'Who had set me apart from my very birth.'

Ver. 23. A fact cited in the words of the speaker: as before, Acts xvii, 3. And that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is the Christ.

Chap. ii, 5. This should be, if literal, 'To whom we gave place by subjection not for one hour,' but it would have more of spirit, thus, 'To whom we gave place by subjection? *No*, not for an hour!'

Ver. 10. See on this subject the second to the Corinthians.

Ver. 15. 'We who are native Jews.' It is merely an allusion to their national character. We do not say *Irishmen* by nature!

Chap. iii, 1. 'Before whose eyes Jesus Christ has been set forth as *clearly as if he had been crucified among you.*'

Ver. 6, 7. 'Know, now, that as Abraham believed God and it was imputed to him for righteousness, *so* they who are of faith are the children of Abraham.' The original is not tied to the arrangement by *verses*.

Ver. 8. Will this bear the following sense? 'And the Scripture (God having foreseen that he should justify the Gentiles through faith) proclaims beforehand the gospel to Abraham; *where it saith, &c.*'

Ver. 12. 'Now the law is not a law of faith.'

Ver. 15. 'Though a testament be but *the will* of man yet, once confirmed, no man annulleth it, no man addeth to it.'

Ver. 17, 18. 'And this I say, that the testament, which was beforehand confirmed of God *in regard to Christ*' (*eis Christon*) the law, which was *given* four hundred and thirty years after, cannot invalidate, so as to make the promise of none effect. For if an inheritance *come* of right, then it is no longer the effect of promise: but God gave *this* to Abraham by *his* promise.'

Ver. 19. Obscure, as now rendered: *it is literally after the Vulgate.* Let us try it, as literally, after the Greek. 'What, then, the law?'

It is of transgressions. Grace was purposed, as far as where the seed should come: to which *seed* it was proclaimed, being placed by angels in the hand of a mediator.'

Ver. 20. But a mediator is not *such* for one person. God is, however, one, *in giving the Law*.

Chap. iv, 3. 'So likewise we, while children, were made to serve *as* under the trammels of a worldly *discipline*.'

Ver. 6. And because [or in that] ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying *abba, father*.

I have commonly heard this quoted in preaching, and seen it in print, *as if something further were contained in the aspiration* than the name 'father.' The Greek *o patēr* is, I believe, only the explanation of the Syriac *Abba* in the text: and in using this we should take the *spirit* of it, and say either, *abba that is father*—or express the thing by either term, alone.

Ver. 12. 'Become that which I am, that I may be as ye are: I beseech *this* of you, Brethren: ye have not hurt me at all.'

Ver. 17—19. 'They make much of you, but not fairly: they would shut you out from us, that ye might be wholly attached to them. But it is fair to be attached at all times to a good man; not merely when I am present with you. My children how do I travail (as it were in birth of you again) until Jesus Christ be formed in you!'

The conclusion presents to view a very important doctrine, much insisted on by our early Friends. They had no notion of the possibility of being saved merely by taking Christ's name on them, and having his righteousness imputed to them; in virtue of a faith, which did not work by love to make them, *in heart and nature*, the very members of Christ.

Chap. v, 11. 'If I yet preach circumcision.' As had probably been alleged by some adversary.

Ver. 12. 'I could wish they were even separated *from the Church*, who are *thus* unsettling you.'

Ver. 18, 19. 'But if ye be led, *as ye pretend*, by the Spirit, ye are *yet* not under due controul. For there are manifest, *among you*, the works of the flesh; even these, &c.' There is nothing in the context that *necessarily* gives the meaning, here, as the Law of Moses.

Chap. vi, 11. 'With mine own hand.' This manner of writing was probably used, in this case, to secure secrecy in the communication on the apostle's part—the *matter* requiring it.

This Epistle is altogether (save the affectionate and earnest counsel towards the end) a remonstrance against *Judaizing practices and teachers*. How soon did this spirit, which leads backward into Ceremonial bondage, begin to shew itself in the churches!

Ephes. iv, 8. 'When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.' There is something wonderfully elegant (in the abstract) in ascribing to a conqueror the leading captive *captivity itself!* This quotation in the original (from Ps. lxxviii,) is probably from the Septuagint, with which the *Vulgate* closely agrees.

But the latter reads, here, *Ascendisti in altum : cepisti captivitatem* [Comp. as to the term, Esth. ii, 6, Isa. xx, 4, Hab. i, 9] *accepisti dona in hominibus*. And *Purver*, who translated (tho' inelegantly) closely from the Hebrew, has it, Thou wentest up on high, taking the prisoners captive; didst receive gifts to dwell among men, and even such as were rebellious, O Lord God!

Thus the Vulgate seems to agree with the Hebrew (being in the second person) and this passage with both (though in the third:) we must, I think, be content with the marginal reading, of 'a multitude of captives:' and the fine abstract idea must be given up.

Ver. 11. And he gave *accordingly* to some to be Apostles; to others to be prophets, &c. The connexion here with ver. 8, is not so obvious as it should be, on account of the intervening parenthesis.

Chap. iv, 16. Let us try this very ill translated passage, first with the proper *Latin* for every Greek word in it, and then with a close version of the former into English. *Ex quo totum corpus compactum et exercitatum secundum omnem ictum Choriductoris ad potestatem mensurâ datam unicuique partium augmentum corporis facit in ædificationem sui in charitate.*

'From which [*head*, ver. 15] the whole body, (firmly put together, and set in motion according to every touch of the leader of the exercise, to the full measure of exertion of which every member is capable) maketh increase of itself in Love.'

Thus we have, brought out merely by a faithful and unprejudicate version, the most striking description, perhaps, in the whole New Testament, of that which *CHRIST, the Head*, operating as the *principle and fountain of Divine goodness and all-sufficient power*, becomes to his body, *the Church*, moving in subjection to his will!

And the way to attain to this experience, how simple! It is by 'SPEAKING THE TRUTH IN LOVE.'

Chap. vi, 1. 'Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is the right *obedience*.' There might be an obeying the parent, on the part of a Christian child, which would not be a *right obedience*: as upon the command to join with heathens, in their idolatrous worship and impure and riotous feasts. No one could do this 'in the Lord.' Comp. Col. ii, 6.

Col. i, 25, 27. Our Friend *Isaac Pennington* has the following comment on this passage: 'First, he speaketh of the word [of God] in general, which he was to fulfil or fully to preach: then he sheweth how this word is a mystery, [a thing shut up and] hid, *in the Gentiles*, even in them that believe not. The word is nigh these, the instruction and commandment of life nigh *them*. But in those that receive the grace and believe in the light, and so become children of the light, and walk in the light as God is in the light, in them Christ is risen, and they are risen together with him, and he is in them the hope of glory.' *Appeal to the witness, &c.* Works, 2 Edit. ii, 187. *Ed.*

ART. III.—*Infant baptism (as a Scriptural ordinance) approved: not proved: disproved. How to know what ADULTS may, by Scripture, be baptized.*

“I am the more particular on this point of *Baptism*, because I find your servant is an Anabaptist and *has given our servant one of their books*: and I know they are a restless set of people, unhinging and disturbing the minds of unlearned persons, by continually stunning them with the sound, ‘If thou believest thou *mayst*’ be baptized. Yet after much study for many years on that particular point, I can assure you that there is not one single instance, in the word of God, of any person born of Christian parents ever being baptized *when grown up*. All the instances, in the Acts of the Apostles, are of persons who were *Jews or Gentiles*. I can also assure you, that there never was any society of Christians that forbade children to be baptized, till fifteen hundred years after Christ: nor is there any mention of the persons by whom infant baptism was first brought in, or when, or of the least dispute about it, in the history of the Church. So that the Anabaptists are injurious to children, without authority from God’s word; and in direct contradiction to all the churches of Christ for fifteen hundred years. Yet are they so *fierce and bigoted*, that in their writings *they deny we are Christians*, or have any right to the Lord’s Supper: nor would they give it to any of us, any more than to a Pagan.

“I would not have said so much, but I very well know the spirit of the Anabaptists, and therefore guard you. (a) And *though it is not profitable to read controversy*, yet your acquaintance Mr. Addington has published so candid, convincing and short a treatise upon the *Divine right of infants to baptism*, that I would recommend it to you.” *Venn’s Letters*, p. 251.

The reasons why I presume to differ from the excellent but preposessed Author, here, and to dispute his conclusion, are these. The first thing to be proved was, Not that baptism was omitted (which it very likely was) *in the case of the children born of Christian parents* in the Apostolic age—but that such *were* baptized; and baptized in *infancy*: of which, by his own shewing, there is no evidence at all. The second thing was; that all the Churches of Christ, for fifteen hundred years, taught and practised infant baptism—of which, by his *own shewing, again*, there is not any evidence in the history of the Church. There is no mention, it seems, of the time when, or of the persons by whom, this practice was first brought in—it was not known in the Apostolic age, nor disputed about till after fifteen hundred years: plain evidence (methinks) of a pretty late origin for it: however, respecting things *done in the dark* (as this was; to-wit in the *Night of Apostacy*, so plainly peedicted in Paul’s Epistles) it is granted that positive evidence may be difficult to procure. Suffice it therefore to say, that God’s word and the doctrine or practice of the churches of

(a) See on this head, Vol. i, p. 80.

Christ for fifteen hundred years were *not* contradicted, when a portion of the early Reformers of the Christian Religion in Europe chose, in opposition to the practice of a most superstitious and immoral Clergy, to insist on this point of adult baptism, *as they found it exemplified in the New Testament*. Yet, seeing that *there* it appears, only as administered to *adult converts from other baptizing religions*, I should incline, myself, to insist, now, upon the observance of *that Scriptural restriction* also. See further, Vol. i, p. 261 ; and ii, p. 9, 86. *Ed.*

The Soliloquy of a Bride.

Composed while preparing to attend the marriage of a young Friend, in a stormy morning; 1808.

Alack, what a morn ! 'Tis a tempest—
 Was e'er such a wedding-day seen ;
 Will not he, whom of youth I esteem best,
 Feel alike at such weather chagrin ?

Thus to set out in life—the sky frowning,
 The clouds weeping over his head,
 But hush ! 'tis not surely worth owning
 That such thoughts bring a moment of dread.

Away, all that fancy presages,
 Let her fears find no place in this heart :
 Shall the seasons, that roll thro' all ages,
 From their course, for a wedding, depart ?

No—the smiles and approval of Heaven,
 I'll seek in a bosom serene :
 Be the sky fair or foul, 'tis all even
 While the sunshine of peace is within !

H.

ELCOCK, PRINTER, PONTEFRACT.

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BY A FRIEND.

No. LXVIII.

PRO PATRIA.

1835.

ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrine and practices of the Quakers.*

Continued from p. 298.

A. D. 1695. *The Affirmation and Tithe-distrain Act passed.*

I have made some mention already, in No. VIII (Vol. 1) of the Act of 7 and 8 William and Mary, c. 34, 'for accepting the solemn affirmation or declaration of the people called Quakers instead of an oath in the usual form.' It will be proper here to revert to some of the measures taken by Friends, to obtain both this relief, and that afforded by an Act enabling Justices of the peace to issue warrants of distrain for Tithes, below a certain annual amount in value. Our Friend Geo. Whitehead, the unwearied Solicitor of the governments of his time in our behalf, appears to have led the first movement to this effect, which he thus describes.

"Although under the early reign of King William the Third, we had so far obtained liberty by law, as to enjoy our Religious Meetings for the worship of God peaceably; without molestation, or disturbance by informers or other persecutors, yet there remaining many of our Friends prisoners, and under prosecutions by priests and others for non-payment of Tithes, and many of them detained in prisons, chiefly upon contempts, (as their term is) for not answering upon oath to the priests' bills and plaints, &c.—these cases being considered among us, after I had impartially stated and drawn them up, our Friends agreed to have presented to the King; that he might both understand their cases and sufferings, for not paying Tithes, and not swearing: Also that the contempts were by the law, (or Courts rather) deemed to be against the King, which therefore he had

VOL. III.

2 R

power by Law to pardon, and to discharge the prisoners who lay under that process, or judgment, of Contempts. Our Friends thereupon desiring me to present the case to the King, and to take with me three or four of our Friends, whom I pleased, (that were free thereto,) I accepted of that service; being always willing and ready to serve and help suffering friends (as I had been in the two kings' reigns before) according to my ability, and as the Lord was pleased to enable me

"Whereupon I desired my ancient companion in solicitation, Gilbert Latey, Thomas Lower, (the Doctor) John Tayler, of York, (my late brother-in-law) and our Friend Daniel Quare, to go with me, or accompany me to the King; and they were all willing, as I believed they would be. Daniel Quare being known to the King, (which the rest of us then were not) we sent him in, to procure our access into his presence. The King inquired of him, Who we were, and in what station or places among our people? Daniel told him, We were Ministers and Elders among us.

"The King sent for us into a little private apartment, or room where he was alone, and I presented our case, which I desired him favourably to accept, which he did. He inquired of us, What places we belonged to? Or to what congregations we did minister? Which gave us good occasion to answer him, that we were not settled as ministers, or pastors, over any particular congregations, but visited our Friends' Meetings in divers places, as the Lord inclined us: for we do not make a gain of our ministry; we do not take stipends, or hire for preaching; but preach the gospel freely, according to Christ's command to his ministers, Freely ye have received, freely give, &c. The King gave no reply, but appeared very serious, and satisfied with my answer.

"I proffered to read our Case to him, He said, Nay, he would read it himself; seeming rather willing to hear us in discourse than read, at that time.

"I thereupon acquainted him, That the chief of our Friends suffering then was, because they cannot make their answers to the Priest's suits for tithes upon oath, which for conscience-sake they refused in any case; and no less for conscience-sake, do they refuse the payment of tithes: whereby the priests take great advantage against our Friends, to run them to contempts and imprisonments, and to make seizures upon their goods and estates, &c. Wherefore we had applied to the Parliament for relief, in the case of oaths, that they might not be imposed upon us in any case; we offering to submit to the Penalty of Perjury, in case any of us were found false, or corrupt, in our evidence, or testimonies given without oath. But our applications to the Parliament have not taken effect as desired, [it] being sometimes prorogued, or otherwise dismissed, before we could get our case thorough both Houses.

"This our case of conscience in refusing to swear, (I told the King) is the same with the people called Menist's, in the Low-Countries, as it was a matter of conscience to them; to whom his predecessors gave Liberty, that their word, (in attesting the truth in courts, &c.) might be accepted instead of an oath, which is what we desire: and therefore, when we saw it a season to apply again to the Parliament for relief in this case, I desired the King to stand our Friend, and favourably to recommend our case to some Leading Members of Parliament; Which he seriously promised he would do.

"And accordingly he did perform his promise, as we had account from some of the noted friendly Members of Parliament: one of whom in particular told me, he was present with the King and one of the House of Lords, and heard them discourse about the Quakers; and how the King pleaded on their behalf, contrary to some objections that Lord made against them; which was, That they were against, (or disaffected) to the Government. And that the King answered him, My Lord, I am not of your opinion; for there's an honest people among them. Thus much I very well remember, the said Member (Sir John Austin) told me.

"I also remember, how in that discourse I had with the King, when I answered him in several things before-mentioned, relating to our conscience and Christian testimony, He made this objection, viz. You are a divided people. I told him No; As we are a people, we are not divided, but in union; Although there are some who have separated (or gone out) from us, and therefore are not of us; as there were of old, some who separated, and went out from the Primitive Christians. And although some are gone out, separated, or revolted from us, yet we remain a people in unity, i. e. of the same faith and profession. To which our friend, John Tayler, added, Such as turned into separation, (or division from us,) were some disorderly persons, who therefore were denied by us; or to that very effect. And I farther added, That I had known the people called Quakers, from the first; and as a people, they were still the same; (as to faith and principle, which allows not of division, or separation in our Christian Society) and not a people divided.

"The King replied to this effect, viz. But some among you are disaffected to the Government.

"I answered, 'Tis a hard matter for us to enter into the private affections of persons, without some overt act; whereby we do not know that any of our friends have manifested disaffection to the Government; for if we did certainly know that any of those in communion with us, should by any overt act, in word or deed, shew any disaffection to the present Government, we should certainly disown them therein, and give testimony against them. 'Tis true, we have of late been aspersed, and misrepresented with such nicknames as Meadites and Pennites, as if we set up Sect-masters among ns, yet own no such thing; but Christ Jesus to be our only Master, as we are a Christian Society and people. The King appeared well satisfied with my answer, and with the rest of our discourse, being very serious in his attention to the matters proposed unto him.

"I must confess I had very great satisfaction and freedom of spirit, to open divers weighty matters relating to our principles and testimony; and I had therein the more freedom, because he was seriously attentive to hear and receive information concerning us." (a)

In a society which so freely and fully asserted its Religious liberties, it was not likely that any particular form of a *Political Creed* should be imposed on its members. Accordingly, while the general sense of the body went clearly along with *William Mead*, in recognizing King William and the principles of the Revolution of 1688, to which they were indebted for so large a measure of relief by the Toleration, there were undoubtedly some who might think, with *William Penn*, that the former power might have been brought, by conviction and persuasion without force, to a similar result. In *this* we are now at liberty, on the whole of the evidence before us in history, to judge them mistaken: and it is a proof of the leavening, uniting influence of the *principle of TRUTH and RIGHTEOUSNESS*, which they held and in good measure followed, that the Society was not openly divided, on political considerations, at this time.

The steps previously taken by application to Parliament, in the years 1693 and 1694, to obtain this relief, may be found in our historian Gough. (b) Though not successful in the first instance, they had clearly the effect of opening the way for that relief which followed: and it is but justice to the House of Commons of that time to state,

(a) Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, p. 636: Edit. 1725. (b) *History of the Quakers*, iii, 370—378.

here, that upon the Petition of 1693, for the affirmation, being read and referred to a Committee, their Report concluded thus: '*Upon the whole it is the opinion of this Committee, that the Quakers ought to be relieved according to the prayer of their petition.*' (c)

The King, having thus learned (from themselves and in private) their real sentiments, became the warm Friend of the Society in their present suit; and was probably the means of its being carried, against much opposition, through the House of Lords. He was pleased in the first instance, to refer their 'Case' (which is a curious document, appealing judiciously to several precedents of Royal favour shewn the society in former time, and inserted entire by *Whitehead*) to the Lord keeper *Somers*, in order to the release of the Friends actually in prison on 'Contempts;' who shewed himself heartily disposed to second the good pleasure of his Royal Master, in the case. The interview with William the Third took place 'the second day of the Second Month [April] 1695,' and 'in a very short time (says *Whitehead*) there came out *An Act of Grace* by the King and Parliament, intituled *Pardoning Contempts, &c.* whereupon about forty of our Friends [prisoners] on that account were discharged out of the prisons.' (d)

My author next proceeds to detail 'our endeavours with the *Parliament* for relief in the case of Oaths (from the imposition thereof,) of which, as the account occupies twelve pages of his work, I can only insert and notice particulars. The jet of them was, evidently, not so much to obtain this member's or that noble Lord's *vote in our favour*, as 'to bring the Members of Parliament to a right understanding of our Case, as 'tis a Case of Conscience towards our Lord Jesus Christ,—that we are under his express prohibition and command, *not to swear at all* [but to make our affirmation by *yea*, and our denial by *nay*] in any case.'

The inconveniences, and losses on the part of the Society (from the want of this indulgence) pressed upon Parliament at this time, I have already stated at p. 109, Vol. 2, to which the Reader is referred. The Petition to the Commons was signed by twenty Friends, (e) I conclude, members of the Meeting for Sufferings for the time.

"Leave, as before, being given to bring in a Bill for our relief, according to our Petition, several draughts were prepared; the first by Counsellor Conyers, which was something large and long; yet he took some pains in it, to answer what we requested in our Petition, particularly about our solemn affirmation, &c. to be accepted instead of taking an Oath, and to exempt us from swearing. In his Bill, he stated the matter, That the Quakers should solemnly declare the truth, in like manner and form of words, as are used by all other persons who are required to declare the same, except only the attestation thereof upon Oath; that is, the words, swear, and, so help me God, &c. to be omitted. But then to make our attestation, affirmation, or negation so solemn as was expected from us by the Parliament in

(c) Sewel, ii, 510: Gough, *ubi supra*. (d) *Whitehead*, p. 643. (e) In which the name of John Harman seems by some mistake to have become Hermon,

Courts of Justice, &c. it was the opinion of most of our Friends in Parliament, That there must be some solemn or sacred expressions, religiously respecting God, as solemnly to declare the truth in his presence: Which we durst not gainsay, least we should be deemed atheistical; it being our principle, that God is Omnipresent, and Omniscient also.

“However, as in a multitude of counsel there’s safety, we discoursed the point with several ingenious men of the House of Commons, that we might proceed with what safety and success we could. We went particularly to Sir Francis Wynington, an ancient, able Counsel, who greatly stood our friend; and we shewed him Counsellor Conyers’ draught of the said Bill, which, upon perusal, Sir Francis judged much too long; and that it would be the more tedious and difficult to get it through the House, into an Act; adding this reason, That it had better be too short, than too long, that the Committee might have the amending of it, and then they would be the more willing to pass it; whereupon he drew up a short Bill, but would not insert therein the bare words, Yea or Nay, for attestation in Courts of Justice; and to offer the same in the House of Commons, in a Bill, for an Act of Parliament, his opinion was, would be laughed at or ridiculed, and rejected.

“Many others were of the same mind, that such expressions, or terms, must be offered in the Bill, as might appear solemn, or sacred, whether in affirmation or negation; as to declare, In the presence of God, to an answer or evidence, &c. Their forms of Oaths, and swearing, having been of such long standing, and such great stress and obligation laid upon them, for many hundred years, that it was a very difficult point, and a great thing to gain any such variation, or alteration from them, as conscientiously to declare, or affirm, in the presence of Almighty God, instead of the Imprecation Oath of, So help me God; and the ceremony of handling, or fingering and kissing the Bible.

“To obtain such a great alteration from an Oath, and Imprecation, to a plain solemn Affirmation, as before, was indeed a great point: as many of our friends were very sensible of, and thankful for, when it was gained.

“A copy of the aforesaid Bill, for solemn Affirmation, (instead of an Oath) as it was drawn up by Sir Francis Wynington, corrected and passed by the House of Commons, the Clause relating to Tithes excepted, which was ordered by the House of Commons, and is in the printed Act: viz.

“A Bill that the solemn Affirmation, or Denial, of the People called Quakers, may be accepted instead of an Oath.

“Whereas divers Dissenters, commonly called Quakers, refusing to take an Oath in Courts of Justice, and other Places, are frequently imprisoned, and their Estates sequestered, by Process of Contempt issuing out of such Courts, to the Ruin of themselves and Families.

“For Remedy thereof, be it enacted, by the King’s most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and

Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the 4th Day of May, which shall be in the Year of our Lord 1696, every Quaker within this Realm of England, Dominion of Wales, or Town of Berwick upon Tweed, who shall be required, upon any Lawful Occasion, to take an Oath in any Case, where by Law an Oath is required, shall, instead thereof, be permitted to make his or her solemn Affirmation, or Declaration in the Presence of Almighty God; which said solemn Affirmation, or Declaration, shall be adjudged and taken, and is hereby enacted and declared, to be of the same Force and Effect, to all Intents and Purposes, in all Courts of Justice, and other Places where by Law an Oath is required, within this Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, or Town of Berwick upon Tweed, as if such Quaker had taken an Oath. And be it further enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Quaker making such solemn Affirmation, or Declaration, shall be lawfully convicted, wilfully, falsely and corruptly to have affirmed, or declared any Matter, or Thing, which if the same had been upon Oath, would have in any Case amounted to wilful and corrupt Perjury; every such Quaker so offending, shall incur the same Penalties and Forfeitures, as, by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, are enacted against Persons convicted of wilful and corrupt Perjury."

"The Bill read the 17th of the 12th Month (Feb.) 1695, the first time. Read again the 3rd of the 1st Month 1696, a second time; and committed: The same day the committee met. For its being committed 130 Votes, against it 68; more for it than against, 62.

"The 4th of the 1st month, the committee met again, and passed the Bill. The 10th of the 1st month, ordered it to be engrossed: And the 13th day, *ibid.* the Bill passed the House of Commons, by 146 Voices for it, and 99 against it; 47 more Yeas than Noes; and the same Day it was carried to the House of Lords, where it was read twice. But the opposition some members of that House made to us herein, did occasion our longer attendance, and labour to inform them rightly of our case, and the necessity of our being relieved. Upon my reasoning with divers of the Peers, who had opposed us herein, I did so far convince them, that they were changed in judgment and opinion concerning us, and did appear for us, in this our case; inso-much, that I was daily sensible, the hand of the Lord our God, that was with us in our industrious endeavours, made way and did work for us therein. To Him be the glory of all for ever." (f) See, now, the matter in Vol. I, No. VIII.

In November 1689, there was [before Parliament] a Bill entituled 'An Act for the better payment of Church-rates, small Tythes, and other Church-duties, and the better passing Churchwarden's accounts: which bill the Bishop of London endeavoured to promote in the House of Lords—grounding the same partly on the Statute of 32 Hen. 8, c. 7.' (g) of which Statute *Whitehead* makes it a question, whether this

(f) *Whitehead*, p. 648—651.

(g) "By 32 Hen. 8, c. 7, §. 2. In case any persons of their ungodly and perverse will [who is the proper Judge of a man's motives, further than as his acts disclose them? Ed.] withhold any tithes or offerings, then the person or persons, having cause to demand the said tithes or offerings, may convent the persons offending before the Ordinary or other competent Judge, according to the Ecclesiastical Laws: and the Ordinary or other competent Judge, having the

Bill doth not exceed it in severity; allowing to the Ecclesiastical Courts a greater and more absolute power over men's persons and properties, than ever they had since the times of Popery; the Star-chamber and High-commission Courts (both taken away by 17 Chas. 1, c. 10 and 11) excepted.

Friends having got notice of this bill, and procured the heads of it, appeared of course with their 'exceptions;' and were heard before a Committee of the Lords. There were present of the Committee the Bishop of London *Chairman*, the Bishop of Winchester, the Earls of Mulgrave, Suffolk, Craven and Kingston—with the Earl of Stamford and the Duke of Bolton, the latter part of the time: and on the part of the Society, Geo. Whitehead and seven others.

"*Bp. of London.* You except against the Bill itself: what particulars do you object against?"

G. W. Observing divers particular clauses therein, it appears contrary to the Great Charter of England; as the arbitrary and oppressive proceedings of the Star-chamber and High-commission Courts were adjudged to be; and therefore the power and jurisdiction which they exercised were justly taken away. *By the present Bill, the Ecclesiastical Judge (or Ordinary) is made the sole Judge, and determiner by his definitive sentence, concerning the penalties upon the persons and estates; and no appeal to any other or higher Court seems to be granted or allowed by it.—*

"One of the Committee queried, Which would you have, then: do you choose rather to have your goods seized or distrained, than imprisonment of your persons?"

G. W. Of two evils we had better suffer by the less, yet choose neither.—As to paying parish clerks or sextons, or to the fabricks of Parochial churches (so the Bishop termed them) we do not think it equal we should suffer, for not paying to them whom we do not employ. And we do not require any of the Church of England to pay towards the repair of our Meeting-houses: *they* would not be so dealt by.

Bp. What? Then you compare your Meeting-houses to ours, which are established by Law.

G. W. We are thankful to the Government, [that] ours are now legally allowed by the late Act.

"*One of the Lords.* But what reason have you, in point of Conscience, for your refusing to pay Tithes?"

G. W. That is a serious and weighty question, and deserves such an answer, viz. The reason of our conscience in this case is grounded

parties before him, shall proceed to the examination, hearing and determination of such matter, ordinarily or summarily.

"§ 4. If any persons after sentence definitive given against them, obstinately and willfully refuse to pay their tithes or duties, or such sums of money wherein they be condemned for the same, two Justices shall have authority, upon information, certificate, or complaint made in writing by the Ecclesiastical Judge that gave the sentence, to cause the party refusing to be attached, and committed to the next gaol till he have found surety to the king to perform the sentence." *Davis* p. 58. Of which kind of incarceration we have several cases in my work. Ed.

upon, and has respect unto our Lord Jesus Christ his command, in his commission to *his* Ministers, Freely ye have received, freely give: Matt. x. And to his changing the priesthood of *Levi*, and disannulling the commandment (and their law) for Tithes—as is fully signified in the 7th Chap. to the Hebrews. Therefore Christ's ministry is a free ministry, under the Gospel dispensation; and not to be upheld by Tithe, or forced maintenance. And 'tis very manifest, that Christ changed the priesthood from the tribe of Levi, to himself as our Great high-priest; who came not of the tribe of Levi, but of the tribe of Judah—of which tribe Moses spake nothing, concerning priesthood. Heb. vii, 14.

“And our refusing to pay tithes for conscience sake in these respects, in this Gospel day and for these reasons, under the Gospel dispensation, *is no new or strange thing*. For many eminent Martyrs, and Reformers, were of the same judgment with us in this matter.—And proceeding to mention some, as *William Thorp, Walter Brute or John Wickliff*, &c. the Chairman interrupted him:—*Bp.* Here you bring scraps of Scripture: but we have scripture as well as you, viz. *If we have sown unto you spiritual things, should we not reap of your temporal or carnal things. And the Lord hath ordained, that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel, &c.*—Have you any exceptions or reasons to offer in writing?

“G. W. replied they had, and delivered them to the Clerk, John Relph Esq. to read: which he did very distinctly, and no reply was given. But the Bishop directed him to lay them by, for further consideration—or to that effect. *But no further consideration or debate ensued (that appears) and the Bill was dropt.*

“The temporal Lords that were present (says Whitehead) in the said Committee, were very civil to us; and after that discourse, divers of them appeared more kind to us than ever before. I remember I was very glad, and esteemed it a great mercy from the Lord to us, that the said Bill was stopt and laid aside. For if it had been gotten into an Act, or law, I was persuaded that the Priests of the persecuting sort would have taken such strength and encouragement thereby, that they would have persecuted and imprisoned a great part of our Friends throughout England, &c. Blessed be the Lord [that] they were disappointed: that *that* weapon was not formed, to be put into their hands!” (h)

It is not likely however that the Civil power, in the case of such an Act having been passed, would at that time have suffered, that its operation should so exceed the bounds of English freedom.

With regard to the Act 7 and 8 Will. and Mary c. 34, sec. 4, empowering two Justices to order payment or distress of Tithes, not exceeding 40s. in Annual Value (since enlarged to £10 and then to £50, by 53 Geo. 3, c. 127) it was probably the considerate Measure of the Government itself, under the King's favour towards Friends. It was not a becoming and therefore not a likely thing, for members

(A) Whitehead, 655—666.

of the Society (as Whitehead observed) to *choose* how the scourge should be made for their own backs. I shall not here insert the sections of this Act on which the Law now proceeds, but refer the Reader to the Statutes, or to *Davis*, in his 'Digest of Legislative Enactments relating to the Society of Friends' under the heads *Oaths*,—*Tithes*, and other *Ecclesiastical demands*: this work being in the hands of many persons concerned in the administration of the Laws, as well as in several public Libraries. *Whiting*, I may now add in conclusion, was not so well satisfied with it at the time as to let it go by in silence. He says, 'This spring, 1695, there was an act of parliament passed, for the more easy recovery of small tithes by Justices' warrants, not exceeding 40s. per annum: which, though it might prevent (but did not restrain) some of the more severe proceedings in the Exchequer, and at Common law, yet it occasioned the sufferings of our Friends, on that account, to be more numerous. I remember I had a book, printed forty years ago, called *Tithes a Curse to all nations but Canaan*. As indeed they have been, are and will be, to all that are concerned in them: as the unprosperousness of most that meddle with them shews. And I cannot but admire that any should so clearly see them forty years ago, and our Legislature cannot yet see through them; but uphold them and make laws to enforce the payment of them to this day: which I believe the impropriations in Laymen's hands are a great means of. There being no ground for them in the Gospel, but were first preached up by Augustine, from Jewish example; given by Popish kings and princes for superstitious uses, to expiate sins; decreed first by Popish councils, and not generally confirmed in English parliament till Henry VIIIth's. time; denied by Wickliff, Swinderby, Brute, Thorpe and the Bohemians, long ago; and in later times by the Puritans, Independents, Baptists, and many others before us—as may be seen in many books. So that we are not novel in this our Christian testimony: for forced maintenance is inconsistent with a free ministry, as called of God—which is the ground of all true preaching. So that I may apply Dr. Heylin's wonder in another case to this, *How they, in those dark times could see so clearly, and we in these clearer should go so blunderingly after them!*' (i)

A. D. 1695. An Act for levying a *Poll-Tax* on public preachers being this year renewed, Friends obtain an exemption for their Ministers, on the ground of their receiving no stipend.

George Whitehead and Thomas Lower were the applicants in this case to William Lownds, Esq. (who drew the bill) Sir Christopher Musgrave and other leading members of Parliament; to whom they exhibited about thirty instances, in divers counties, of Friends ministers being distrained on, for this tax of £4 per annum on the trade of preaching!

(i) *Memoirs*, pa. 507

ART. II.—*Fox's Doctrinals.*

This Collection, of 1090 pages Folio besides the Index, &c. is entitled 'Gospel-Truth demonstrated, in a Collection of Doctrinal books given forth by that faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, George Fox: containing principles essential to Christianity and Salvation, held among the people called Quakers.' Motto from 2 Cor. iv, 1, 2. T. Sowle, 1706.

It comprises about an hundred and sixty pieces—the dates from 1653 to 1689.

In addition to Treatises in explanation or defence of the principles and doctrines he taught, we find here a number of others of a more extended character. There are three addressed to the Jews, in 1656, 1661 and 1674. In 1660, he addressed severally the Great Turk, the Magistrates of Malta, the Emperor of Austria, the Kings of France and Spain, the Pope and the Emperor of China—that is, he wrote papers to be delivered to these Rulers, in behalf of the doctrine of the Gospel, and against persecution. And in 1688, Sultan Mahomet IV, having sent a defiance to the Emperor Leopold in his Christian character, threatening to ruin him and *pursue his crucified God*, George took the office of 'Defender of the faith' upon himself, and wrote a Reply to this public document; warning the Turk to fear the Great God that made him and all things, and shewing him, out of their own Koran, that the founder of their religion wrote more respectfully of Christ; whom he then proceeds to set forth to the notice of the Sultan by citations from the Scriptures.

But the most interesting part, to my present purpose, is found in the documents prefixed to the work, some of which I shall here subjoin, relating to the character of the author.

1. "An Epistle by way of a Preface to the unprejudiced Reader: The Books and Treatises in the following collection being perused, we find the doctrine of our blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, and those matters essential to salvation and true Christianity, so plainly asserted and fully demonstrated, according to Holy scripture testimony, as may sufficiently obviate our former and present adversaries' objections, and refute their calumnies and aspersions to the contrary. And though the most eminent Reformers and Martyrs have been most envied, and misrepresented by their adversaries, in all ages; as this true servant and Minister of Christ was in his day, and (since removed) his name and memory most unjustly defamed by envious spirits, yet the good report and fame, which he through faith (and blessed effects of his faithful labours, great travels and sufferings) obtained, will outlive the great envy of his and Truth's adversaries. And as he was a true Minister, and witness for Christ and his kingdom both in life and doctrine, so he was a plain and true witness against Antichrist and his kingdom; and although he gave preference to the Holy Spirit (as all true spiritual Christians do) yet his true love to and sincere esteem of the Holy Scripture (as being given by Divine inspiration) was clearly manifest:

"1st. In his frequent advice to Friends, to keep to Scripture

language, terms, words and doctrines, as taught by the Holy Ghost, in matters of faith, religion, controversy and conversation : and not to be imposed upon and drawn into Unscriptural terms, invented by men in their human wisdom.

" 2ndly. In his great industry in searching the Holy Scriptures, and frequently quoting, reciting, aptly applying and opening the same in his writings ; as will appear in the following Collection. He truly testified, both in his ministry and writings, for Christ Jesus his power and coming, in the flesh and in the spirit : he was both for the Sacred history and mystery of Christ, revealed according to the Holy scripture testimonies of Him, respecting his sufferings without, the work of his power within, and his kingdom and glory : under whose conduct this his minister faithfully warred against the spirit of Antichrist, and persecution, and against the mystery of iniquity, mystery Babylon, the false church, the power of darkness, the corruptions of the world and its deceit and hypocrisy, under all professions ; and, in the Lord's hand and power, was instrumental in turning many to righteousness, and from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God ; that they might receive remission of sins, through faith in his dear Son, Christ Jesus.—

" And as this faithful minister and witness of Christ was a man fearing God, hating covetousness and eschewing evil, and was a deep sufferer for his testimony to the truth when on earth, [so] he died in the favour of God, and rests with him in heaven, with his Church triumphant over his persecutors, and the persecuting spirit which blasphemes against God, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in Heaven : Glory to our God and to the Lamb on the Throne, for ever, Hallelujah. London, the 24th of the Tenth Month 1705 : signed at our Second day's Morning Meeting.

George Whitehead
Francis Camfield
William Bingley
John Butcher
William Warren
Thomas Lower
Theodore Eccleston
Richard Needham

William Mead
William Robinson
Daniel Monro
John Kent
George Oldner
George Chalkley
John Tomkins."

2. " The substance of some other brethren's Testimonies concerning George Fox." [These are, beside the following, from Ambrose Rigge, John Taylor, Richard Robinson, John Bowater, Edward Bourn, Leonard Fell, Thomas Robertson, Stephen Hubbersty, Robert Jones, and divers friends united of Berkshire and Oxfordshire, respectively : I shall insert the first of them as a specimen, *Ed.*]

" Luke Howard, together with the rest of the Friends of the Quarterly Meeting in Kent, testify concerning the Lord's faithful servant George Fox : That he was an honourable Elder in the Church and family of God, a man of an excellent spirit, with whom was God's power, counsel and wisdom ; and that it dwelt with him, in doctrine and overseeing the whole flock of God's pasture. His labour of love was

to God's glory, by which many were begotten unto God. He did see the fruits of his travel unto the third generation. He declared the Everlasting gospel amongst us through God's power, to the convincing of many and confirming them in the faith; and causing many to tremble and the devil to rage. And afterwards the Lord sent the said George Fox again, to appoint Men's and Women's Meetings [for discipline] and to see that the whole family was kept in good order, as becomes the House of God. Also, that blessed Instrument gave forth many good Epistles and instructions, both in print and in manuscript, for the edifying of the Body and building of it up in the love of God, who made him shine in the Church unto the end of his days. We have often felt the life and love of God in his ministry, and never saw him applaud or set up himself; but, in the Lord's name and power, he withstood that spirit that hath risen up to oppose God's work. *Kent, the 5th of the 8th Month, 1691.*"

ART. III.—*Remarks on Scripture Passages.* Continued.

Col. i, 27. 'To whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles; which is Christ in you, the hope of glory.'

Christ 'among you' (as in the margin) would refer either to Christ in person among them, which is incongruous, or to Christ in his servants preaching the gospel (in an outward sense, as a king represented in his ambassador) which is certainly possible: but let us look at some reasons for preferring the textual reading: 1. The thing is declared to be a mystery—but the outward message, by persons sent among them, was not so. 2. Paul himself, in ver. 29, confesses to the experience of that inward immediate revelation of the power of the Word, which was, *among the Gentiles*, a mystery: he says, Whereunto I also labour, striving according to his inward working, (*energeian autou*) which worketh in me with power. However that which was *in* the preacher and *in* the hearers, might be safely said to be *among* them all.

Chap. ii, ver. 18. 'Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels; intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind.'

I am not satisfied with this version: the literal sense in Latin words of the first clause I believe to be thus: *Nemo vos imperiosè tractet; volens [delectans] in animi demissione et superstitione angelorum.* Let no man usurp your service who pleases himself in an affected humility, and in a superstitious regard to the angels [to-wit, the host of heaven.]

The man who goes into these things may very well be said to intrude into that which he hath not seen [which is not yet revealed to us:] and superstition (with the arrogance which it inspires) indicates sufficiently the want of true spiritual-mindedness in the person. Nothing could have been written, in that age, more plainly pointed against some practices existing in the present.

Ver. 20. 'Why—are ye subject to ordinances?' Rather, Why do ye *teach* them? The Greek is *Ei dogmatizesthe*. Which again connects better with the 'Touch not, taste not, handle not'—the manner of their teaching, which lay much in prohibitions: Compare the context; and 1 Tim. iv, 3.

Ver. 22. The sense in Latin, again: *Quæ sunt omnia in corruptionem ad abusum*. I would put this in a parenthesis thus ('all which tends to corruption and abuse.') I think this and the following verse bear fully on the practice of fleshly imagined mortification, (often *real* spiritual pride) on peculiar habits, and peculiar abstinences: and that the parenthesis above-given implies, 'The more of these you introduce, the more of abuse and corruption will come in.'

Chap. iii, 5. 'Mortify therefore your dispositions which are toward the earth; fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, &c.' All these are dispositions or affections indulged to *excess*: nothing, here, of denying to the body its natural wants!

Ver. 9–11. The *Vulgate* is so good, here, that I shall put it against our version, in contrast: *Nolite mentiri invicem: expoliantes vos veterem hominem cum actibus suis, et induentes novum, eum qui renovatur in agnitione Dei secundum imaginem ejus qui creavit eum: ubi non est masculus et femina, gentilis et Judeus, circumcisio et præputium, barbarus et scitha servus, et liber [Romanus] sed omnia et in omnibus CHRISTUS.*

Thess. ii, 5. 'For neither at any time used we flattering words, as ye know, *nor a cloak of covetousness.*'

The words in Italics are out of connexion with the sense. They might be, '*nor made we our own earnest desire a pretext.*'

Ver. 11. 'As a father doth his children:' Refer to ver. 7, and see the fitness of the comparison, in each.

Ver. 15. 'They please not God, and are contrary to all men,' &c. They make not themselves acceptable to God, while they are against all mankind; inasmuch as they forbid our speaking to the gentiles, that *they* may be saved.

Chap. iv, 6. I believe the margin to be the only practicable sense here. It has no relation to dealing.

2 Thess. ii, 1–13. I have already noticed in different parts of this work the correction, by Paul himself, of his own terms respecting the second coming of our Lord, contained in this passage.

The 'by' in ver. 1, may certainly stand as well, 'concerning' or 'touching.' It is observable how philosophically the apostle, in ver. 2, puts the *spirit* before the utterance by *voice*; and this before the record by *letter*, of any matter passing between him and his converts. And that all the three methods of communication existed then, *and were in common use*, there can be no doubt at all. Comp. 1 John, iv, 1–6.

Then, with regard to the 'falling away' and the revelation of the 'man of sin,' and the expression, 'Now ye know what withholdeth: ' what are *we* to consider as the great obstacle to the Apostacy, which then existed? Was it, that the time was not yet come—or, that the apostle himself was still exercising his ministry? Verse 6th seems to give it to the former, and verse 7th to the latter.

The *Vulgate* here is very literal, as follows: *Et nunc quid detineat scitis ut reveletur in suo tempore. Nam mysterium jam operatur iniquitatis tantum ut quod tenet [nunc teneat] donec de medio fiat.* The words within crotchets are not in the Gr. text, and I shall neglect them: the rest is thus: 'And now what hinders, you know, [to-wit] that he should be revealed in his season. For the mystery doth already work [inwardly Gr.] of iniquity, merely as what hinders till it be taken away.

Here, *the mystery* is made the obstacle; and the Greek being neuter, I believe we must at once exclude the apostle himself, as not being that thing which hindered: though our own version makes it a person, and leaves it quite uncertain, who.

The obstacle, then, to the discovery of *the man of sin* was, 1. That the thing is in its nature a mystery: 2. That the time was not yet, for this mystery to be disclosed. These together made the hindrance, to be removed at a future day. I believe that day to be now come: and that the wise in heart (and they only) do see and know, what it is that constitutes the man of sin, *the usurper of God's place in his own temple, the inmost conscience of man.*

I may observe that, by the change of two letters in the Greek, making *tēs anomias* into *tēn anomian*, we have this sense: 'For mystery doth already inwardly work iniquity'—which I think preferable to the other, and that MSS. may be here corrupt: Comp. Rev. xvii, xviii.

Again, that the text 'shewing himself that he is God' stands rendered in the *Vulgate*, *Ostendens se tanquam sit deus*: shewing himself as if he were God. And that our Purver here renders: 'So that he as God sits in the temple of God, shewing that himself is God.' Which may be understood (the guard in the preceding part being kept in view) *pretending* that himself is God. *Ed.*

ART. IV.—*Derivations and Meanings of Words.* Continued.

Author; compiler; critic; reviewer; writer; scribe; book, &c. &c.

The first in order of these names (and the most honourable, rightly sustained in the Literary world) is mere English for the Latin *auctor*, maker or increaser; from a Greek verb of this import. The *author* should at least have the merit of planning or designing his own work. He may employ a vast store of materials, derived from writings anterior to his own; but he must put these together in his own way, and make them serve to one original purpose; and that, his own.

Otherwise he comes under the lower term of *Compiler*: a mere *maker* of books, who strings together like beads the unaltered parts and portions of other men's labours. This may be admitted (when fairly practised) as a useful, but must be pronounced an ignoble occupation. The term is not of very clear origin. We have the Latin *pilo*, I peel or plunder, perhaps because the marauder went off with the property in a sack, slung on his *pilum* or pikestaff—whence the term *sacking*, for the plundering of a town. But in 'honest Phædrus' we find a title

thus, *Fur aram compilans*, the thief taking a brand [pilum] from the altar; which looks very like the practice of going to a neighbour's to light a candle [pilum cum pilo]—the very thing the Compiler is found doing, all round the shop. Yet have the needs of the bookseller availed, to rescue him from the ancient character of *filching* and *stealing*, attached to the term: 'Illic homo ædes compilavit' *Lexicon*: that fellow has been into too many houses to light his pipe!' *Witness, the cheap Magazines of the day.*

The *Critic* is the more respectable person appealed to, on such questions as that I have now mooted: who reads *much*, and writes (or *should* write) but little: ascertaining, by a superiour judgment, the merits of each production of the day.

The *Reviewer* should be a Critic who gives his time to a periodical work, in which this is done: but he is too commonly a sectarian or party *scribe*; who takes his *subject* (*a*) from the book in question, and in a lengthy dissertation of his own, shews how much more to the purpose *he* can treat it, than did the poor author!

A *writer* may be any one, or all, of these by turns—but let us enquire what it is to write, Johnson will tell us that *writan* is a Saxon verb, and that *wreta*, Gothic, means a letter; but he goes no further—nor does Tooke. But we learn from the *Epea* ii, 422, that *wright* is one that worketh: the third person of the indicative of *vyrcan*, operari: as shipwright, cartwright, wainwright, wheelwright: one that *worketh* at ships, carts, waggons, wheels. And why not at the pen? The *writan* man is, I believe, the man employed as is any other *wright* (*wrihta* Sax.) to *labour* in this way; and put things together for hire.

We have now, of this scribbling tribe, only the the Latin *scriba*, made English in *scribe*—from *scribo* I write: of which the Romans, it seems, had also the diminutive *scribillare*, to scribble: to write in a mean style, and to little purpose.

Let us now go to their *works* (*Saxon* from *vyrcan*,) and first of the *Poem*: which is the very same term, in Greek, as work; for from *poieō*, I make, comes *poëma* (in *Latin* *poëma*) the work or thing put together. And the very *poet*, with the Latins, was a *wright* before he was a writer; as the *Lexicon* will shew.

A poem, to be worthy of the name, should exhibit more or less of *creative* power: it should at once interest, and please and instruct us. With these qualities it is not essential, in the Roman sense of the term, that it be long: and Virgil may be said to have written many *poems*, besides that one on which we ground his fame, the *Æneid*.

Book. Anciently, children began to learn from the *Horn-book*. I have seen, in my youth, this little Introduction to the study of letters: but I remember that *our* Alphabet was chased in Ivory, and kept in a Mahogany box; and I could go now to the very place in the room where it was kept. The horn-book was the *first* book, in all probability, in another sense. The word is derived by Johnson from *boc*, Saxon

(a) *Subject*: aliquid subjectum manibus auctoris—what comes to hand to write about.

for *beech*; the wood of which it was made, in the form of a *Battledoor*, the square part, above the handle, (*b*) defended with a clear piece of horn. On the beech itself, before the invention of printing, the letters must have been written: afterwards they were printed on paper and lay, thus fix'd, beneath the fence diaphanous, unsoil'd by fingers rude!

The Latin *liber*, book, was of a more frail material; being only written on the inner bark of a tree, prepared for that use—as was the *papyrus*, paper, from the Egyptian reed. The books which Paul left at Troas with Carpus are, in the original, *ta biblia*; which means the same thing, a vegetable tissue with writing on it. But the *membrana*, parchments, are not so clearly (to me) *Manuscripts* [*writings by hand*] for the name would rather imply that the sheets had not yet been soiled with ink; but were wanted for that use immediately.

When these were occupied with Manuscript and sewed together [*or skins of leather* in their stead prepared for the like use] they were rolled on a staff and made, thus, the cumbrous *volume*.

Essay is mere French for a beginner's performance; or the first attempt of a more practised hand *on the subject*: which if it succeed may come, in his next *publication*, to a *pamphlet*. Johnson strangely makes this out of three French words '*par un filet* [tenue]' held together by a thread; and says it was hence written anciently, and by *Caxton* [the first English printer] *paunflet*: but it is singular (if so) 'that the French should call it *brochure*, and that the Dictionnaire should say of pamphlet '*Ce dernier mot et neologique*'—of modern adoption. I rather think it is of Greek original: and that some scribe, wishing that all the world should read him, denoted his work pamphletos, from the adverb *pamphlethei*, per totam multitudinem [opus vulgandum]. We have another and longer term of *Latin* origin, *dissertation*; strictly a work in which various and opposite opinions are stated on any subject; as if we were *sowing seeds of various kinds in the same field*. *Ed.*

(*b*) George Fox caused John Stubbs and Benjamin Furley, two learned men of the Society of Quakers, to compile a book called the *Battledoor*; in which he shews in how many languages the distinction between singular and plural, in speech, is kept inviolate. I have a copy of this *singular* work. Each specimen is printed in the form of a battledoor (probably to remind the unlearned 'Learned doctors' of his time, that they needed to begin 'their grammar and accidence' over again); and there is always a sentence in the *handle*—but the doctors would never take hold; and George's labour (for he bestowed some on it, himself) was (so far) lost as to this performance. He says of it however in his Journal p. 328, 'When it was finished, some of them were presented to the King and his Council, to the Bishops of Canterbury and London, and to the two Universities one apiece. The king said it was the proper language of all nations: the Bishop of Canterbury being asked what *he* thought of it, was so at a stand he could not tell what to say to it. It did so inform and convince people, that *few afterwards were so rugged towards us* for saying Thou and Thee to a single person; which, before, they were so exceeding fierce against us for.—So that we were often beaten and abused, and in danger of our lives' [on that account]. *Ed.*

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PRO PATRIÁ.

1835.

ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrine and practices of the Quakers.*

Continued from p. 313.

A. D. Shipwreck and Sufferings of *Robert Barrow*, (a Minister) and 1696. others, in the gulf of Florida: decease of Robert Barrow.

On the 23rd of the Sixth Month (August) 1696, this Friend left Portroyal for Pennsylvania, in the brig *Reformation*, Joseph Kirle, Master: and on the 23rd of the following month the *Reformation* was stranded, in a gale of three days' continuance from the N. E. on the coast of Florida. They had quitted the vessel, and got out some provisions and necessaries, when the Indians of that coast discovered them and made them captives. The ship's company at this time consisted of the Master, mate, seven hands, and *fifteen passengers*: to-wit, Robert Barrow, Benjamin Allen (a relation of the master's) and Jonathan Dickenson, with his wife and infant child, and his ten servants (or slaves) negro men and women, with an infant among them. The manner of their capture must be related in Jonathan Dickenson's own words.

“ Within two or three hours after the departure of the two Indians, some of our people being near the breach or strand, returned and said, ‘The Indians were coming in a very great number, all running and shouting.’ About this time the storm was much abated, the rain ceased, and the sun appeared, which had been hid from us several days; and most of the Indians went to the vessel, casting

forth whatever they could lay hold on, except rum, sugar, molasses, beef and pork; but their Cassekey, (for so they call their king) with about thirty more, came down to us in a furious manner, having a dismal aspect, and foaming at the mouth; their weapons were large Spanish knives, except their Cassekey's, who had a bayonet that belonged to the master of our vessel; they rushed in upon us, and cried Nickaleer, Nickaleer! We understood them not at first; but they repeating it to us often, at last they cried, Espania, or Spaniard. By which we understood them, that at the first they meant English; but they were answered to the latter in Spanish, Yea; to which they replied, No Espania, no; but all cried Nickaleer, Nickaleer; we sitting on our chests, boxes, and trunks, and some on the ground, the Indians surrounded us, but we stirred not nor moved, but sat all, or most of us, very calm and still; and some of us in a good frame of spirit, being freely given up to the will of God.

"Whilst we were thus sitting as a people almost unconcerned, these bloody-minded creatures placed themselves each behind one, kicking and throwing away the bushes that were nigh, or under their feet; the Cassekey had placed himself behind me, standing on the chest which I sat upon, and they all had their arms extended, with their knives in their hands, ready to execute their bloody design; some taking hold of us by the heads, with their knees set against our shoulders, and in this posture they seemed to wait for the Cassekey to begin: they were high in words, which we understood not; but on a sudden, it pleased the Lord to work wonderfully for our preservation, and instantly all these savage men were struck dumb, and like men amazed, for the space of a quarter of an hour; in which time their countenance fell, and they looked like another people. They then quitted their places they had taken behind us, and came in amongst us, requiring to have all our chests, trunks, and boxes unlocked; which being done, they divided all that was in them. Our money the Cassekey took to himself, privately hiding it in the bushes; then they went to pulling off our clothes, leaving each of us only a pair of breeches, or an old coat, except my wife, and child, Robert Barrow, and our master, from whom they took but little that day: having thus done, they asked us again, Nickaleer, Nickaleer? But we answered, by saying, Pennsylvania.

"We then began to enquire after St. Augustine, also we would talk of St. Lucia, which was a town that lay about a degree to the northward; but they cunningly would seem to persuade us, that they both lay to the southward: we signified to them, that they lay to the northward; and we talked of the Havanna, that lay to the southward. These places they had heard of, and knew which way they lay.

"At length the Cassekey told us, how long it was to St. Lucia by days' travel, but cared not to hear us mention St. Augustine. They would signify by signs, we should go to the southward. We answered, that we must go to the northward for Augustine. When they found they could not otherwise persuade us, they signified, that we should go to the southward for the Havanna, and that it was but a little way.

"We gave them to understand, that we came that way, and were for the northward; all which took place with them. We perceived that the Cassekey's heart was tendered towards us, for he kept mostly with us, and did the remaining part of that day keep off the petty robbers, who would have had our few rags from us. Some time before night we had a shower of rain, on which the Cassekey made signs for us to build some shelter; whereupon we got our tent up, and some leaves to lie upon.

"About this time our vessel lay dry on shore, and the Indians gathered themselves together, men and women, some hundreds in number; and having got all the goods out of her, and covered the bay for a large distance, they opened the stuffs and linen, and spread them to dry. They would touch no sort of strong drink, sugar, nor molasses, but left it in the vessel. They shouted and made great noises in the time of plunder; but night coming on, the Cassekey put those

chests and trunks, which he had reserved for himself, into our tent; which pleased us, and gave us an expectation of his company, for he was now become a defender of us from the rage of others. The Cassekey went down to the water-side amongst his people, and returned with three old coats that were wet and torn, which he gave us; one whereof I had. We made a fire at each end of our tent, and laid ourselves down, it being dark; but hearing hideous noises, and fearing that they were not satisfied, we expected them upon us. The chief Indian (or Cassekey) lay in our tent upon his chests; and about midnight we heard a company of Indians coming from the vessel towards us, making terrible shouts, and coming fiercely up to the tent; but the Cassekey called to them, which caused them to stand. It seems they had killed a hog, and brought him; so the Cassekey asked us, 'If we would eat the hog?' Solomon Cresson, [who spoke Spanish] by our desire, answered him, 'That we used not to eat at that time of the night;' whereupon they threw the hog down before the tent, and the Cassekey sent them away. They went shouting to the sea shore, where there were some hundreds of them revelling about our wreck.

"The 25th of the Seventh Month, being the Sixth Day of the Week.

"This morning, having purposed to endeavour for liberty to pass to the northward, Solomon opened the matter to the Cassekey, who answered, 'We must go to his town to the southward.' This occasioned us to press him more urgently, to let us go for Sta. Lucea, (this place having a Spanish name, we supposed to have found it under the government of that nation, from whence we might expect relief.) But the Cassekey told us, 'That it was about two or three days' journey thither; and that when we came there, we should have our throats and scalps cut, and be shot, burnt, and eaten.' We thought that information was but to divert us, so that we were the more earnest to go; but he sternly denied us, saying, 'We must go to his town.'

"About eight o'clock this morning the Cassekey came into our tent, and set himself amongst us, asking the old question, 'Nickaleer, Nickaleer?' And directing his speech to one in particular of us, he in simplicity answered, Yes; which caused the Cassekey to ask the said person, if another, which he pointed to, was Nickaleer? He answered, Yes: then he said, Totus (or all) Nickaleer, and went from amongst us; but he returned in a short time, with some of his men with him, and afresh they went greedily to strip my wife and child, Robert Barrow, and our master, who had escaped till now.

"Thus were we left almost naked, till the feud was somewhat abated, and then we got some things from them, which displeased some of them; and we then cut our tent in pieces, and got the most of our clothing out of it, which the Indians perceiving, took the remains from us; we men had most of us breeches, and pieces of canvass; and the whole company interceded for my wife, that all might not be taken from her. About noon, the Indians having removed the plunder off the bay, and many of them gone, a guard was provided, armed with bows and arrows, with whom we were summoned to march, and a burden provided for every one to carry, that was any ways able. Our master, with his broken leg, was helped along by his negro Ben, and my wife was forced to carry her child, they not suffering any of us to relieve her; for if any of us offered to lay down our burden, we were threatened to be shot. Thus were we forced along the beach barefooted.

"We having saved one of the master's quadrants and seaman's calendar, with two other books, as we walked along the bay, (the time suiting) our mate, Richard Limpeny, took an observation, and we found ourselves to be in the latitude of twenty-seven degrees and eight minutes; some of the Indians were offended at it, and when he held up his quadrant to observe, one of them drew an arrow to shoot him; but it pleased God hitherto to prevent them from shedding any of our blood.

"One passage I have omitted, viz. Two of our mariners, named Thomas

Fownes and Richard Limpeny, went forth this morning from our tent, down to the Bay where the Indians were, and viewing of them at some distance, an Indian came running upon them, with his knife in his hand, and took hold of Thomas Fownes to stab him; but Thomas fell on his knees, using a Spanish ceremony, and begged him not to kill him; whereupon the Indian desisted, and bid him be gone to the place from whence he came; and the said Thomas, at his return, acquainted us how narrowly he had escaped.

"After we had travelled about five miles along the deep sand, the sun being extreme hot, we came to an inlet, on the other side whereof was the Indian town, being little wigwams, made of small poles stuck in the ground, which they bend one to another, making an arch, and covering them with thatch of small palmetto leaves; here we were commanded to sit down, and the Cassekey came to us, and with his hand scratched a hole in the sand, about a foot deep, and then came to water, which he made signs for us to come and drink of, and we being extremely thirsty, did, but the water was almost salt.

"Whilst we sat here we saw great fires making on the other side of the inlet, which some of us thought were preparing for us; but after an hour's time being spent here, at length came an Indian with a small canoe from the other side, and I, with my wife and child, and Robert Barrow, were ordered to go into it, (the canoe was but just wide enough for us to sit down in) and over we were carried, and being landed, the man made signs for us to walk to the wigwams, which we did; but the young Indians seemed to be frightened, and fly from us. We were directed to a wigwam, which afterwards we understood to be the Cassekey's; it was about a man's height to the top, and herein was the Cassekey's wife, and some old women sitting on a cabin made of sticks, about a foot high, covered with a mat; and they made signs for us to sit down on the ground, which we did. The Cassekey's wife having a young child sucking at her breast, gave it to another woman, and would have my child, which my wife was very loth to suffer, yet she would not be denied, but took our child and suckled it at her breast, viewing and feeling it from top to toe, and at length returned it to my wife.

"By this time another parcel of our people were come over, and we sitting down by the wigwam side, an Indian brought a fish boiled on a palmetto leaf, and set it down amongst us, making signs for us to eat; but our exercise was too great for us to have any inclination to receive food: at length all our people were brought over, and afterwards came the Cassekey, who, as soon as he came to his wigwam, set himself to work, got some stakes, and stuck them in a row joining to his wigwam, and tied some sticks whereon were small palmettoes tied, and fastened them to the stakes about three feet high, and laid two or three mats, made of reeds, down for shelter; which it seems he made for us, to break the wind off, and ordered us to lie down there; which we did, as many as the mats would hold, and the rest lay on the ground by us. The Cassekey then went into his wigwam, and seated himself on his cabin cross-legged, having a basket of palmetto berries brought him, which he eat very greedily; after which came some Indians in to him, and talked much.

"Night being come, and the moon being up, an Indian, who performed their ceremonies, stood out, looking full at the moon, making a hideous noise, and crying out, acting like a mad-man for the space of half an hour, all the Indians being silent till he had done; after which they made a fearful noise; some like the barking of a dog, wolf, and other strange sounds; after this, one got a log, and set himself down, holding the stick or log upright on the ground; and several others got about him, making a hideous noise, singing to our amazement; at length their women joined the concert, and made the noise more terrible, which they continued till midnight. Towards morning there were great dews, and our fire being expended, we were extreme cold.

"The 26th of the Seventh Month, being the Seventh Day of the Week.

"This morning the Cassekey looked on us with a mild aspect, sent his son with

his striking staff to the inlet, to strike fish for us, which was performed with great dexterity; for some of us walked down with him, and though we looked very earnestly when he threw his staff from him, we could not see a fish at the time he saw it, and brought it to shore on the end of his staff. Sometimes he would run swiftly pursuing a fish, and seldom missed when he darted at him: in two hours time he got as many fish as would serve twenty men. There were others also fishing at the same time, so that fish was plenty; but the sense of our condition stayed our hungry stomachs; for some amongst us thought, they would feed us to feed themselves.

"The Cassekey went this morning towards our vessel, but in his absence the other Indians looked very untowardly upon us, which created a jealousy of their cruelty yet to come.

"In the afternoon we saw a great fire nigh the place of our vessel, and we concluded that our vessel and our boat were burnt, whereupon we were almost confirmed, that they designed to destroy us; but about sunsetting the Cassekey came home, and we speaking to him, he answered us, and seemed very affable, which we liked well. Night drawing on, and the wind shifting northward, we removed our shelter, and added the mats to it to break the wind off, which blowed cold, and laid ourselves on the sand. About an hour within night came a parcel of Indians from the southward, being armed with bows and arrows, and coming near our tent, some of us espied them, whereupon they squatted down; this seemed a fresh motive of danger, and we awakened those of us who were fallen asleep, and bid them prepare, for things seemed dangerous; we supposing they were come to forward our destruction, or to carry us to the southward. They sat thus a considerable time, but at length they distributed themselves to the wigwams. Thus would danger often appear to us, and almost swallow us up; but at times we were set over it, having a secret hope that God would work our deliverance, having preserved us from so many perils.

"Some time before night, Robert Barrow was exhorting us to be patient, and in a godly manner he expounded that text of scripture, 'Because thou hast kept the word of my patience,' &c. Rev. iii, 10. After which, he ended with a most fervent prayer, desiring of the Lord, 'That whereas he had suffered us to be cast amongst a barbarous and heathenish people, if that it was his blessed will, he would preserve and deliver us from amongst them, that our names might not be buried in oblivion, and that he might lay his body amongst faithful friends:'. And at the close of his prayer, he seemed to have an assurance, that his petition would be granted. In all which, some of us were livingly refreshed and strengthened.

"The 27th of the Seventh Month, being the First Day of the Week.

"This morning we again used our endeavours with the Cassekey, that we might go to the northward for Augustine; but his answer was, 'We should be all killed:'. at length we prevailed, and he said, 'On the morrow we should go.' Hereupon he took three negro men (one of Joseph Kirle's, and two of mine) and with a canoe went up the Sound.

"This day the Indians were busy with what they had taken out of our vessel, and would have employed all of us to do, some one thing, some another for them; but we not knowing the consequence, endeavoured to shun it, and would deny their demands: but some of our men answered their desires in making and sewing some cloth together, stringing our beds, mending the locks of the chests, &c. Whatever they thought was amiss they would be putting upon us to mend, till we wholly refused; at which time I heard a saying, that came from one of the chief Indians, thus, 'English son of a bitch:'. which words startled me; for I did believe they had some of our nation in their possession, of whom they had heard such an expression: I passed away from the wigwam with much trouble.

"This day, being the first of the week, and we having a large Bible, and a book of Robert Barclay's, some one or other was often reading in them; but being

most of us sat together, Robert Barrow desired our people to wait upon the Lord ; in which time Robert had a word in season to us, and afterwards went to prayer, the Indians standing about us, when some of the younger sort would be mocking, but not to our disturbance ; the elder sort stood very modestly the whole time : after prayer was ended, they all withdrew quietly ; but some of them, (especially the Cassekey's eldest son) would take great delight in our reading, and would take the Bible, or the other book, and give it to one or other of us to read ; the sound of which pleased them, for they would sit quietly, and very attentively to hear us.

"The Cassekey having been gone the most part of the day, with three negroes in our boat, he at last came over the bar into the inlet, and we rejoiced to see our boat again, for we thought she had been burnt. Our negroes told us, 'They went up the Sound with the Cassekey, and landed near the place where our tent had been.' His chief business was, to remove the money from one place to another and bury it. This old man would trust our people, but not his own. After that was done, they went to the place where our vessel was burnt ; they launched our boat, in which the old Cassekey put his chests, wherein was our linen, and other of our trade. Also they got a small rundlet, which they filled with wine out of a quarter-cask that was left, and brought sugar out of the wreck, which was not consumed by the fire. By this time came up the Cassekey, and he told us, 'On the morrow we should go with our boat ;' which was cheerful news to us : and some Indians having been out, and brought home some oysters, the Cassekey gave us some, bidding us take what we had a mind to. A little before night the Cassekey opened his chest and boxes, and his wife came and took what was in them from him ; but he seemed very generous to my wife and child, and gave her several things which were useful to her and the child.

"Our boat being very leaky, we got her into a creek to sink her, that the water might swell her." (b)

I must abridge the remainder of this touching narrative. On the 28th 'at high noon' they left the wreck (the vessel being burnt down to her floor-timbers, which lay in the sand) taking with them some butter, sugar, wine and chocolate (all which things the Indians neglected) and a bowl to heave water with, out of the leaky boat. A negro boy was reluctantly left among the Indians, the Cacique insisting on keeping him—and a great part of the company necessarily travelled along the shore. They met with tainted fish on the strand, left there by the sea in the gale, and one of the negroes having saved a tinder-box and flint they made a fire and broiled them, feeding heartily on a part (with thankfulness to the God of their mercies) and reserving the rest for a greater need.

They soon fell in with other bodies of Indian natives—one while rapacious and violent ; at others, compassionate and helpful ; but who ultimately stripped those on shore quite naked.

It is remarkable that these people (like the nations in the East) made use of the *kettle-drum* at a dance. 'In the evening [of the 30th] the Indians made a drum of a skin, covering therewith the deep bowl in which they brew their drink, beating thereon with a stick ; and having a couple of *rattles*, made of a small gourd put on a stick, with small stones in it, they began to set up a most hideous howling, very irksome to us ; and some time after came some of their young women some singing, some dancing. This was continued till midnight, after which they went to sleep.' (c)

(b) God's protecting Providence man's surest help and defence, &c. p. 22—63

(c) Idem p. 52.

In two days more they came to an Indian town (of their miserable huts called wigwams) near which was the wreck of another vessel which had been cast away in the same gale: the crew of this 'barque,' except one man, were also captives with the Indians. This person was their sick mate, who being unable to travel had been knocked on the head (as they supposed) by the Indians; his skeleton being found by some that went back, with the skull and jaw bone broken. With all this, the savages supplied the whole party with food, and the aged Cacique promised to forward one of them to Saint Augustine, to bespeak protection for the rest; and after some delay was as good as his word. One of Kirle's party spoke Spanish well, and their money was Spanish: circumstances which appear to have operated much in their favour: this interpreter was pitched upon to go with the Cacique and some Indians, and departed accordingly, expecting to be a month in going thither and back.

'After the old Cassekey's departure (says the author) our hardships increased, especially my wife and child's for want of food of any sort. My wife's milk was gone, and our poor child was in great want. The Indians now and then would give it suck, but scarcely to satisfy it: *for there was a woman or two of their own which had young children, and no breast to suckle them*'—[a thing quite out of calculation with soi-disant philosophers, this; who would have all things perfect with mankind in that state!—However, a principal part of their food was the nauseous palmetto berry, which the shipwrecked for a long time could not prevail upon themselves to swallow.] 'Many were our exercises, both in body and mind, among this people. Sometimes they would look upon us as though they had some ill intent towards the whole of us: at other times they would tell us (who were nominally Spaniards) how and in what manner those of Smith's [the other shipwrecked party] should be put to death. And thus we were daily exercised in sorrow and grievous troubles:—but some there were whose hopes never failed, they trusted in the Lord to work our deliverance. One thing did seem more grievous to me and my wife than any other thing: which was, that if it should so happen that we should be put to death, *we feared that our child would be kept alive and bred up as one of these people.*'—

This we well observed (he adds, upon an instance of their manners in mocking some of the company, under a fit of the ague) that these people *had no compassion on their own aged declining people, when they were past their labour: for the younger is served before the elder; and the elder people, both men and women, are slaves to the younger.* (d)

"It now being the time of the moon's entering the first quarter, the Indians had a ceremonious dance, which they began about eight o'clock in the morning: in the first place came in an old man, and took a staff about eight feet long, having a broad arrow on the head thereof, and thence half way painted red and white like unto a barber's pole; in the middle of this staff was fixed a piece of wood, shaped like unto a thigh, leg, and foot of a man, and the lower part thereof

(d) Idem. p. 74.

was painted black: and this staff being carried out of the Cassekey's house, was set fast in the ground standing upright: this being done, he also brought out a basket, containing six rattles, which were taken out thereof, and placed at the foot of the staff: then another old man came in, and set up an howling like unto a mighty dog, but beyond him for length of breath, withal making a proclamation: this being done, and most of them having painted themselves, some red, some black, some with black and red, with their bellies girt up as tight as they well could girt themselves with ropes, having their sheaths of arrows at their backs, and their bows in their hands, being gathered together about the staff, six of the chiefest men in esteem amongst them, especially one who is the doctor and much esteemed, took up the rattles, and began an hideous noise, standing round the staff with their rattles and bowing without ceasing to the staff for about half an hour: whilst these six were thus employed, all the rest were staring and scratching, pointing upwards and downwards, on this and the other side, every way, looking like men frightened, or more like furies: thus they behaved themselves till the six had done shaking their rattles. Then they all began a dance, violently stamping on the ground for the space of an hour or more, without ceasing; in which time they sweat in a most excessive manner, so that by the time the dance was over, what by their sweat, and the violent stamping of their feet, the ground was trodden into furrows; and by the morning, the place where they danced was covered with maggots: thus, often repeating the manner, they continued till about three or four o'clock in the afternoon, by which time many were sick and faint: and then, being gathered into the Cassekey's house, they sat down, having some hot caseena ready, which they drank plentifully of, and gave greater quantities thereof to the sick and fainty than to others: then they eat berries. On these days they eat not any food till night.

"The next day, about the same time, they began their dance as the day before; also the third day they began their dance at the usual time; at which time came many Indians from other towns, and fell to dancing, without taking any notice one of the other.

"This third day they were stricter than the other two days, for no woman must look upon them; but if any of their women went out of their houses, they went veiled with a mat." (e)

While the Cacique was proceeding to St. Augustine, a detachment of ten soldiers from the garrison, with their officer and an Indian interpreter, were proceeding Southward, under an impression that the two wrecks (of which they had some report) might be *Spanish*; and the two parties met on the route. The English could now safely acknowledge to what nation they belonged, to the vexation of their Indian captors: who appear also to have been stripped of a great part of their plunder, in search of which most of the soldiers proceeded. But this proved, again, disastrous to the English and negroes; who had now to make their way by forced marches, night and day, in piercing cold, hunger and nakedness, from one Spanish out-post or sentry-house to another (the stronger at last scarce daring to halt, to render the weaker any help) till they reached Saint Augustine. Three of the negroes (with the negro infant, at it's mother's back) and the passenger Benjamin Allen, perished near the end of the journey.

The Governor of this Spanish military post, and Roman-catholic Mission, received them with the utmost humanity and relieved all their wants; though in want himself, with his people. He even refused to take of them some negroes, in return for what was fur-

(e) Idem. p. 71—73.

nished them, to go on with—and forbade them to sell any slave in the garrison: preferring to give them credit. At parting, on the 29th of the Ninth Month (November) he walked down to see them embark with a guard of six soldiers in a periagua, and embracing some of them wished them well: saying that if they should forget him when they got among their countrymen, God would not—where he was. *Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy!*

On the 23rd of the Tenth Mo. (December) proceeding still through much hardship, they reached Governor Blake's house in Carolina.

"We rendered him an account of the governor of Augustine's generosity towards us, and that he sent us freely, without any demands, except what we had freely contracted: the governor sent for the Spanish captain in, and received the letters that were sent from the governor of Augustine, also our obligation, which the governor accepted. The governor shewed a great deal of kindness to us, and made inquiry into all our conditions. Robert Barrow he sent to his neighbour Margaret Bammer's who, he said, would be careful, and nurse him: she was an ancient friend, who lived about two miles distant, so he went on horseback. The governor clothed Joseph Kirle, John Smith, Andrew Murray, me, my wife and child; to the rest of our people he gave each of them a duffle blanket, which would keep them warm, and plenty of victuals and drink was provided: we obtained leave of the governor to permit the Spaniards to go to Charles-Town with us, being willing to gratify them according to our abilities."

"The gentlemen of the town appointed a public house of good credit, to entertain the Spaniards with meat, and drink, and lodging; which was done to the Spaniards' admiration, and they staid here eight days. We got our people together, and agreed jointly to give the Spaniards one hundred pieces of eight, which Joseph Kirle and I divided amongst them according to their degrees; we two adding to the sum.

"Joseph Kirle and I provided a small present to send to the governor of Augustine: [4th 11th Mo.] we went with the Spaniards to governor Blake's, staying there one day; the governor treated the Spaniards, and having completed his letters, gave the Spanish captain a considerable present, and sent him homewards, ordering them to call on the Yammasee Indians, where they might have as much Indian corn as they pleased, to carry home with them: the towns of these Indians being about two or three days' rowing from Charles-Town.

"The 9th of the Eleventh Month: This day I returned, with my wife and child to Charles-Town, leaving Robert Barrow in a weak and low condition with Margaret Bammer. I, my wife and family, with Joseph Kirle, were entertained by captain James Ribee, the time of our stay in Carolina. Our seamen were mostly employed, some in one vessel, and some in another, that belonged to the port.

"The 6th of the Twelfth Month, Joseph Kirle went from hence to the island of Providence, in hopes of gaining speedy passage for Pennsylvania, the place of his abode.

"Towards the beginning of this month, Robert Barrow was brought to Charles-Town, being extreme weak, and was lodged at the house of Mary Cross, who nursed him.

"The 18th of the First Month: This day, I, with my family, and Robert Barrow, embarked, and set sail for Pennsylvania, and had fourteen days' passage to Philadelphia.

"The 4th of the Second Month: This day, in the evening, Robert Barrow departed this life, and was buried the 6th following, having passed through great exercises, in much patience; and in all the times of our greatest troubles, was ready to counsel us to patience, and to wait for what the Lord our God would

bring to pass; and he would often express, that it was his belief, that our lives should be spared, and not be lost in that wilderness, and amongst those people, who would have made a prey of us. And so this good man, having finished his course with joy, laid down his body, and is with him who rewards the just.

“ Thus, having completed our hard passage hither, wherein God’s great mercy and wonderful loving-kindness hath been largely extended to us, in delivering and preserving us to this day and time; I hope that I, with all those of us, that have been spared hitherto, shall never be forgetful nor unmindful of the low estate we were brought to; but that we may double our diligence in serving the Lord God, is the breathing and earnest desire of my soul. Amen.

“ Jonathan Dickenson.”

There is an account of the dying expressions of this aged sufferer in *Piety Promoted*, in the 1st Part of that Collection. He desired his Friends might be informed that he had left his affairs in England settled; and observed, ‘ It is a good thing to have a conscience void of offence, both towards God and towards man.’ Without that support he never could have so endured, through perils and hardships: the conclusion drawn from the account of which, for my Readers’ use, is this, *that the principle of DIVINE LIFE, manifested in CHRIST, the Saviour of men, and not a mere human courage roused by oppression, was the true support of the early quakers under all the bitter sufferings they endured.* Ed.

ART. II.—*Remarks on Scripture Passages.* Continued.

2 Thess. iii, 2. ‘ For all men have not faith.’ Gr. *ou gar pantōn ē pistis*: for the faith is not of all.

How can this be fairly made a general proposition of, to support the doctrine of personal reprobation? It plainly has reference to good faith in dealing with others. *All men are not to be trusted*, is the only sense that agrees with the context: The Lord *is* faithful, &c.

Ver. 17. ‘ Thus I write:’ a verification of the document, made necessary, perhaps, by the forged epistle or epistles alluded to in Ch. ii, ver. 2. They were to compare the hand-writing of such with the real one, in order to detection.

1 Tim. ii, 4, 5, 6. These three verses may be read with a parenthesis, the connexion being thus: ‘ Who will have all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth: the testimony, *to be borne* on all suitable occasions, of which I have been appointed a preacher, &c.’ The parenthesis being ‘ (For there is one God and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus:)

The want of attention to this parenthesis, I believe, has occasioned a wrong translation of the sixth verse. The Gr. is, *to marturion kai- rois idiotis*: Lat. *testimoniūn propriis temporibus*.

Ver. 15. ‘ Notwithstanding she shall be saved in child-bearing, if, &c.’ It is worthy of consideration, whether the Gr. *teknogonia* may not have been a term (the use of which was then allowed) for the nurture and admonition of the Lord: the bringing up of children to be

born members of the church, by baptism at a future time. '*She shall be kept harmless in respect of this office, if they continue, &c.*' The context seems to relate wholly to offices, and a right conduct in them. The present version of it makes a very strange meaning. There is a strong hint in ver. 14 to the *weaker sex*, worthy their consideration in the present age.

Chap. iii, ver. 1. 'This is a true saying.' The Gr. is, *pistos o logos*: faithful is the word. The term used here [let the reader of Greek note] is *logos*, not *rema*; *doctrine*, not talk: and we have the same phrase in the following texts, Chap. iv, 9, 2 Tim. ii, 11, and Tit. iii, 8, applied in such a way as proves the phrase to belong, not to a mere 'saying' in common use, but to *true, sound doctrine*: in which sense it ought therefore to be rendered.

Ver. 11. Even so must the deaconesses be grave, not *false accusers*, sober, faithful in all things.

The Gr. word is literally devils, *diabolous*; and implies much the same, I believe, as that character to which they were not to 'give place' in Ephes. iv, 27, the *scold and railer*!

Chap. iv, 7. 'But refuse profane and old wives' fables.' The freemasonry of the Greeks, with which fathers and mothers puzzled the poor children, and tried each other's wits—some of it looking very strange in the recital, and harmless enough when explained. The word 'exercise' is emphatical: 'And for exercise of thy own wit, use it in teaching good morals and godlike conduct.'

Chap. v, 3-16. 'Honour widows that are widows indeed,' &c. The Gr. *Chera* seems to have been a term applicable to a 'lone woman' (as I have sometimes heard them call themselves) whether deprived of the husband by death, or by desertion. But what would mere 'honour' do, for such an one? And then, 'widows indeed'—not taking on them the name, without the reality. *Such* the bishop was doubtless to take under his protection, and in order to employ them usefully make deaconesses of them: rejecting however such as, from circumstances, might be thought likely to take a second husband. And if they had young people at home, their charity was to begin there; in the training up of these, before they came to serve the church. The members who deserted their wives, or refused to provide for their widowed relatives, are censured. Such is the tenour of this (at present) ill-rendered passage.

Ver. 21. Compare the term 'elect angels,' here used, with 1 Cor. xi, 10, and with Rev. ii, 1, &c, and my remarks on these texts.

Chap. vi, 9. 'They that are determined to be rich'—10. 'For the love of money is the root of all *manner of evils*.' I think the present version ('of all evil') too absolute: covetousness is not the root of much sensual indulgence, certainly!

Ver. 20. 'Oppositions of science.' The contradictory propositions of science, falsely so called.

2 Tim. i, 6. 'I take this occasion to remind thee of the duty of rekindling (*anazopurein*) the gift of God's grace that is in thee; *which came* with the putting on of my hands upon thee.'

The mere putting on of *Paul's* hands (as Paul) could not confer the gift of grace on his convert, and son in the faith. The act designated him publicly (*and in concert with the presbytery*, 1 Tim. iv, 14) to a service on which God, who is faithful to his own ministers, and their ministrations, conferred in consequence the grace required for its successful exercise. Note this, Friends!

Ver. 9. 'According to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus *before the world began.*'

The Greek is, *pro chronōn aiōniōn*: 'before the everlasting ages.' Surely this goes back further still—but who shall undertake to explain it? It is not for us poor purblind mortals to search out, and define, and describe the operations of Infinite power and goodness; or to lift up our thoughts to the height of those purposes; or the manner of their being before HIM, who is pleased at seasons, by his *acts* towards mankind, to make them clearly known to us. I have no doubt in my own mind that some, in the Apostolic age, felt that they had been, by Almighty God, *predestined* to the part they bore in his service; not for their own sakes alone but for the sake of others. The conduct of an individual, thus prescribed and overruled, becomes the means of an Everlasting benefit to millions of those who come after him. Let us wonder and adore!

Ver. 15. 'Thou seest this: how all those *people* in Asia are turned away from me.' He surely did not mean that all the believers in the several churches of Asia had deserted him: but probably certain persons then before the view of his mind, and known to Timothy also.

Chap. ii, 8. This verse is literally thus, 'Remember Jesus Christ, raised again from the dead, of the seed of David, according to my gospel.' It seems to me to be the *Saviour*, not the doctrine, that the preacher was to remember.

Chap. iii, 1. 'Difficult times.' In the Greek, *kairoi chalepoi*: pinching times: a period of atrocity, an age of desperation!

Ver. 6. The practice of auricular confession to a priest, with the many evils attending it, is here too plainly indicated to be mistaken. But it is not to the errors of the church of Rome alone, that the prophecy relates; but, chiefly, to the morals and opinions in society, of persons pretending to a religious name, but in reality infidels.

Ver. 10. 'Faith' should be *faithfulness*: it is not belief, but practice, that is here treated.

Ver. 12, 13. The Apostle wrote this, at a time when the commencement of the great Apostacy was already before him in prophetic anticipation, with some present indications of the accomplishment. How different from some other of his Epistles: and how does it exemplify his own description of the heights and *depths* the Christian has to pass through!

Chap. iv, 7. 'I have fought a good fight, &c.' The comparison is here with the public games: 'I have gone through the great struggle with honour, I have won the race: I have kept my engagement.' The *figure* is not completed in this verse, for we have the 'crown' of the

victor at the games, in the next: so that I apprehend we must leave *the faith*, (as the term is commonly applied) out of the question. It is however a favourite text; and few will give it up to a Critic.

Tit. iii, 10. 'A man that is a heretic after the first and second admonition reject.' This text is liable to an unchristian and mischievous sense, destructive of all liberty of conscience. May it not be viewed as connected with the preceding verse, in which are mentioned the 'foolish questions' that are apt to cause divisions in a church? A man that is such an heretic, as to persist in strife about these, *reject*: but from what? I suppose, from service in the ministry and in meetings for discipline. We have nothing here, at any rate, about giving him over to the Civil power to be burned! Let the reader turn to what I have inserted from Milton, on this subject: Vol. I. p. 154.

Philemon ver. 20. Relieve my anxious mind by this proof of union in Christ.

Heb. iv, 1-11. A very singular passage; the argument of which is, the danger to hearers of the word—'any of you'—of losing their final rest with God, 'because of unbelief.' The contrast between the mere nominal churchmember and believing hearer, gives occasion to repeated abrupt transitions in the text.

After having said, that the gospel did not profit those in unbelief, the writer begins a parenthesis; 'For we which have believed *do* enter into rest:'—then, resuming the case of the unbeliever, he proceeds with his Scripture proofs, 'As he [the Lord Jehovah] said, As I have sworn in my wrath, If they shall enter into my rest, although the works were finished from the foundation of the world.' Here is a passage, in the present version, very obscure to myself. I would read (if it were possible to admit that the Grammatical construction is now faulty in the Greek) thus: If *they* shall enter into my rest; though they had been working [or the works they do had been doing] from the Creation until now. This would connect well with what precedes and follows, and would make the manner more emphatic. We are not to predicate, surely, of any man's works, as having been *finished* from the earliest possible moment of their being begun! And as to the works of God, it is difficult to shew how it strengthens the phrase, to speak here of them: the pronoun *my* would have been used, had those been in view.

In ver. 6, the argument is resumed, and again interrupted by a parenthesis, extending to ver. 11. The sense, without these parentheses, runs thus: 'Let us therefore be on our guard; lest any be found to fall short of the rest promised to believers. For the gospel was preached, to both believers and unbelievers; but to the latter to no profit, 'not being mixed with faith' on their part. [A remarkable expression: proving the co-operation of the *Energetic word* with the believing *will of man*, in the process of conversion.] 'Seeing therefore that some must enter into this rest; and that they to whom the GOSPEL *was first preached* [note, Reader! in the time of the LAW] entered not in because of unbelief, let us strive, (and that with labour

and toil) to enter in by faith: lest any man fall short of it, after that example of disobedience.'

Here is an inculcation of the doctrine by repetition of the same thought; by which, and the numerous transitions and parentheses, this whole passage of eleven verses becomes involved, and of difficult comprehension. But how and by whom are we to admit the Gospel preached, or the glad tidings of God's rest for his people proclaimed, to the Jews under the Mosaic dispensation? Doubtless it was *in spirit*, and by the Rock that followed Israel, even CHRIST; the same yesterday, to-day and for ever! This is the doctrine of George Fox, and of Robert Barclay; as may appear by various passages in their writings: that the inward, immediate call and revelation of God in Christ, unto his people, is the same thing in all ages; and the object, alike in all, of the Saint's faith. It is the unbelieving state, *as to this call*, that will ever fall short of the rest prepared for the people of God. See Apology, *Prop. II.*

Ver. 12. 'Piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and [as] of the joints and marrow.' This latter figure seems to imply a separating, after a manner which cannot be imitated by human art, the covering from the matter within, and the *soul* from the *spirit*, of the professor of the faith in Christ. For the *person* may be sincere and upright, and his *moral* fruits good—yet with an erring spirit and faulty works; as far as doctrine goes, and *religious* performance, or the want of it. Again, there may be a very fair profession, in which no flaw can be pointed out, in a church nominally Christian; and yet 'the heart of every one of them deep' in that unbelief, and 'the inward thought deceitful'—if not 'desperately wicked.' It is *here* that the word, or Christ effectually preached, does the work of an anatomist indeed!

Chap. vi, 9. Was this, which we call the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, (but without any such address in the *text*) a written discourse, publicly read by the Apostle Paul, in some one of his visits to the Church at Jerusalem—or to some other assembly of his believing countrymen? It is plain that some such particular assemblage of persons is addressed. The whole has more of the air of an *homily*, than any other of the *Epistles*.

In ver. 32 of Chap. xi, we have still the manner of a discourse to persons present; which I consider to have ended with ver. 21, Chap. xiii: and that the short suffix relates either to another *Epistle* (actually short and now lost) or to a copy of the *Homily* sent with it; *in comparison with which*, it is said to be 'a letter in few words.' Let the learned consider how far these conjectures may be entertained. They convey no imputation on the deep and weighty doctrine, no impeachment of the authenticity, of this (to me) very precious writing. *Ed.*

ART. III.—*Derivations and Meanings of Words.*

Fib: *fob*: *fable*: *fabrication*: *fiction*: *flam*.

The Latins must have had, originally, a word answering to our *fib*: since the diminutive of it remains in *fibula*, a buckle or clasp. From *faba*, a bean, we have *fabula*, a fable or tale: and possibly also *fibula*; the spelling being changed along with the use, as is the case in so many words of our own.

The bean is a double leguminous seed, the two parts of which, corresponding in form and size, might naturally suggest the name for the little double fastening for the cloak or shoe: and this duplicity, and the use of the thing, carried into abstract speech, may have given its name to the *fable*. The *fib*, then, is a *double* in speech, to conceal an evil intention; and the fable another, of a more honourable character, to second a good one. The *moral*, which could not with prudence be directly enforced, was thus conveyed under cover of an amusing parable (which every one interpreted for himself) to the conscience or understanding of the hearer. See on this head 'The influence of the Apologue,' in Vol. 2, p. 362 of this work.

The *fob*, on a like principle, is the pocket for the watch or money, which is *fibbed*, (doubled in and concealed) in the small-clothes: and this, together with the button or clasp, is literally a *fabrication* of the workman (*faber* Lat.) But in abstract or figurative speech, we apply this term to productions of the pen; such especially as serve an occasional or temporary purpose, in deceiving individuals, or the public. The *fiction* (from *fin*go, Lat. I feign, or form with the fingers) may claim a better origin, along with the fable: and well-conducted, be not only innocent, but instructive and useful. The prince of all the writers of fiction is, certainly, our Fellow 'Christian' *John Bunyan*.

The *farce* (in common, not theatrical speech) is an absurd fiction, put together out of heterogeneous parts; the *lies* being as distinguishable in it as are the plums in a pudding or sausage, *farcimen* Lat.: from *farcio*, I cram.—

Now for the *flam*;—which Johnson calls 'a cant word of no certain etymology.' I wonder, though, he should not have found its Etymon, in the word which stands next but one below it, *flame*! Flams or '*flim-flams*' (as a certain D'Israeli calls them, who very unfairly put some of my own novelties in the list; an offence, however, which I have forgiven him) are *false lights*, held out to impose on the reading world; as dishonest people have been thought to serve vessels, on a coast with which the Captain *supposes* himself acquainted; that they may become wrecks for *their* plunder. The best preventive of delusion, by these and other fabrications and forgeries, is the sober and right education of the people—the higher classes (who need it much) as well as the lower.

Flatter: *fawn*: *fleer*: *fascinate*.

The first of these is mere French, and came to us, undoubtedly, along with the practice: which is so like that of doing the laundress's office to linen, with a smoothing iron, that I should not doubt the identity of term, as derived from their *plât*, flat. The instrument of

the flatterer is passed and repassed, with the requisite degree of warmth in it, upon the subject of his discourse; till every fold and wrinkle of repugnance at length gives way, and his purpose is obtained! I know not whether it was for fear of this influence, or because he chose to have no equivokes and ambiguities to encounter, or explain too late, that the severe Cromwell preferred to negotiate in *Latin*: but certain it is that the adoption of that Language, for their notes and 'protocols,' would put the several nations of the civilized world more on a *par* in their diplomacy, than they have been heretofore. In *fawning*, it is more the tone and manner than what is said: the favourite (or she who would be such) behaves as does the *pet-deer* (*faon* Fr.) to the mistress who feeds it.

To *flee*, I suppose, is to *off-leer*. We have a pretty numerous list of words, which seem to have this beginning, concealed in the *F*; denoting things or qualities to be avoided, or rejected—terms of vituperation and contempt. *Leer* is a Saxon word, denoting a side glance with an eye somewhat evil: which, sufficiently mixed with contempt, might serve to *repulse* an honest and civil adviser, as well as an impertinent.

Fool: *fop*: *fellow*.

I am afraid I shall not be able to rescue the first of those from the definition of one *fallen*—a man who has egregiously missed his way in conduct. The different etymologies in Johnson are, just the same word in three other languages—not one of which he explains. From this meaning, originally, it may very easily have come to denote one naturally weak in mind. The former is, moreover, the *Scripture* sense of the term.

Fop. 'A word,' says Johnson, probably made by chance, and therefore without Etymology!' I should rather have supposed *the thing itself* to have had that origin—which he thus defines: 'A simpleton' [the fool natural, I suppose] 'a coxcomb' [a man with too much put on his head] 'a man of small understanding and much ostentation: a pretender: a man fond of shew, dress and flutter, an impertinent.' We see how difficult it is, for Learning to get away from itself into common-sense! Let us try if we cannot find the *root* of this weed-like denomination. As *sop* is a toast, or other food *siped* (this word sipe, for wetting gradually, is still in use in some parts of the country; and to *sip* is to wet the lips and mouth without an effort to swallow) so *fop* is a man *fipped* (*ephippiatus homo*) ephipped, as a horse with his saddle and housings, in the gear of the reigning mode; and with the bridle of fashion too in his mouth, lest he should err in a word, and be pronounced vulgar—or (which is as bad, now) *unlike other people*: for these beings know no people beyond their own border.

The Learned, weary of their gibes, undoubtedly gave them this denomination—the unlearned vulgar being content to call him they admired a *smart* fellow; for the meaning of which term see Vol. I, p. 71, of this work.

Frippery (*friperia*, Ital:) worthless clothes, may have been derived in this way from the Greek, as well as the former: *ephipperia* must have been, I think, the original term, and *harness* the meaning.

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PRO PATRIĀ.

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ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrine and practices of the Quakers.*

Continued from p. 330.

A. D. *Treaty of Ryswick*, followed by peace with France : Friends 1697. address the King upon it.

“ A Treaty of peace was concluded at Ryswick this year between England, France, and Holland, whereby the nation was relieved from a long and expensive war, and king William acknowledged by Lewis XIV. as king of Great Britain : who also engaged not to disturb king William in the possession of his realms and government, nor assist his enemies, nor favour conspiracies against his person. Addresses of congratulation hereupon being made or sent up to the king from many quarters, and from most or all other societies of protestants ; this society also, in point of gratitude for the religious liberty they now enjoyed, and to testify their satisfaction in the restoration of peace, presented the following address :

“ To King William the third, over England, &c.

“ The grateful acknowledgment of the People commonly called Quakers, humbly presented.

“ May it please the king,

“ Seeing the most high God, who ruleth in the kingdoms of men, and appointeth over them whomsoever he will, hath by his overruling power and providence placed thee in dominion and dignity over these realms, and by his divine favour has signally preserved and delivered thee from many great and imminent dangers, and graciously turned the calamity of war into the desired mercy of peace ; we

heartily wish that we and all others concerned may be truly sensible and humbly thankful to Almighty God for the same, that the peace may be a lasting and perpetual blessing.

“And now, O king, the God of peace having returned thee in safety, it is cause of joy to them that fear him, to hear thy good and reasonable resolution effectually to discourage profaneness and immorality: righteousness being that which exalteth a nation. And as the king has been tenderly inclined to give ease and liberty of conscience to his subjects of different persuasions (of whose favours we have largely partaken) so we esteem it our duty gratefully to commemorate and acknowledge the same, earnestly beseeching Almighty God to assist the king to prosecute all these his just and good inclinations; that his days here may be happy and peaceable, and hereafter he may partake of a lasting crown that will never fade away.

“London, 7th of 11th Mo. called January, 1697.

“This address being signed, and presented to the king by George Whitehead, Thomas Lower, Daniel Quare, John Vaughton, John Edge and Gilbert Latey, was favourably received by that Prince: who gave signal proofs that he bore no ill-will to any for difference of opinion in religion, if they were honest people. Of which [says Sewel] this may serve for an evidence, that both his watch-maker, and the nurse of the young Duke of Gloucester, were of the Quaker’s persuasion.” (a)

Burnet (who seems not to have been very well pleased with the peace) observes, ‘The most melancholy part of this treaty was, that no advantages were got by it in favour of the Protestants in France. The French refugees made all possible applications to the King, and to the other Protestant allies: but as they were no part of the cause of the war, so it did not appear that the Allies could do more for them, than to recommend them, in the warmest manner, to [the tender mercies of their inveterate oppressor] the King of France. But he was so far engaged in a course of superstition and cruelty, that their condition became worse by the peace—the Court was more at leisure to look after them and to persecute them, than they thought fit to do during the War.’ (b) The Reader may see by referring to p. 146 in my first Volume (note) in what way their condition now became worse than before; and what *Burnet* thought of it.

Thomas Chalkley leaves England on a Religious visit to Friends in Maryland, Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, New England, Rhode-island, Long Island, Nantucket and Virginia: and returns to the Yearly Meeting of London, 1699.

This Friend, who soon became a laborious and useful Minister (and so continued, to his death) was now about twenty-four years of age; but had parents who were members of the Society—had been educated at a Friends’ School, kept by Richard Scoryer near London—had partaken of the sufferings incident to his profession, and through an early experience of judgment for sin and the work of sanctification, had been prepared by the immediate hand of the Lord for his service. Of his schooling he says, ‘I went mostly by myself to the school; and many and various were the exercises I went through, by beatings and

(a) Sewel, ii, 539. Gough, iii, 415.

(b) H. O. T. iii, 20.

stonings along the streets (being distinguished to the people, of what profession I was, by the badge of plainness which my parents put upon me) divers telling me, it was no more sin to kill me than it was to kill a dog.'

As we are to see him again, ere long, as an Emigrant to America, I shall here only add one other circumstance of his youth, recorded in his very interesting and instructive *Journal*.

"About the twentieth year of my age I was pressed, and carried on board a vessel belonging to a man-of-war. I was put down into the hold in the dark, not having any thing to lie upon but casks; and (what made it worse to me) I was among wicked, debauched men; and as we were shut up in darkness so their conversation was dark and hellish. In the morning (for which I longed more than the watchmen) the Lieutenant called us on deck and examined us, whether we were willing to serve the king. He called me to him, and asked me if I were willing to serve his Majesty. I answered I was willing to serve him in my business, and according to my conscience. But as for war or fighting, Christ had forbid it in his excellent sermon on the mount: and for that reason I could not bear arms, nor be instrumental to kill or destroy men. The Lieutenant looked on me and said, 'Gentlemen, what shall we do with this fellow? He swears he will not fight!' The Commander of the vessel made answer, 'No, no—he will neither swear nor fight.' Upon which they turned me on shore. I was thankful that I was delivered out of their hands, and my tender parents were glad to see me again." (c)

A. D. James Blackhouse, of Yealand Conyers, aged twenty-nine, 1697. being committed to Lancaster Castle at the suit of the dean and chapter of Worcester for tithes, dies in that prison, of sickness contracted there.

I have thought fit here to insert the record of the martyrdom, in this cause, subsequently to the 'Toleration,' of 'a man of blameless conversation, a good example, and of great service in divers affairs of Truth.' He died the 13th of the Fourth Month, 1697: his triumphant end is described in 'Piety promoted.' (d)

1698. A Bill is brought into Parliament 'for restraining the licentiousness of the press: the Quakers (on a religious ground) oppose it: the Bill is dropped.

"Some considerations humbly offered by the people called Quakers, relating to the bill for restraining the licentiousness of the press.

"This bill is, they conceive, of the like nature with the expired act, 13 and 14 Car. II. ch. 33, and many inconveniences did attend the subject by it whilst in force, by which the said people were sufferers.

"To prevent the printing and publishing of seditious or treasonable books against the government, and scandalous pamphlets tending to vice and immorality, is the wisdom of all good governments, and must be the desire of all good men.

"But to limit religious books to a license, where the tolerated persuasions are many, they conceive, seems altogether unsafe to all but that whose opinion the licenser is of; who by this bill hath power to allow what he shall judge sound and orthodox, or reject what he shall construe to be either heretical, seditious, or offensive.

(c) *Journal*, &c. of Thomas Chalkley: 5th Edit. 8vo. London, 1791. p. 2, 7.

(d) *Piety Promoted*, 3rd Part: or Vol. i, p. 277.

"History and experience have taught how the obscure term of heresy hath been turned and stretched against primitive Christians, martyrs, and famous reformers: nor is it forgotten, for what reasons the writ *De Heretico comburendo* was abolished.

"It is no strange thing to have learned men, of the same church, interfere in their opinions concerning several texts of holy Scripture; and it is uncertain, when their opinions come to the licenser, whether the world shall have the best [opinion before it] or no.

"The different apprehensions men have, of divers parts of Scripture, give birth to different persuasions, who yet all make the Scripture the test thereof; which by the kindness of the government being tolerated, they conceive they ought to be left free to defend them from the misrepresentations, prejudice, or mistake of others, without being subjected to the censure of a licenser of a different persuasion.

"They therefore humbly hope that nothing may be enacted that will lessen the toleration, which they thankfully enjoy under the favour of this, as well as the late government." (e)

Controversy with the priests, and with certain persons who had deserted the Society, continues: 'The Snake in the grass' published, and replied to: a dispute is held, on the challenge of some Norfolk priests, at West-Dereham: 'Norfolk Justices and Grand jurors,' with the Corporation of Bury in Suffolk, prepare calumnious and persecuting petitions against the Society; which are suppressed by the Members for those Counties.

The principal instigator of all this was one Francis Bugg, who formerly made profession (but appears not to have been in any esteem) with Friends. The 'Snake in the grass' was the anonymous production of John Leslie, a nonjuring parson—a most virulent High-church spirit. George Whitehead and *Joseph Wyeth* (whom I have not before had occasion to name) with *Penn* and *Ellwood*, sufficiently refuted the charges now brought against the Society—one of which was, 'that the Quakers in their schools did not suffer the children to read the Holy Scriptures!' I must refer to our historians, and writers of that time, for the further subjects and results of these ill-judged and ill-timed attacks upon us. (f)

1689.

Decease of Charles Marshall.

A very valuable and respectable member of the Society, and minister of the Gospel; by profession an apothecary, and for several of his latter years resident in London. He was born in the city of Bristol, in the 4th Month 1637, and carefully and religiously educated; frequenting with his mother the meetings of the Independents, and also at times those of the Baptists. About 1654, he was convinced by the powerful preaching of John Audland, and in 1670 became a Minister himself.

He travelled much in this work, and visited most parts of England: and, (what was at this time remarkable) met with no interruption in his labours by imprisonment,—neither did any man, as far as he knew, lose Five pounds on his account by the Conventicle Act. But he was twice sick, nigh unto death, and passed through many trials of his

(e) Sewel, ii, 540. (f) Sewel, ii, 541: Gough, iii, 417: Ellwood's Life: Penn's Life: Whitehead's Progress.

faith. Once, having the sands to cross near Ulverstone in Lancashire he came, in company with four others, to the sands' side, where they were informed, *by two persons who lived on the other side (and probably were just then come in)* that they might get over in safety. But he found a stop in his own mind, and standing still, he received this intelligence (which he understood to be a Divine warning) *that if any attempted to go at that time they would perish.* In about an hour the sea overflowed the sands, which were several miles over: whence they concluded if they had gone at that time they had lost their lives:—not a very uncommon accident *with the inexperienced.*

In 1674, being at Claverham and on his knees in prayer, some justices came to break up the meeting, one of whom, Francis Paulet (by *Whiting* denoted—'the persecuting justice of Wells') *laid violent hands on him to pull him through the rail of the gallery*; and griped his side so rudely, (haling him out of the house) that he spat blood, and complained long after of the contusion thus received. (g)

He was much exercised in Bristol, about the year 1677, in opposing the separatists under Wilkinson and Story, and setting the churches over them in the authority of the Truth; assisting at a public Meeting held by George Fox with William Rogers, a noted gainsayer;—at which was also William Penn.

He was likewise a sufferer for *Tithe*. Prosecuted in 1682 by John Townsend priest of Tetherington, Wilts, he was arrested and brought before the Barons of the Exchequer, and committed to the Fleet, where he was confined for the space of two years. *The priest, growing uneasy in his mind, came in person to the prison, released Marshall and soon after died.* Upon his release he staid in London, but was frequent in his visits to his native city and other parts of England, as a minister of the Gospel. *Whiting*, in taking notice of this, adds that he owed much to this beloved friend, *as a father in the Truth.* (h)

He died in 1698, in his 62nd year. As his last moments approached, he closed his eyes with his own hand, with composure of mind, (resigning his soul to God who gave it) as one from whom the sting of death was taken away. He wrote a useful Tract entitled 'The Way of Life revealed, and the Way of Death discovered,' which is still circulated by Friends.

A. D. The party attached to Keith decline in America, but are still 1698. troublesome in England. Religious visits continue by Ministers to the Meetings of Friends.

In their Epistle of 1697, to London Yearly Meeting, Friends say, 'Our Yearly Meeting at this time hath been larger than ever; notwithstanding the backsliding and apostacy of divers with Geo. Keith, and the vain endeavours used by them, in their restless state, to divide and trouble us: which the more they attempt, the more the Lord unites us, to his glory and our comfort, and their vexation and torment.' Again, 'Our exercise with the Separatists is much over, here;

(g) Gough iii, 423. Piety promoted, pt. 2nd.

(h) Whiting Memoirs, 167.

only our lamentation [continues] over some of the more simple of them : for whose return we wait, since they have ceased to give us disturbance as formerly: they are at variance amongst themselves.'

(i) The differences appear to have been about Baptism and the Supper (the ordinary splitting points of unsettled Religionists, in their disputes) with the question concerning the lawfulness of oaths. The society in England was too firmly united, on these and other points, for the separate Meeting, and public misrepresentations of Keith to effect any schism in the body: but he continued to be a troublesome adversary, until he had got himself ordained by the Bishop of London (in 1700) and sent as a Missionary in the cause of the Establishment to America—of which fruitless errand of malice I have already made some mention. (j)

The body of Friends in Pennsylvania furnished at this time a number of Ministers, who visited the Meetings in New England: and even from Barbadoes, one came (a woman-friend) to the Meetings on the Continent, and preached among them to satisfaction. A remarkable circumstance *belonging to the following year* may be fitly mentioned in this place: Roger Gill, from England, being engaged as companion to Thos. Story in a visit to the Meetings of Friends on the Continent at the time of a great mortality by the Yellow fever, and being deeply affected by the circumstances of his suffering Friends, prayed in the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia, *that the Lord would be pleased to accept of his life as a sacrifice for his people: that a stop might be put to the contagion.* He went thence to visit Friends of Burlington, and having accomplished that service, returned to Philadelphia, took the fever and died of it; very peaceful in his spirit, and remembering, but not repenting, his free-will offering of himself in that prayer. He said, 'The Lord hath sanctified my afflictions to me'—and when some of his friends spoke of his recovery, he said to them, 'Truly I have neither thoughts nor hopes about being raised *in this life*; but I know I shall rise sooner than many imagine, and receive a reward according to my works.'

Thos. Story represents his ministry as having been exercised in the power of the Gospel, many hearts having been tendered by it and souls comforted, and several convinced:—nor was he a man subject to be carried away by undue transports. *The sickness ceased in a little time after his death:* of the awfulness of which, while it prevailed, Thos. Story writes as follows.

"Great was the majesty and hand of the Lord—great was the fear that fell upon all flesh! I saw no loose, or airy countenance; nor heard any vain jests, to move men to laughter—nor witty repartee, to raise mirth—nor extravagant feasting, to excite the lusts and desires of the flesh above measure: but every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled, and countenances fallen and sunk; as such that waited every moment to be summoned to the bar, and numbered to the grave. But the just appeared with open face, and walked upright

(i) Gough, iii, 512.

(j) See Vol. I. p. 147.

in the streets, and rejoiced in secret in that perfect love that casteth out all fear: and sang praises to him that liveth and reigneth, and is worthy for ever! Being resigned unto his holy will in all things—saying, ‘Let it be as thou wilt, in time and in Eternity, now and for evermore.’ Nor love of the world, nor fear of death could hinder their resignation, abridge their confidence, or cloud their enjoyment in the Lord!” (k)

I have mentioned, in my account of Thos. Story, the seizure (in this year) of the horses of Will. Penn and his companions in a religious tour in Ireland. After this interruption, being joined by John Vaughton and Sam. Waldenfield (both Ministers in the society) from London, they held a meeting in the county Tipperary, at *Cashel*: which was crowded by a multitude of people of various notions and ranks. The Bishop, alarmed at the appearance of things, sent the Mayor and his officers to disperse the Meeting which was attempted—but Will. Penn, (who had been detained from the early part of the gathering) found out the Mayor, and respectfully requested of him, to go and let the Bishop know he would wait upon him at his own house after Meeting, desiring his patience till then. Upon his doing so (accompanied by two or three friends) and expostulating upon this infraction of the Toleration-act, the Bishop treated him in a friendly manner; but stated that, upon going to Church that morning as usual, he found nobody to preach to but the Mayor, church-wardens, some constables and the walls—the *people* being all gone to Friends’ Meeting: ‘which I confess (said he) made me a little angry, and I sent the Mayor and Constables with that message [in the *king’s* name, though] in hopes by that means to procure a greater auditory: though I have no ill-will to you, or those of your profession.’ They parted in seeming friendship, but the Bishop took care to represent the matter to the Lords Justices, as an affair of intimidation to himself *and the town*, from the number of *armed papists* present: a misrepresentation which Penn was informed of by the Lords Justices at Cork soon after, and refuted it. (l)

A. D. Decease of John Crook (Ex-Justice of peace) a Minister in 1699. the Society.

“He was a man of literature, of a good estate and rank in life, and in the Commission of the peace for Bedfordshire, where he lived. He was convinced, by the ministry of William Dewsbury, in 1654, about the 37th year of his age: soon after which his Commission was taken away.

“Through faithfulness to the Truth—he became deeply experienced in the work of sanctification, and in the mysteries of the kingdom of Heaven, whereby he was made an able minister of the Gospel—and was careful to adorn his ministry by a circumspect conversation coupled with the fear of the Lord.

“While the state of his health admitted it, he travelled for the edifying of his Friends in different parts of the nation, but mostly in

(k) Story’s Journal, p. 221, 223, 225, 227. Gough, iii, 516. (l) Gough, iii, 467.

Bedfordshire and counties adjacent; and was instrumental to the conviction of many, of the truths which he had to deliver: but in his latter years, being disabled from travelling by a complication of painful maladies, he resided at Hertford, and spent much of his time in that town and county." (m)

Beside his affliction by the stone, &c., he had much to endure in the conduct of some of his children—under which he would comfort himself with the words of David, 'Altho' my house be not so with God, he hath made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things and sure.' His patience was very remarkable, and he made the best use of his bodily infirmities; saying that the furnace of affliction was of good use, to purge away the dross and earthly part in us—and that, did he not feel and witness an inward power from the Lord to support him, he could not subsist under his pains, they were so great. When the extremity of his fits was over, he would express his inward joy and peace, that he had with the Lord.—He finished his course the 26th day of the Second Month, 1699, in the Eighty-second year of his age.— (n)

I have shewn, in different parts of this work, the courage and conduct of this witness for the truth, under the provocation and suffering of great injustice, in Courts of Law. He was ten times in prison for his testimony; and at length premunired. He wrote various Epistles and other pieces, which are extant in an 8vo. volume of 416 pages.

At the close of an account of 'what doctrine he preached' which seems to have been annexed originally to his 'Truth's Principles' occur some distinctions in doctrine, which I think fit to insert here in a few Extracts.

"I always believed and taught, that neither the Pope, nor his Priests, or any other man or men, have power to pardon sins, past, present, or to come, or to give indulgences for sin; or that their doctrine of purgatory, or prayers for the dead, were according to truth; but quite contrary to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and contrary to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles.

"And I do not, nor ever did believe, that the church of Rome, or the papal church, is the true church, out of which there is no salvation; or that the Pope, or see of Rome, hath any authority derived from Christ Jesus, or any of his apostles, to be head of the true Catholic church; or that he, or the see of Rome, jointly or severally, have any jurisdiction or supremacy over the said Catholic church in general, or myself in particular; or that it belongs to the Pope, or authority of the church or see of Rome, to be sole Judge touching matters of religion, or sense of holy scriptures; or to command the least tittle of doctrine or discipline, merely from his or their own power and authority, without warrant or license from the Holy Scripture; he or they, in their so commanding, is not only tyrannical, but Antichristian, and repugnant to the royal office of Christ: and such I believe to be his and their doctrines of transubstantiation and elevation, and worshipping of the host or wafer after consecration, with the using of their cream and spittle, and their penances upon their confession to a priest; and all the rest of his and their inventions whatsoever I ever did, and still do deny; and abhor the same, as false and contrary to true Christian religion."

(m) Gough, iii, 434.

(n) Piety Promoted, pt. 2.

“ I believed and preached the truth of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, beginning my declaration most times with scripture sentences, as moved by the Holy Spirit ; not daring to open my mouth, until I was inwardly satisfied, and believed that these were the words, given me of God to speak to the people ; where, by his providence, he ordered me to preach the everlasting gospel, according to the assistance of his Holy Spirit ; which [preaching] was sometimes longer, and sometimes shorter, as the Spirit of God enabled me, and gave me utterance.

“ I never wanted assistance suitable to the service God called me unto, as my will and mind was subjected to the orderings of this Spirit ; freed from all fore-thinkings, or forecastings how to begin, or what to say, or how to go on when I was begun ; but the more passive I was, the greater enlargements I had, with the sweetest inward contentment of soul, and yet in deepest abhorreny of myself at the same time ; finding it always safest and best, both for my own preservation, and blessed success and effect upon the auditory ; not daring to give way, or yield to, the least tickling applause, praise, or commendation, either arising in, or from myself, or from any others : but still felt an inward cry to my God, to keep me poor and humble ; and mostly when I was poorest in spirit at the beginning of the meeting, [so] as I thought none so poor and empty as myself, then I was most assisted, and the meeting most refreshed ; and in my spirit, at that time, I was commonly as poor and empty when the meeting was ended, as I was before it began.

“ I believed and taught, that there are those in our days, that do speak and write from a measure of the same spirit which the prophets and apostles had ; yet neither believed nor taught, that either myself or any other, were to be equalized unto them, either in our speaking, or writings ; either in the same degrees, discoveries, or attainments : as it pleased God to make them his instruments, in delivering those holy records and oracles of his mind and will (contained in the Holy Bible) for an universal service unto the children of men ; so far, as by the providence of God, their writings came to be spread abroad in the world.—

[Follows, a passage on the authority and use of Holy Scripture which, though supported by the authority of Chrysostom, the *Editor* does not insert ; as being too liable to a wrong interpretation, tending to set Mysticism above the written word.]

“ Nevertheless, I believe that the Holy Scriptures ought to be received upon the authority of the Spirit, evidencing the truth thereof unto the conscience, and not only upon the bare authority of any church or council whatsoever. Theodoret, Hist. lib. 2. chap. 7. saith, ‘ The evangelical, apostolical, and prophetic oracles, do plainly instruct us by a touch or feeling of their majesty or divine power.’

“ And that neither any visible church (so called) or any outward councils, have authority or dominion over true believers’ faith towards God ; because this doctrine that they have authority over other men’s faith, is not only contrary to Scripture, which testifies the apostles had no such authority or dominion, 2 Cor. i, 24 ; 1 Pet. v, 3, but also brings a dangerous influence upon our belief, to subject our faith to human resolutions.

“ I believe that without supernatural grace there is no salvation : for although that which is called good-nature be, as it were, an excellency of the first creation, and hath such a delightful union with itself in others, which is as like to the union of the measure of grace as may be ; yet, it being but of the first creation, cannot of itself bring man or woman into the happiness and bliss that appertains to the new creation, or world to come ; yet its worth is such, that a little grace easily commands it, while that which is commonly called ill nature, will hardly be ruled by a far greater measure.

“ That nature and grace are of different natures or kinds ; for that good-nature seldom alters, except by some great outward trial or inward conflict ; whereas supernatural grace often causes inward disturbances, by reason of its opposition

to every thing of a contrary nature to itself: but it is greatly to be feared, that this good nature, I have been speaking of, is too much taken for, and believed to be, the supernatural grace; especially where this Divine Grace is not arisen in the heart, or come into dominion, to bear some rule in the understanding, and authority in the inward parts.

“That the new creature or new creation, spoken of in the Scripture, partakes of the Divine Nature; which is Christ the image of God, also called Christ formed in us by the divine power, 2 Pet. i, 3, 4. compared with Gal. iv, 19, which is something substantially in the regenerate, whereby they cry and call in their hearts after God, and after all those things that are well pleasing in his sight; the life or spirit of his Son in them being plainly and frequently heard within them, leading and guiding this new man, as it were, by the rule of its own nature, according to Gal. vi. 16. which the truly regenerate experimentally find to be much more than mere qualities or habits, as some imagine; for by faith in its divine power, they do enter into that rest which remains for the people of God, spoken of, Heb. iv. 9. Such as are entered into this rest, have also ceased from their own works, as God did from his, when he rested from the creation on the seventh day, and sanctified it. So, by following the guide and rule of the new creature, the regenerate labour against all that would hinder their entrance into this gospel-rest: as, not to do their own works, nor to speak their own words, nor think their own thoughts on this Sabbath day, but still remember to keep it holy, lest they fall short by unbelief; for the Word of God within them, is quick and powerful to make it manifest, when any distrust or negligence is given way to; and that word pierces, to the dividing asunder of the soul and spirit, &c. and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart. All things are manifest in his sight, and open and bare before his eyes with whom we have to do.” (o)

1699. William Penn removes with his wife and family to Pennsylvania.

On the 5th of the 1st Month 1695-6, William Penn consummated his second marriage (at Bristol) with Hannah, daughter of Thomas Callowhill, and grand-daughter of Dennis Hollister, an eminent man of that city. She was a sober and religious young woman, with whom he had a comfortable cohabitation during the rest of his life, and had issue by her four sons and one daughter. In the 2nd Month, 1696, his eldest son by his former wife, named Springett, died of a consumption at Worminghurst, in the 21st year of his age—a most hopeful and promising young man: whose character, published together with that of his mother by the afflicted (yet rejoicing) husband and father, may be found in his Life, prefixed to his works in folio (p. li.) as also in the First part of ‘Piety Promoted.’

With this connexion (now of some standing) the Proprietary went once more to his Government, his known purpose being to spend the remainder of his days among his people: and he took leave, accordingly, of his Friends in Europe, by an Epistle of Farewell to the people of God called Quakers, &c. dated the 3rd of the Seventh Month (Sept.) from Cowes Road, Isle of Wight. (p)

He sailed on the 9th, and was nearly three months at sea: the tedious length of time, thus consumed, being to him and his company a Providential preservation from the danger of the Yellow-fever; which was

(o) Crook's Works, entitled ‘The design of Christianity, &c. Life,’ p. xxx.

(p) Penn's Life, lv.

over by the time they arrived. On landing at Philadelphia, he was received with the universal joy of the inhabitants.

“ Soon after his arrival he met the assembly: but it being then a very rigorous season, in the winter, much public business does not appear to have been transacted. [Two laws were however passed, for the prevention of piracy and illicit trade, the reported prevalence of which had given uneasiness to the Government at home.] In the 1st Month of the following year, William Penn laid before his Friends at their Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, his concern for the welfare of the Indian natives, and the Negroes among them: ‘ exhorting and pressing them to the full discharge of their duty, every way, in reference to these people; but more especially in regard to their mental part: *that they might, as frequently as possible, have the advantage of being duly informed in the true Christian religion.* Hence a meeting was appointed more particularly for the Negroes, once every month: and means were used to have more frequent meetings with the Indians—William Penn taking part of the charge upon himself, particularly the manner of it, and the procuring of Interpreters.” (g)

The presence of the Proprietary and Governor at Philadelphia, during the remainder of his life, might have been productive of results not very easy for us, now, to appreciate. That the interests of *Religion*, considered as a means appointed by the Allwise God for the moral improvement of his creatures, and the subordinate *Civil* welfare of his province, would have been essentially promoted by his administration, there is every reason to believe. Nor can we admit, that those of the Mother Country would in any respect or degree have been deteriorated, WAR alone (that pest and scourge of the human race) being left out of the question. But the time was not, as yet, for the full trial of the experiment of a pacific policy, administered in the spirit of the Gospel of Christ—the working mind of this truly great man had done much, and the fruit remained for the generations following: he was however in great measure prevented from seeing it with his own eyes.

The selfish and jealous policy of the Government at home was, not to suffer these Proprietary governments to grow too considerable: but, as soon as it became worth the charge, to invade them under pretence of advancing the Prerogative, and conferring security on the colonies, and get them annexed to the Crown. And no sooner was William Penn’s back turned to go to his province, than machinations to this effect followed the vexations on account of his religious profession, to which he had been before subjected.

A. D. 1700. A public Collection being set on foot for the redemption of the English captives in the states of Barbary, Friends encourage their members to contribute; *but redeem their own.*

I shall insert entire the Yearly Epistle of 1700, containing this advice; both as a specimen of these documents, and on account of various objects of which it treats; serving to shew the nature and

(g) Proud, i, 423.

extent of the care, now exercised by the body towards its members, in all parts where they might be found.

In the early times of the Society, many of its members were sea-faring men; and to such (of whatsoever religious profession) it was no rare thing to be taken at sea, by the Algerines or other *corsairs*: who continually scoured the Mediterranean (and ventured occasionally beyond its limits) to make prize of merchant-ships, and consign their crews to slavery. I cannot better state the case of the Friends so enslaved, and do justice to the care of the society in their behalf, than by some Extracts from the *Yearly Epistles*.

1682. "[Mention of] 'a new Meeting even among the captives in Algiers, where one Friend has a public testimony among them.' 1683.—'And we understand that Friends keep up their Meeting in Algiers in Turkey.' 1684.—An account being given by a meeting here, ordered to inspect the accounts for Friends that are captives in Algiers, &c. intimating that what was charitably contributed formerly towards their redemption, and left for that service, is, in a great part, expended for the redemption of many, and the rest thereof is well-nigh engaged for the redemption of several friends more, that have long remained captives; some whereof have been under extreme hardships, as violent beating and other cruelties, by their patroons:

"These things tenderly considered, a collection for their redemption was proposed, and unanimously agreed upon, by this Meeting, that the same should be, and is hereby, tenderly recommended to the Quarterly Meetings of Friends in their respective counties throughout England and Wales; and that the same likewise be, and is hereby, recommended to Friends in Ireland, Scotland, Barbadoes, and Jamaica; to afford their Christian and friendly assistance in contributing to the same service. And what shall be contributed for this service, to be returned to William Shewen, John Dew, William Chandler, Charles Bathurst, Theodore Ecclestone, and John Edge, or any of them, in London.

"And although, dear Friends, we are not insensible that many families of faithful Friends in this nation are greatly oppressed, and exposed to suffering and spoil at this time, for truth's holy testimony and the name of Jesus, and thereby disabled to help others in distress; yet, considering that the suffering at present falls not so heavy upon many others, whom the Lord has replenished with outward substance, which he has made them stewards of, we hope the Lord will open their hearts, to consider the calamities and extremity of the said captives and sufferers.' 1685.—'And, concerning our Friends that were captives in Algiers, the care and diligence of Friends here entrusted in that affair hath been such, that several Friends have been redeemed and come safe home since the last Yearly Meeting, and have very honestly, tenderly, and thankfully acknowledged Friends' care and kindness towards them. And, as to those that yet remain captives, Friends are taking the same care for their redemption also, which it is hoped will shortly be accomplished. And Friends here, being sensible how the Lord hath supported them in their faithful testimony for his name, and under their deep afflictions that they have suffered, in that dark place of captivity in Algiers, are greatly comforted and satisfied in their Christian care, and charity on their behalf.' 1686.—'And as concerning Friends that were captives in Algiers, we let you know they are all redeemed except one; who we hope shortly will also be here. *But several Friends are now captives in Sallee*; for whose redemption Friends are taking care, and hope in time to effect it.' 1687.—'Also we thought meet hereby to acquaint you, that all our Friends (except Roger Udy) that were late captives at Algiers, are redeemed and set at liberty, to their great relief, and comfort of them and their relations and distressed families; wherein Friends' care has greatly tended to the strength and establishment of the sufferers in the truth, engaging their hearts to return thanks to God, and tender acknowledgments to Friends, for their love and

care concerning them. But, as concerning the Friends, who are captives at Mequinez (taken by the Sallee-men,) although a great concern and care hath been, and is, upon Friends here about them, and great endeavours used for their redemption, yet no way is found open at present for the accomplishment thereof; only Friends here have found out means to convey some relief to them in their necessities, which they are careful of.

“The number of the captive Friends in Mequinez is now ten; that is to say Joseph Wasey, John Bealing, and Joseph Harbin, who being taken and carried captives thither found two English captives there, who were convinced of Truth in their captivity, before the said three Friends came thither: And five more English captives are convinced since, and they live in great love and unity one with another. The said two Friends have wrote over to Friends here a large, tender, and sensible letter, testifying their fellowship and unity with Friends, and acknowledging their love and charity to them in their bonds and necessities. We understand that the people they suffer under are more barbarous than the Turks in Algiers: from whose great oppression and cruel hands we pray God in mercy deliver them, if it be his blessed will. 1691.—‘There yet remain nine English Friends captives at Mequinez, and three at Murbay; who have received the truth there (it being three or four day’s journey distant), who correspond with each other by letters. One Friend (to-wit, Joseph Wasey) being lately redeemed, and newly come over, gave a large account to this Meeting of their miserable hard usage in captivity; having no lodging but under arches, in deep places on the cold ground, winter and summer; only water for their drink; and no bread allowed them by the king, but of old rotten stinking barley; and no clothes, but a frock once in two years; and forced to hard labour (except three days in a year); and more especially on the sixth day of the week (which is their day of worship) they are compelled to carry heavy burdens on their heads, running from sun-rising to sun-setting, with brutish black boys following with whips and stripes at their pleasure. Many of the other captives perish and die, through their extreme hardships, and want of food to sustain them: as in all likelihood Friends there had, if Friends and their relations here had not sent them some relief: sevenpence a month, formerly allowed them by the king, being now taken from them. Their sufferings are lamentable; yet the Lord’s Power has wonderfully preserved them, and greatly restrained the fury and cruelty of that Emperor towards poor Friends there; in whose behalf the said Joseph Wasey did, by an interpreter, speak to the said Emperor; giving him an account of their innocent conversation and religion; which he heard with moderation; though he often kills men in cold blood at his pleasure.

“Joseph Wasey also signified, that Friends’ day-time being taken up with hard servitude, they are necessitated to keep their meetings in the night-season to wait on God. And that the aforesaid captive Friends were very thankful for the relief sent from hence; which was very refreshing to them.’ 1692.—‘Several letters from Friends, who still remain in their long and sore captivity in Mequinez, to divers Friends here, were read: intimating the state of things with them, and that they received our Epistles from our last Yearly Meeting; and acknowledged Friends’ love and diligence here in labouring for their ransom: that since the last Yearly Meeting, the Lord hath delivered three of them, by death, out of their great misery and servitude; who ended their days in great content and peace: their names are John Bound, Richard Nevet, and Thomas Harrell. The distressed case of the remainder of them (as last year signified) is still before Friends; and divers are engaged, in the love of God, to use their endeavours for their ransom.

1698.—‘We also understand that divers of our Friends, who were captives at Mequinez and suffered great hardships there, are dead: and there yet remain five, for whose ransom great endeavours have been used, but it is not yet effected.’ 1699.—‘Earnest endeavours have again lately been used for the liberty of our Friends, captives in Barbary, though not as yet obtained: and there being at this

time some negotiations on foot, by the tenderness and care of the government, for the redemption of all the English there; and though the persons in Barbary, employed therein by Friends, do wait some time to see the effect of that; yet we shall continue our further endeavours for their discharge; and, in the mean time, have and do take care to send them supplies for food; they having little allowance, in that country, of any thing to support their bodies under the great severities of labour, and undeserved stripes that captives often endure. Also, further direction by this Meeting is given on their behalf [to the Meeting for Sufferings.]”

Epistle of 1700. “To the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends in England, Wales, and elsewhere. From our Yearly Meeting, held in London, from the 20th to the 24th of the Third Month, 1700.

“Dear and well-beloved Friends and Brethren in Christ Jesus,—We tenderly salute you in his dear love and life, whereby we were made alive unto him, and hitherto helped and preserved, to be a peculiar people to his praise and glory, who hath called us out of darkness into his marvellous light. Blessed be his glorious name and power for ever!

“And, as his living presence and word of life hath been felt among us, to our edification and comfort, in these our solemn assemblies, our souls’ fervent desire is, that you may enjoy and partake of the same in all your assemblies, to engage and to confirm you in faithfulness to the end: that a crown of righteousness and glory you may inherit for ever.

“The things following are, in true brotherly love, briefly recommended to you for your information concerning truth’s progress and prosperity; as also, for your tender consideration and Christian care.

“This Meeting hath had divers good accounts from the several counties both in England and Wales, as also by Epistles from Friends in foreign parts (as Scotland, Ireland, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Rhode-Island, Bermudas and Holland,) importing the prosperity of truth, and increase of Christ’s government and peace, of which there shall be no end: howbeit, that our Friends at Dantzick are under sufferings for truth and their testimony thereto; and our Friends at Frederickstadt under some hardships, and their lives have been under apparent dangers, occasioned by the war in those parts; for whose relief care is taken, as occasion shall require.

“Friends’ care is also continued for the redemption of our friends that are captives in Barbary; and (as was hoped) the King has now agreed for the ransom of all the English captives there; and agents are arrived from thence, in order to receive the said ransom. And, although now, as heretofore, Friends have acquainted the government that they intend to redeem our Friends at their own charge, nevertheless Friends are so far willing to encourage a public collection for the said service, that, when the collectors shall come with the briefs to Friends’ houses, we hope Friends will be inclined to extend their charity, in common with their neighbours, towards the redemption of the other English captives.

“Concerning the present sufferings of Friends in this nation; First, by imprisonments.—Notwithstanding ten have been discharged since last year, forty remain prisoners, mostly for tithes, by priests and impropiators. Secondly, By goods taken away:—The accounts now received amount to above £4700, most of which is on the account of tithes. And, as we have formerly advised that you keep exact and true accounts of all your sufferings for conscience sake, both by distresses, sequestrations, and imprisonments, that we may be capable to give a true account thereof to the government, when necessity requires; so also, that care be taken to give speedy account, when any Friends are discharged from imprisonments, or proceedings against them stopped, and how, and by what means (the want of which hath given much needless trouble to Friends here); so we intreat you to be more careful therein for the time to come.

“Also it is the earnest desire of this Meeting, for the Lord’s sake, the honour of his name and truth, and the good of our posterity, that a godly care be taken by you for the due education of Friends’ children, in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and in plain and modest apparel, and in truth’s language; as becometh our holy profession and Christian religion: and, that all parents be good examples to them accordingly, and prevent and restrain them from the pride of life and corruptions of the world, as much as in them lies.

“Finally, dear Friends, keep all your meetings (as well those for good order, charity, and Christian discipline, as those set apart entirely for the worship of God) in his love, and in the name, power, and peaceable Spirit of his dear Son Jesus Christ, which is the alone true authority of all our meetings; for without him we can do nothing. And, in his blessed power, stand fast in righteous judgment over all unruly and disorderly spirits, that would break in upon the good order and discipline settled amongst us; as well as over all those that seek to lay waste the testimony of truth, and cause the offence of the cross to cease.

“And we beseech you, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and for his sake, as his family and house, let his peaceable wisdom and Spirit bear sway in and among you all, and in all your meetings: and let nothing be done through strife or vain glory, but let all things be done without murmuring and disputings. And all, live in love and peace, be of one mind and one accord; and the God of love and peace will be with you, and bless you in your Christian care and service of love one towards another, for his holy name and blessed truth’s sake.

“Signed in behalf of our said Meeting, by

“Benjamin Bealing.”

In the Epistle of 1702, we find the conclusion of the Barbary concern, as follows, ‘And whereas we formerly gave you some account of the hopes Friends had and endeavours used for the redemption of Friends, captives in Barbary, we now let you know that John King, Richd. Robertson, Thos. Walkedon, Robt. Finley, James Burgoine, Jos. Bigland, (being all of our Friends who remained alive in that long and sore captivity) *have been this year redeemed*: whose ransom hath cost Friends upwards of £480, including one (Geo. Palmer) a Friend’s son, of Pennsylvania, recommended from thence; towards whose ransom they did also contribute. Divers of which redeemed Friends have tenderly and gratefully acknowledged Friends’ love and care of them.’ (r)

ART. II.—*Derivations and Meanings of Words*: Concluded.

Fellow. I prefer the derivation of Junius (as given by Johnson) for this term of companionship, occasionally also of contemptuous familiarity. He makes it out of the Saxon *fe* faith, and *lag* bound (one bound to another by a mutual engagement). The spelling in *Pierce Plowman’s Creed* shews this to be the true Etymology: and I shall here give, for my Reader’s entertainment, and to conclude (for the present) my set of Etymologies, one of the passages in which it occurs, complete. The Minorite Friar speaks to the author of the work (the Reader may judge how truly) for himself, in praise of his Order.

(r) Epistles of the Yearly Meeting: Edit. 1818.

" Certeyn, *felawe*, quath the frere, withouten any fayle
 Of all men upon mold we Minorites most sheweth
 The pure Aposteles liif, with penance on erthe
 And suen (1) hem (2) in sanctite, and sufferen well harde.
We haunten no tavernes, ne hobelen abouten
 At marketes, and miracles we medley us never.
We hondlen no moneye, but monelich faren. (3)
 And haven hunger at the mete, at ich a mel ones.
 We haven forsaken the world, and in wo libbeth,
 In penaunce and poverte, and prechethe the puple
 By ensample of oure liif, soules to helpen,
 And in poverte preien, for al oure parteneres
 That giveth us any good, God to honouren
 Other (4) bel other book, or bred to our foode,
 Other catel other cloth, to coveren with our bones :
 Money, other money worth, here mede is in heven :
 For we buldeth a burwgh, a brod and a large,
 A chirch and a chapitle, with chaumbers a lofte :
 With wide wyndowes ywrought, and walles wel hey
 That mote ben portreid, and paint and pulched (6) ful clene :
 With gay glittering glas, glowing as the sunne.
 And mightestou (7) amenden us with moneye of thyn owen, (8)
 Thou shouldest knely before Christ, in compas of gold,
 In the wyde window westward wel neigh in the myddel,
 And Saint Fraunceis hym selfe shal folden the in his cope,
 And present the to the Trinite, and praye for thy synnes.
 Thy name shal noblich ben wryten and wrought for the nones
 And in remembrance of the, yrad (9) there for evere.
 And brother be thou nought aferd, bythenk in thyne herte
 Though thou conne nought (10) thy Crede, care thou no more
 I shal asoilen the syr, and setten it on my soule.
 And thou may maken this good, thenke thou non other. "

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Notes. (1) suen, *follow* : (2) hem, *them* : (3) go forth like money itself :
 (4) other, *either* : (5) here, *their* : (6) pulched, *polished* or varnished after the
 carving painting, &c. (7) mightestou, *mightest thou* : (8) owen, *own* : (9) yrad,
read : (10) conne nought, *know nothing of* (the complaint with which he came) :
 (11) asoilen, *absolve* : syr, *safely*. Ed.

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BY A FRIEND.

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ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrine and practices of the Quakers.*

Continued from p. 351.

A. D. 1700. *Retrospect of the Society for the past half-century.*

I have now brought this Summary to the conclusion of the *Seventeenth Century*, the middle of which gave origin to the people of which it treats. In that space of time, we have seen a shepherd-boy, the child of obscure but honest and godly parents, drawn forth and travelling extensively, under a most firm inward persuasion of duty, to preach and teach, and give to the people, (many thousands of whom were evidently prepared to receive his testimony,) a new and more practical interpretation of the doctrine of Christ.

That which too many were making merchandize of, and which the generality of preachers exhibited *as a set of notions to be learned exclusively from THEM* (which, in effect, they kept people always learning) *he* was chiefly solicitous they should learn for themselves, of the chief shepherd CHRIST; the life of the redeemed, and light of men. (a) He set forth his matter in great simplicity, sometimes with the Bible in his hand, always with the power and energy of truth; and then usually departed, recommending the people to their free teacher Christ Jesus; taking care however, to shew them *where and how he was to be found.*

(a) John i, 4: 1 John i, 1—7.

His ministry referred them, necessarily and constantly, to Scripture as in use at that time. There were found moreover in many places such as, having already learned in the school of Christ, were prepared (and now soon moved, as he had been) to tell to others what God had done for their souls: inviting them, again, to the infallible teacher, the Spirit of truth in themselves. When these had found each other out, and come together in society (standing as they did on the ground of inward experience, and neglecting ordinances and ceremonies) they had little to differ about among themselves. A fellowship in suffering, as well as in a religious enjoyment of the goodness of God, united them closely together as a body; and they had only to care for the poor, the deprived and destitute by spoil, the sick and those in prison—a work in itself delightful to the well disposed; however sharp the trial which threatened to bring each of them, in his turn, to the want of whatsoever he was thus called to bestow on others.

That *none* should be found, among considerable numbers of such persons, whose zeal might out-run prudence and even charity, provoking, by rude aggressions on the ceremonial ministry and formal worships of the age, an opposition which *Interest* alone would have sufficed to excite, is more than any man acquainted with human nature, and conversant with Ecclesiastical history, can pretend to expect.

They were in many instances (I conclude) providentially left subject to impressions on their minds, taking hold of the conscience as matter of duty, from Spirits really opposed to the Doctrine they professed and taught; and desirous, through such provocations in the spirit, to find occasion to put them down: but the things done under these conscientious feelings, *they plainly did as unto God, the Judge of all*: the acts in question were for the most part morally innocent: the offence was commonly against a teacher and a congregation, whose Christian profession certainly obliged them to any thing, rather than the treatment bestowed on the persons who came thus before them. It was (let us grant) indecent in some of these persons, to behave as they did. There was much of this coarseness in the manners of the age: but the Gospel would have taught patience and forbearance towards them; that they might be admonished in Charity, and rightly informed of the duty of order and submission, and reasoned with in order to their reformation. The matter delivered, however,—what was it? Alas! too often a much needed prophetic warning, or a close expostulation with the Professors of the age; or a strong and bold reproof of a known evil minister. In any case, should not the thing spoken have been weighed, on Christian and charitable principles, before the speaker was violently assailed with fists, and staves and bibles, and cast into prison?

Meetings being at length settled, and the spirits of the prophets thus subjected to the prophets, in a Discipline which has not been excelled by the Institutions of any people, the members of the new Society began to be protected against sudden impulses, and preserved from hasty movements, by the unity of the body: and teaching and preaching now proceeded in a more orderly way. But the secret purpose, as we may reasonably conclude, of Almighty God, to confound

the wisdom of the wise and frustrate the opposition of the powerful, by the acts and declarations of unlettered and despised witnesses, had been accomplished :—*the light was set on the candlestick once more ; and the many began to see for themselves.* In the whole course of the struggle which ensued on their appearance, with a proud Hierarchy backed by the entire Civil power of the country—whether we regard their courage in facing opposition and publishing the truth, or their meek yet firm conduct in Courts of Justice (brow-beaten and threatened as they were by their Judges)—or their patience and constancy in suffering in the Jails, the lazars and pest-houses of the land—or their encounter with the last enemy that Christ subdues for us, with *death* itself ; whether inflicted at once by cruelty, or brought on by lingering disease—in whatsoever light we behold them, we must admit that they were God's witnesses in their day, against the great evil of Ecclesiastical usurpation and exaction—that they filled up their testimony, not loving their lives, unto the death—that *they fought their Country's battle, and in it vanquished one of the prime enemies of its peace!* By faith, then, they endured as seeing Him who is invisible, and forsook Egypt (the land of Spiritual bondage and Ecclesiastical intolerance) not fearing the wrath of the King. Heb. xi, 27, 39, 40 —The 'good report' which they, too, 'obtained through faith,' constitutes by far the most agreeable part of my subject.

A. D. The Government at home, through the Proprietary, endeavouring to lay a *War-tax* on the Pennsylvanians, the Assembly of the province refuse it.

In the course of the preceding year and a half, Governor Penn had met different Assemblies, and passed a body of laws ; (b) the public business being transacted (so far) with much harmony, and to general satisfaction. In the beginning of the Sixth Month (Aug.) this year, having called an Assembly, he laid before them the King's letter requiring '*Three hundred and fifty pounds sterling, towards the fortifications intended on the frontiers of New York.*' They replied by the following Address, viz.

"To William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania :

"The humble address of the Assembly.

"May it please our Proprietary and Governor :

"We the Freeman of the province and territories, in Assembly met, having perused the King's letter, requiring a contribution of three hundred and fifty pounds sterling, towards erecting of forts on the frontiers of New York, &c and having duly weighed and considered our duty and loyalty to our Sovereign, do humbly address and represent, that, by the reason of the infancy of this colony, and the great charge and cost the inhabitants have hitherto been at, in the settlement thereof, and because of the late great sums of money, which have been assessed on the province and territories, by way of impost and taxes, besides the arrears of quit-rents owing by the people, our present capacity will hardly admit of levying of money, at this time. *And further, taking into consideration, that the adjacent provinces have hitherto (as far as we can understand) done nothing in this matter ; we are, therefore humbly of opinion, and accordingly move, that the further consideration of the King's letter may be referred to another meeting of*

(b) "The number of laws passed by the Proprietary during his stay this time in the country was *one hundred.*" Proud i, 424. Note.

Assembly, or until more emergent occasions shall require our further proceedings therein: In the meantime we earnestly desire the Proprietary would candidly represent our condition to the King, and assure him of our readiness (according to our abilities) to acquiesce with, and answer, his commands, so far as our religious persuasions shall permit, as becomes loyal and faithful subjects to do."

The historian of Pennsylvania clearly attributes this measure to the enemies of the Province at the Court of William III. It was a part of the series of despicable vexations, which this too good man and too great Legislator (for a public character in that age) had to endure from the spirits around him: and he seems to have found it necessary, for the preservation of the Government of the province in his own person and family, so far to enter into the measures of the Court as to propose it; though at the cost of the humiliation of repeated refusals. *Proud* very properly remarks here: "The cultivation of peace and civilization, and of the articles of trade and commerce, in which the Quakers were known to excel, must be acknowledged to be no less important and necessary, to render a state happy and prosperous, than weapons of war, and fighting of battles; and these people were then, and have since been still more known, from experience, to practise, as well as profess, those ways and means which excel the latter, so far as the prevention of an evil does the cure of it.

"Moreover, since it is improbable, that people of this kind will ever be very numerous, if we judge of the future by what is past; but that war, and its consequences, will be more likely to prevail among the generality of mankind, so long as the cause of it exists in the human race; so the rarity of such people, their innocence, and known great utility in other respects seem, according to reason, to render them rather objects of encouragement, in their own way, than of oppression, even from the military department itself: but more especially so, where peace is preferred to war:—But, if it should be otherwise, and they should so increase as much to prevail among mankind, then the occasion for war would consequently so much decrease, or be taken away; which would be a happy change indeed."

1701. Treaty of alliance and commerce, between William Penn Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania, in Council, and certain Chiefs representing the Susquehanna, Shawanese, Onondago and Potomack Indians.

This is (if not the most considerable public meeting and conference) *the only Treaty* of William Penn with the Indian natives, of which the particulars are given by the Historians of his time. As to the Meeting under the great elm-tree at Shackamaxon, though a splendid subject for *West's* Historic pencil, and for the praises of Voltaire and Raynal, I have nothing to refer my Reader to respecting it, save what he will find of an original character in Clarkson (c) and the following short notice from my present author, under the date of 1682.

"The Proprietary, being now returned from Maryland to Coaquannock, the place so called by the Indians, where Philadelphia now stands, began to purchase lands of the Natives; whom he treated with great justice and sincere kindness,

in all his dealings and communications with them ; ever giving them full satisfaction for all their lands, &c. and the best advice for their real happiness ; of which their future conduct shewed they were very sensible ; and the country afterwards reaped the benefit of it.

“ It was at this time (1682) when he first entered personally into that lasting friendship with the Indians, which ever afterwards continued between them ; and for the space of more than seventy years was never interrupted ; or, so long as the Quakers, to whom, even long after his death, they always continued to shew the greatest regard, retained power in the government, sufficient to influence a friendly and just conduct towards them, and to prevent, or redress, such misunderstandings and grievances, as occasionally happened between them and any of the inhabitants of the province, &c. A firm peace was therefore, now, reciprocally concluded between William Penn and the Indians ; and both parties mutually promised to live together as brethren, without doing the least injury to each other. This was solemnly ratified by the usual token of a *chain* of friendship and covenant indelible, never to be broken so long as the sun and moon endure.

“ Of this kind of conference he afterwards had many others, and some on a religious account, during both times of his residence in the country. His conduct, in general, to these people, was so engaging, his justice, in particular, so conspicuous, and the counsel and advice, which he gave them, were so evidently for their advantage, that he became thereby very much endeared to them ; and the sense thereof made such deep impressions on their understandings, that his name and memory will scarcely ever be effaced, while they continue a people.”

The present Treaty, with the (to us) almost unpronounceable names connected with it, are found in *Proud's History*, as follows :

“ In the Second-month, 1701, Connoodaghtoh, king of the Susquahanna, Minquays or Conestogo Indians ; Wopaththa (alias Opessah) king of the Shawanese ; Weewhinjough, chief of the Ganawese, inhabiting of the head of the Potomack ; also Ahookassongh, brother to the Emperor (or great king of the Onondagoes) of the Five Nations, having arrived at Philadelphia, with other Indians of note, &c. in number about forty, after a treaty, and several speeches between them and William Penn, in Council, the following articles of agreement were solemnly made, concluded, and the instrument for the same duly executed by both parties, viz.

“ *Articles of Agreement*, indented, made, concluded and agreed upon, at Philadelphia, the 23rd day of the Second-month, called April, 1701, between William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereunto belonging, on the one part, and Connoodaghtoh, king of the Indians inhabiting upon and about the river Susquahanna, in the said province, and Widaagh (alias Orettyagh) ; Koqueash and Andaggy, Junckquagh, chiefs of the said nations of Indians ; and Wopaththa, king, and Lemoytungh and Pemoyajoagh, chiefs of the nations of the Shawanna Indians ; and Ahookassongh, brother to the emperor, for and in behalf of the emperor ; and Weewhinjough, Chequittayh, Takyewsan and Woapraskoa, chiefs of the nations of the Indians, inhabiting in and about the northern part of the river Potomack, in the said province, for and in behalf of themselves and successors, and their several nations and people, on the other part, as followeth :

“ That, as hitherto there hath always been a good understanding and neighbourhood between the said William Penn, and his Lieutenants, since his first arrival in the said province, and the several nations of Indians, inhabiting in and about the same, so there shall be, for ever hereafter, a firm and lasting peace continued between William Penn, his heirs and successors, and all the English, and other Christian inhabitants of the said province, and the said kings and chiefs, and their successors, and all the several people of the nations of Indians aforesaid ; and that they shall, for ever hereafter, be as one head and one heart, and live in true friendship and amity, as one people.

“ *Item* : That the said kings and chiefs (each for himself, and his people, engaging) shall, at no time, hurt, injure, or defraud, or suffer to be hurt, injured, or defrauded, by any of their Indians, any inhabitant, or inhabitants of the said province, either in their persons or estates; And that the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, shall not suffer to be done, or committed, by any of the subjects of England, within the said province, any act of hostility, or violence, wrong or injury to, or against any of the said Indians; but shall, on both sides, at all times, readily do justice, and perform all acts and offices of friendship and good-will; to oblige each other to a lasting peace, as aforesaid.

“ *Item* : That all and every of the said kings and chiefs, and all and every particular of the nations under them, shall, at all times, behave themselves regularly and soberly, according to the laws of this government, while they live near, or among the Christian inhabitants thereof, and that the said Indians shall have the full and free privileges and immunities of all the said laws, as any other inhabitant; they duly owning and acknowledging the authority of the crown of England, and government of this province.

“ *Item* : That none of the said Indians shall, at any time, be aiding, assisting, or abetting any other nation, whether Indians, or others, that shall not, at such time, be in amity with the crown of England, and with this government.

“ *Item* : That, if, at any time, any of the said Indians, by means of evil minded persons, and sowers of sedition, should hear any unkind or disadvantageous reports of the English, as if they had evil designs against any of the said Indians, in such case, such Indians shall send notice thereof, to the said William Penn, his heirs, or successors, or their lieutenants, and shall not give credence to the said reports, till by that means they shall be fully satisfied concerning the truth thereof; and that the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, or their lieutenants, shall, at all times, in such case, do the like by them.

“ *Item* : That the said kings and chiefs, and their successors, shall not suffer any strange nations of Indians to settle, or plant, on the further side of Susquahanna, or about Potomack river, but such as are there already seated, nor bring any other Indians into any part of this province, without the special approbation and permission of the said William Penn, his heirs and successors.

“ *Item* : That, for the prevention of abuses, that are too frequently put upon the said Indians, in trade, the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, shall not suffer, or permit, any person to trade, or converse, with any of the said Indians, but such as shall be first allowed and approved, by an instrument under the hand and seal of him, the said William Penn, or his heirs, or successors, or their Lieutenants; and that the said Indians shall suffer no person whatsoever to buy or sell, or have commerce with any of them, the said Indians, but such as shall first be approved, as aforesaid.

“ *Item* : That the said Indians shall not sell, or dispose of, any of their skins, peltry, or furs, or any other effects of their hunting, to any person, or persons whatsoever, out of the said province, nor to any other person, but such as shall be authorized to trade with them, as aforesaid: And that for their encouragement, the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, shall take care to have them, the said Indians, duly furnished with all sorts of necessary goods, for their use, at reasonable rates.

“ *Item* : That the Potomack Indians, aforesaid, with their colony, shall have free leave of the said William Penn, to settle upon any part of Potomack river, within the bounds of this province: They strictly observing and practising all and singular the articles aforesaid, to them relating.

“ *Item* : The Indians of Conestogo, upon and about the river Susquahanna, and more especially the said Connoodaghtoh, their king, doth fully agree to, and by these presents, absolutely ratify the bargain and sale of lands, lying near and about the said river, formerly made to the said William Penn, his heirs and successors; and since by Orettyagh and Andaggy, Junckquagh, parties to these

presents, confirmed to the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, by a deed bearing date the 13th day of September last, under their hands and seals, duly executed. And the said Connoodaghtoh doth, for himself and his nation, covenant and agree, that he will at all times, be ready further to confirm, and make good the said sale, according to the tenor of the same; and that the said Indians of Susquahanna shall answer to the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, for the good behaviour and conduct of the said Potomack Indians; and for their performing the several articles herein expressed.

“*Item*: The said William Penn doth hereby promise, for himself, his heirs and successors, that he and they will, at all times, shew themselves true friends and brothers to all, and every of the said Indians, by assisting them with the best of their advices, directions and counsels, and will, in all things just and reasonable, befriend them; they behaving themselves as aforesaid, and submitting to the laws of this province in all things, as the English and other Christians therein do;—To which they, the said Indians, hereby agree and oblige themselves, and their posterity for ever.

“In witness whereof, the said parties have, as a confirmation, made mutual presents to each other; the Indians in five parcels of skins, and the said William Penn, in several English goods and merchandizes, as a binding pledge of the premises, never to be broken or violated;—And, as a further testimony thereof, have also to these presents set their hands and seals, the day and year above written.”—

“After this, in the Third-month, the Proprietary having represented to the Council, the great abuses committed in the Indian trade, with the dangers and disadvantages which might arise from thence to the province, and having proposed that proper measures should be concerted, for the regulation thereof and for redressing certain grievances respecting the same, it was Resolved, as absolutely necessary, that some effectual method should be agreed on and used for carrying on the trade by a certain number, or company, of persons, with a joint stock, under certain regulations and restrictions, more particularly in regard to spirituous liquors sold them; which company should use all reasonable means and endeavours to induce the Indians to a true sense or a proper value and esteem of the Christian Religion, by setting before them good examples of probity and candour, both in commerce and behaviour; and that care should be taken to have them duly instructed in the fundamentals of Christianity:—This appears afterwards to have been, in a good degree, put in execution, so far as was judged requisite, or found practicable.” (d)

The Proprietary, being again called to England by the circumstances of his Government, grants, in October 1701, a new *Charter of privileges* to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, and the Territories thereto belonging.

“The Charter of Privileges, granted by William Penn, Esquire, to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania and territories.

“William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereunto belonging, to all, to whom these presents shall come, sendeth Greeting:

“Whereas, King Charles the second, by his letters patent, under the great seal of England, bearing date the fourth day of March, in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty, was graciously pleased to give and grant unto me, and my heirs and assigns for ever, this province of Pennsylvania, with divers great powers and jurisdictions, for the well government thereof.

“And whereas, the King’s dearest brother, James, Duke of York and Albany, &c. by his deeds of feoffment, under his hand and seal, duly perfected, bearing date the 24th day of August, one thousand six hundred eighty and two, did grant

(d) Proud, Chap. xiv.

unto me, my heirs and assigns, all that tract of land, now called the territories of Pennsylvania, together with powers and jurisdictions, for the good government thereof.

“ And whereas, for the encouragement of all the freemen and planters, that might be concerned in the said province and territories, and for the good government thereof, I, the said William Penn, in the year one thousand, six hundred and eighty and three, for me, my heirs and assigns, did grant and confirm unto all the freemen, planters and adventurers therein, divers liberties, franchises and properties, as by the said grant, entitled, ‘ The frame of the government of the province of Pennsylvania and territories thereunto belonging, in America, ’ may appear; which charter, or frame, being found, in some parts of it, not so suitable to the present circumstances of the inhabitants, was, in the Third month, in the year one thousand seven hundred, delivered up to me, by six parts of seven of the freemen of this province and territories, in General Assembly met, provision being made in the said charter for that end and purpose.

“ And whereas, I was then pleased to promise, that I would restore the said charter to them again, with necessary alterations, or, in lieu thereof, give them another, better adapted to answer the present circumstances and conditions of the said inhabitants; which they have now, by the Representatives, in General Assembly met, at Philadelphia, requested me to grant :

“ Know ye therefore, That, for the further well-being, and good government of the said province and territories; and in pursuance of the rights and powers, before mentioned, I, the said William Penn, do declare, grant and confirm unto all the freemen, planters and adventurers, and other inhabitants of, and in, the said Province and Territories thereunto annexed, for ever :

1. “ Because no people can be truly happy, though under the greatest enjoyment of civil liberties, if abridged of the freedom of their consciences, as to religious profession and worship; And Almighty God being the only Lord of conscience, Father of lights and spirits; and the Author, as well as Object, of all divine knowledge, faith and worship, who only doth enlighten the mind, and persuade and convince the understandings of the people; I do hereby grant and declare, that no person, or persons, inhabiting this province or territories, who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God, the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the world; and profess him or them-selves obliged to live quietly under the civil government, shall be, in any case, molested, or prejudiced, in his or their person, or estate, because of his or their conscientious persuasion or practice, nor be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry, contrary to his or their mind, or to do or suffer any other act, or thing, contrary to their religious persuasion.

“ And, that all persons, who also profess to believe in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, shall be capable (notwithstanding their other persuasions, or practices, in point of conscience and religion) to serve this government in any capacity, both legislatively and executively, he or they solemnly promising, when lawfully required, allegiance to the King, as sovereign, and fidelity to the Proprietary and Governor, and taking the attests, as now established by a law made at Newcastle, in the year one thousand seven hundred, entitled, ‘ An act directing the attests of several officers and ministers, as now amended and confirmed in this present Assembly.’

II. “ For the well-governing of this province and territories, there shall be an Assembly, yearly chosen by the freemen thereof, to consist of four persons out of each county, of most note for virtue, wisdom, and ability, (or of a greater number, at any time, as the Governor and Assembly shall agree) upon the first day of October, for ever; and shall sit on the fourteenth of the same month at Philadelphia, unless the Governor and Council, for the time being, shall see cause to appoint another place, within the said province or territories: which Assembly shall have power to choose a Speaker, and other their officers; and shall be judges of the qualifications and elections of their own members; sit upon their own

adjournments, appoint committees; propose bills, in order to pass into laws; impeach criminals and redress grievances; and shall have all other powers and privileges of an Assembly, according to the rights of the freeborn subjects of England, and as is usual in any of the King's plantations in America.

"And if any county, or counties, shall refuse or neglect to choose their respective representatives, as aforesaid, or if chosen, do not meet to serve in Assembly, those, who are so chosen and met, shall have the full power of an Assembly, in as ample a manner as if all the Representatives had been chosen and met; provided they are not less than two-thirds of the whole number, that ought to meet.

"And, that the qualifications of electors and elected, and all other matters and things relating to elections of Representatives, to serve in Assemblies, though not herein particularly expressed, shall be and remain, as by a law of this government, made at Newcastle, in the year one thousand seven hundred, entitled, 'An act to ascertain the number of members of Assembly, and to regulate the elections.'

III. "That the freemen in each respective county, at the time and place of meeting for electing their Representatives, to serve in Assembly, may so often as there shall be occasion, choose a double number of persons, to present to the Governor for sheriffs and coroners, to serve for three years if they so long behave themselves well, out of which elections and presentments the Governor shall nominate and commissionate one for each of the said offices; the third after such presentment, or else the first named in such presentment, for each office, as aforesaid, shall stand and serve in that office, for the time before respectively limited: In case of death and default, such vacancies shall be supplied by the Governor, to serve to the end of the said term.

"Provided always, That if the said freemen shall at any time neglect or decline to choose a person, or persons, for either or both the aforesaid offices, then, and in such case, the persons that are, or shall be, in the respective offices of Sheriffs, or Coroners, at the time of election, shall remain therein, until they shall be removed by another election, as aforesaid.

"And, that the Justices of the respective counties shall, or may, nominate, or present to the Governor, three persons to serve for Clerk of the Peace for the said county, when there is a vacancy; one of which the Governor shall commissionate within ten days after such presentment, or else the first nominated shall serve in the said office, during good behaviour.

IV. "That the laws of this government shall be in this stile, viz. By the Governor, with the consent and approbation of the Freemen in General Assembly met; and shall be, after confirmation by the Governor, forthwith recorded in the Rolls-office, and kept at Philadelphia; unless the Governor and Assembly shall agree to appoint another place.

V. "That all criminals shall have the same privileges of witnesses and council, as their prosecutors.

VI. "That no person or persons shall, or may, at any time hereafter, be obliged to answer any complaint, matter or thing whatsoever, relating to property, before the Governor and Council, or in any other place, but in the ordinary courts of justice, unless appeals thereunto shall be hereafter by law appointed.

VII. "That no person within this government shall be licenced by the Governor to keep an ordinary, tavern, or house of public entertainment, but such who are first recommended to him, under the hands of the justices of the respective counties, signed in open court; which justices are, and shall be, hereby empowered to suppress and forbid any person keeping such public house, as aforesaid, upon their misbehaviour, on such penalties as the law doth, or shall, direct; and to recommend others from time to time, as they shall see occasion.

VIII. "If any person, through temptation or melancholy, shall destroy himself, his estate, real and personal, shall, notwithstanding, descend to his wife and

children or relations, as if he had died a natural death; and if any person shall be destroyed or killed by casualty, or accident, there shall be no forfeiture to the Governor by reason thereof.

“ And no act, law or ordinance whatsoever shall, at any time hereafter, be made, or done, to alter, change or diminish the form or effect of this charter, or of any part or clause therein, contrary to the true intent and meaning thereof, without the consent of the Governor, for the time being, and six parts of seven of the Assembly met.

“ And, because the happiness of mankind depends so much upon the enjoying of liberty of their consciences, as aforesaid, I do hereby solemnly declare, promise and grant, for me, my heirs and assigns, that the first article of this charter, relating to liberty of conscience, and every part and clause therein, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, shall be kept, and remain, without any alteration, inviolable for ever.

“ And, lastly, I, the said William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereunto belonging, for myself, my heirs and assigns, have solemnly declared, granted and confirmed, and do hereby solemnly declare, grant and confirm, that neither I, my heirs or assigns, shall procure, or do any thing, or things, whereby the liberties, in this charter contained and expressed, or any part thereof, shall be infringed, or broken: And if any thing shall be procured, or done, by any person or persons, contrary to these presents, it shall be held of no force or effect.

“ In witness whereof, I, the said William Penn, of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, have unto this charter of liberties set my hand and broad seal, this twenty-eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and one, being the thirteenth year of the reign of King William the Third, over England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c. and the twenty-first year of my government.—

William Penn.”

“ This charter of privileges being distinctly read in Assembly, and the whole, and every part thereof, being approved of and agreed to by us, We do thankfully receive the same from our Proprietary and Governor, at Philadelphia, this twenty-eighth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and one, 1701.

“ Signed on behalf, and by order, of the Assembly, per

“ JOSEPH GROWDON, Speaker.

<p>“ Edward Shippen, Phineas Pemberton, Samuel Carpenter, Griffith Owen, Caleb Pusey, Thomas Story,</p>	}	<p>Proprietary and Governor's Council.”</p>
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In the Instrument for the *Council of State* now constituted I find, beside the six who sign here for the Assembly, the names of *John Guest, William Clark, Samuel Finney* and *John Blunston*. Some or most of these were probably the Governor's assistants at the Treaty of Philadelphia. And, before the Proprietary sailed, he chartered also ‘*the City of Philadelphia*,’ now become a very considerable place, and left by him in a flourishing condition. (e)

In his speech to the Assembly the 16th Sept. 1701, the Governor assigns his reasons for quitting them at this season, and proceeds thus: ‘Government having been our first encouragement, I confess I cannot

(e) Proud i, 451.

think of such a voyage without great reluctance of mind, *having promised myself the quietness of a wilderness*, and that I might stay so long, at least, with you as to render every body entirely easy and safe. For my heart is among you as well as my body, whatever some people may think: *and no unkindness or disappointment shall* (with submission to God's providence) *ever be able to alter my love to the country, and resolution to return, and settle my family and posterity in it.*—*'Revise again your laws: propose new ones that may better your circumstances: and what you do, do it quickly,* remembering that Parliament sits the end of next month: and that the sooner I am there, the safer I hope we shall be here.'—*'I am also to tell you the good news of the Governor of New York's happy issue of his conferences with the five nations of Indians. That he hath not only made peace with them, for the king's subjects of that colony, but (as I had by some letters before desired him) for those of all other governments under the Crown of England, on the Continent of America; as also the nations of Indians within these respective colonies: which certainly merits our acknowledgments. I have done, when I have told you that unanimity and despatch are the life of business, and that I desire and expect [these] from you for your own sakes. Since it may so much contribute to the disappointment of those, that too long have sought the ruin of our young country.'*

The Assembly replied in a dutiful and very affectionate manner. And the *Sachems* of the Susquehannas and Shawanese, and other Indians, being come to Philadelphia to take leave of the Proprietary, he spake to them in Council, and told them that the Assembly was then enacting a law, *according to their desire*, to prevent their being abused by selling of *Rum* among them—to the execution of which he desired they might contribute their utmost exertions among themselves. He recommended to them, to cultivate friendship, in his absence, with those whom he should leave behind in authority; and whom he now charged to continue to be kind and helpful to them. Which being promised by the members of Assembly, the Indians receiving some presents withdrew. (f)

ART. II.—*Fox's Epistles.*

'A Collection of many select and Christian Epistles, Letters and Testimonies, written on sundry occasions by that ancient, eminent, faithful friend and Minister of Christ Jesus, Geo. Fox.' Rev. i, 11: 2 Cor. i, 11. T. Sowle, 1698. pp. 557. Folio.

This Volume contains 420 Epistles and Papers, the titles of which appear in a Table at the end. It is called in the Title-page the 'Second Volume:' probably because the matter of the other, entitled

(f) Proud i, 440.

his 'Doctrinals,' being more readily obtained for the press, had been first published. It has an 'Epistle by way of Preface' by George Whitehead, dated at London, 1698.

The following are the Extracts from this Collection to which I have referred, viz.

1. "Concerning the first spreading of the Truth, and how that many were imprisoned, &c.

"The Truth first sprang up (to us [so] as to be a people to the Lord) in *Leicestershire* in 1644, in *Warwickshire* in 1645, in *Nottinghamshire* in 1646, in *Derbyshire* in 1647: and in the adjacent counties in 1648, 1649 and 1650—and in *Yorkshire* in 1651, in *Lancashire* and *Westmorland* in 1652; in *Cumberland* and *Bishoprick*, and *Northumberland* in 1653—and in *London* and most parts of the nation of England, in Scotland and Ireland in 1654.—And in 1655 many went beyond seas, where Truth also sprang up. And in 1656, Truth broke forth in America and many other places.

"And the Truth stood all the cruelties and sufferings that were inflicted upon Friends by the Long Parliament (to the spoiling of goods, imprisonment and death; and [prevailed] over all the reproaches lies and slanders) and then by *O. Protector*, and all the Acts that *O. Protector* made, and his Parliaments, and his son Richard after him, and the *Committee of Safety*. And after, it withstood and lasted out all the Acts and Proclamations, since 1660 that the King came in. And still the Lord's Truth is over all, and his Seed [Christ] reigns, and his truth exceedingly spreads, unto this year, 1676."

In the remainder of this paper he takes notice of the sufferings Friends underwent on various accounts from these powers. As, in the Commonwealth's and *O. Protector's* [as he laconically styles him] days, for not paying tithes, not swearing, not putting off their hats—and for going to Meetings on First-days: on which occasions they were abused (under pretence of) breaking the Sabbath; and drawn into the Prison-house or into the pen-folds, and their horses taken from them, by those who would ride in their coaches and upon their fat horses to the Steeple-houses, themselves, and yet punish others [for travelling on that day.]

"And many Friends were exceedingly spoiled in the Petty Courts for Tithes, till we got a prohibition and demur out of the King's bench, that then threw the trial of such things out of their Petty Courts, that they might sue for them in the Courts at London. And my desire is that the Lord may open their understandings also (if it be his will) to throw them out of these Courts also. And many books I gave forth against Tithes, and [showed] how the priesthood was changed that took them.—And several books I was moved to give forth against swearing; and [proposing] that our *Yea* and *Nay* might be taken instead of an Oath; and if we broke that, let us suffer the same punishment that they did that broke their oaths. And in *Jamacia*, the Governor granted the thing, and the Assembly: and it is also granted in some other places: And several of the Parliament-men in England

have acknowledged the reasonableness of the thing.—And the Magistrates, after some time, when they saw our faithfulness in *Yea and Nay* (they that were moderate, both before and since the King came in) would put Friends into office without an oath.”—

He then refers to the account given to the King and Parliament of Friends' sufferings, shewing that Eighty-nine had 'suffered till death'—*thirty-two* before, and *fifty-seven* since the restoration. The King, he says, asked the Governor of Dover Castle (about 1671) if he had dispersed all the *Sectaries'* Meetings. The Governor replied he had, but the *Quakers* the devil himself could not. For if that he did imprison and break them up, they would meet again—and if he should beat them, and knock them down, or kill some of them, *all was one, they would meet, and not resist, again.*

“And when the glorious Gospel and Truth was spread over the nation, and they had received the word of Life, then first the *Quarterly* and some *Monthly Meetings* were settled throughout the nation; and then after, as Truth more and more spread, the *Mouthly Mens'* Meetings, in 1667 and 1668.”—

“And then also some *Women's Meetings* were set up and, after, the *Women's Meetings* throughout the nation.—For I was sent for to many sick people. And at one time I was sent for to White-Chapel, about the third hour in the morning, to a woman that was dying, and her child. And after a while I was moved in the name and power of Christ Jesus to speak to the woman; and she and her child were raised up: And she got up, to the astonishment of the people when they came in, in the morning: and her child also was healed. And when I came to Gerard Roberts's house about eight in the morning, there came in Sarah Blackberry to complain to me of the [state of the] poor, and how many poor friends were in want; and the Lord had shewed me what I should do, in his Eternal power and wisdom [instead of expecting relief in these ordinary calls of distress, by the exercise of gifts of healing, and the power of the Holy Ghost, Ed.]”

“So I spoke to her to bid about sixty women to meet me about the First hour in the afternoon, at the sign of the Helmet, at a Friend's house: And they did so accordingly, such as were sensible women of the Lord's truth, and fearing God. And what the Lord had opened unto me, I declared unto them, concerning their having a Meeting once a week, every *Second-day*, that they might see and enquire into the necessity of all poor Friends, who were sick and weak, and were in wants; or widows and fatherless, in the City and suburbs.”—

“And so they blest the Lord for the wisdom of God; that had settled such a Meeting in his power, amongst them.—And this brought them into the practice of the pure religion [James Ch. i, 27] and to visit the sick, and [provide] for the relief of the fatherless and the widow, and to see that nothing was lacking amongst them: and that they, in visiting the sick in the Lord's power and word, through it they would have the wisdom of the Lord and of his creation, and [know how] by

the same power to heal and strengthen, *with the outward things and without them* [according as the need was temporal or spiritual, *Ed.*]"

"Which they have felt prosperous to this day: and great things have been done in their Meetings by the Lord's power, and very honourable it hath been in the eyes of all the faithful, yea and commendable in the world also. G. F." Epist. p. 2—6.

2. Specimen of his *Meditations*, of which there are several in his Journal. This appears to have been penned in the house of correction at Derby.

"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 mercy, Lord of strength, Lord of life and [of the] power over death, and Lord of Lords and King of Kings! [1 Cor. viii, 5, 6, inserted in substance.] 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 others. This nature of lordly praise is head, until subdued by the power of God. For every one doth strive to be above another: few will strive to be the lowest. O that every one would strive to put down [renounce] mastery and honour, that the Lord of heaven and earth might be exalted! G. F." Id. p. 7.

3. Specimens of his Epistles, of which there are 420 numbered: viz. Epist. 1. *To shun ill company*: 1650.

"*Friends*, Forsake the company of wild people, and choose the company of sober men, and that will be creditable in the end. And choosing the company of wild and light people, which delight in vain fashions and ill courses, is dangerous and of a bad report among sober people: for the eyes of such will be upon you: and if they see ye are wild, ye will come under their censure. Therefore love gravity and soberness, and Wisdom that doth preserve. G. F."

Epist. 119. Underwritten *To be read at Meetings*: 1656.

"*Friends*. Wait in the Life, which will keep you above words; and keep your minds up to God, the Father of life; and condemn and judge all them which would have words more than the Life. God Almighty be with you in the measure of Life; that in it ye may grow, and with it your minds may be kept up to him, the Father of life!

"And that all strife may be kept down with the Life, and all light spirits judged down, with that which comprehends the world and judgeth it. So God Almighty be with you all, and keep you in his mighty power up to himself, and condemn all that which is contrary to him and his Light. G. F."

Epist. 134. Margin '*Patience obtains the Crown.*'

"Live in peace all, my dear babes of God, one with another: for Patience, *that* 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 stay and rest.

"Dear Friends, dwell in the Seed of God, and know it in you all, that ye may know it to reign [even Christ] 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."

Epist. 140. '*Concerning collecting their Sufferings:*' 1657.

"All Friends, every where, that do suffer for *Tithe*, and are served with writs to answer at London, take copies of your Subpœnas and Writs, that ye may have them when ye appear, to shew them to the Court: whereby ye may be kept a-top of the persecutors and evil-doers. And keep a copy of all your sufferings for tithes in every County, that it may be laid on their heads that cause you to suffer. And all Friends that suffer imprisonment or are fined, *for not swearing*, keep a copy of your sufferings in every county, and the men's names that cause you to suffer for tithes or not swearing. And all Friends that suffer for not giving money *for repairing of the Steeple-houses*, keep copies of your Sufferings in every county, and *by whom*. And as any are brought to suffer for these things, or for not bowing to any deceit whatsoever, let a true and plain copy of such Sufferings be sent up to London. And such as are moved of the Lord to go to Steeple-houses, and are beat, knock'd down or imprisoned, let a copy of all such Sufferings be sent up as abovesaid, that the things may be laid on the heads of them that caused the Sufferings. And if any be beaten or wounded in going to Meetings, or be struck or bruised in Meetings, or taken out of Meetings and imprisoned, let copies of such things be taken, and sent as aforesaid under the hands of two or three witnesses; that the Truth may be exalted, and the power and life of God lived in. And if any Friends be summoned up by *writs*, or *subpœn'd* to appear personally to answer for tithes, LET THEM DO IT; *that the Truth may stand over the head of the liar*: which may answer the Truth in every one. And as ye are moved be obedient to the Truth, that nothing may reign but the Truth. They that say, 'Ye must appear personally' and when ye appear, say, 'They do not mean so, but that ye must appear by an Attorney, *this is not TRUTH*: this is made up of a lie, and is to be judged by them that dwell in the Truth.

"If any Friends be moved to write to them who cause their sufferings, let them do it: nevertheless let copies be sent of their Sufferings, as aforesaid. And also, any that suffer for not putting off their hats for conscience sake, let Copies be sent up of these things likewise.

"Let this be sent among all Friends, in all Counties in this nation. G. F."

Epist. 141. *To Friends, to gather up their Sufferings and lay them before the Judges.* 1657.

[Too long for insertion after the former: it advises, by implication, that Copies go to the king also.]

Epist. 148. *An exhortation to fervent prayer and steadfast faith in time of the greatest troubles and exercises:* 1657.

"O my dear Friends and brethren every where, Let all your cries and prayers be to the Lord in singleness of heart, in his Spirit and power, and in belief in God, through Christ, to receive what ye pray for! For the Lord's ears are open to the cries of his poor and afflicted ones: So, day and night let your cries be to him, who will keep you in all distresses. For in *your* afflictions Christ is afflicted; and in all *your* imprisonments, he is imprisoned, and in all *your* sufferings he suffereth, and in all *your* persecutions he is persecuted. Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou *me*, said Christ.—And be moderate and chaste in all your families; and in all your imprisonments keep in the Fast to the Lord, which breaks down the bond of iniquity; by which [abstinence from fleshly indulgence] every one's health groweth. And ye may also see how Christ Jesus encourages to pray [Mark xiii, 33: Luke xi, 5-13, and xviii, 1-8, recited]. Here mind the promise of Christ, that doth not change, but will be fulfilled.

"And Christ distinguishes, in a parable, of a Pharisee (who was a public-praying man) and of a Publican, that stood afar off and cried for mercy: which, being in the fear, was more justified than the Pharisee who was in the public praying: So, pray in the *Spirit* and in the *Faith*, nothing wavering nor doubting. And seek and watch in the Spirit, every one in your measures that ye have received, and therein to be preserved: and Christ the Life will open to you, and the Spirit will give you an understanding, and a distinction, of the state of asking and not receiving, and seeking and not finding; and the praying in the wavering and in the doubting, which is not in the Spirit of God. But such ask *in that nature which doubts*, and would consume it on their lusts. So, ask in *faith*, that gives the victory over the wavering, doubting nature: And whatsoever ye ask, believing, it will be given unto you. It is Christ's *promise*, John xiv, 13, 14, 15 [recited]. So, every one's prayers are assured unto them, and their requests effectual, in their obedience, and loving Christ, and keeping his commandments. G. F."

Epist. 153. *To Friends beyond sea, that have blacks, and Indian Slaves.* 1657.

[An appeal in behalf of the slaves to the doctrine of the Universality of God's love to mankind; and an exhortation to masters, *to have the mind of Christ, and be merciful*. His interest in the religious welfare of the blacks and other coloured people, appears in many parts of his Journal: he held Meetings, at different times, with such as he met with, and encouraged Friends to do the like: See his Journal (in an Epistle) p. 658.]

(To be continued.)

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No. LXXII.

PRO PATRIĀ.

1835.

ART. I.—*A Chronological Summary of events and circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the doctrine and practices of the Quakers.*

Continued from p. 363.

A. D. John Richardson performs a Religious visit to Friends in 1700—1. America and the West Indies.

The Journal, or account of the Life, of this Friend (a Yorkshireman in the middle rank of life) exhibits no ordinary character, and is furnished with many instructive incidents and reflections. He was turned out of doors for his Religion by his step-father, a rigid Presbyterian; he choosing to adhere to quakerism, in which he had been born and bred. He was highly spiritual in his views, and quite a 'prophet:' but industrious, upright and independent—and his ministry seems to have been attended with a large measure of power and effect. I have only room for an extract or two, of occurrences in this his first visit (for he made a second in 1731) to Friends in those parts. He embarked the 17th of the Ninth Month 1700, in company with several others. On going aboard a ship in the Thames with some Friends, to enquire and consider about a passage, he declared that he saw nothing but death and darkness there, *and that he must not go in her.* They selected another vessel—and the rejected one was lost, going out, and about seventy people drowned. The Friends arrived safe, after a tedious passage, in Patuxent river, Maryland.

"Now we left the ship and master, who was but a churlish, ill-natured man. I was very weak and low when I landed, both in body and mind, but the Lord

helped me, and made my journey and labours comfortable to many, as well as to my own soul. After the first or second Meeting we were at, John Estaugh being now my companion, as we came near a great house in Maryland, I espied a little white horse, the sight of which put me in mind of a dream I had on board the ship, before I landed, in which I thought I got a little white horse, which carried me well, and many miles; I said to Friends with me, Let us call here at this house, which we did, and upon enquiry about a horse, the man said, He had none but a little white young galloway, as he called it, which he was willing to sell, and withal told us, it carried him one day forty miles, and asked £8 sterling for it, and I bade him £5 sterling; the man's wife coming up the passage, heard what I had offered, and she said to her husband, It is enough: So I had him, and a good horse he proved, and carried me, by a moderate computation, 4000 miles. I took this, according to the nature of it, to be a singular favour from that great hand which led me forth; and hitherto hath preserved me in the land of the living to praise his ever worthy name.

“ Now we set forward towards Virginia and North-Carolina, and found great openness in these two provinces amongst the people, and a tender-hearted remnant of Friends scattered abroad in these wilderess countries: Although as I said before, I was brought very low, yet the Lord, in whom I did, and yet do believe and put my trust, raised me, and filled many times my heart with his word and testimony; so that sometimes it went forth as a flame of fire amongst the loose libertines, who were proud and unfaithful, yet professors of the Truth; and we had many large and good Meetings. One thing is worthy of notice; as I was speaking in a Meeting in Virginia, a sudden stop came upon me, and occasioned me to say, I cannot go forward, whatsoever the matter may be, I know not; but giving over immediately, a Friend, whose name was Edward Thomas, began to preach, who was but young in the ministry, although an elderly man, and apt to be attended with reasonings; but as he said after the Meeting, he had sought to the Lord with prayers, that he would condescend so far to his request, as to give me a sense of him, and in so doing he would take that as a great strength and confirmation to his ministry, in this the day of his many exercises and great fears; or much to the same effect. Thus we see the Lord in his great mercy condescends to the low, weak, and, as it were, infant states of his children, like a tender Father; and being our heavenly High-priest, is touched with the feeling of the infirmities of his people; thanksgiving and honour be given to his most excellent name, now and for ever.

“ During our stay in Virginia, one remarkable passage occurred, which it may not be amiss to insert here, and the case was thus: I being at a Friend's house, an ancient widow, in order to go to the Meeting, observed as I sate in the house, several Persons of note come into the yard (a store-house being near) to make, as appeared afterwards, a seizure for rates for the Government and Priest; they not being distinctly charged, but a mixed Rate, occasions Friends in those parts to be straitened about the payment of them: I observing the Priest to be there, and appear very busy, asked, What he was come about? The Friend replied, They were come to make Distress for the 40lb. per Poll, as they phrase it, which is 40 Pounds of Tobacco, payable for every taxable Head, (i. e. all above sixteen years old.) There were along with the Priest the Sheriff and Constable, for the Government, and divers Merchants of note as spectators; I understanding the reason of their coming, stept out to the Priest, who seemed a topping brisk man, his temper in this case not unsuitable to his name, which was Sharp; and being come to him, I desired him to be careful how he devoured widows' houses; he briskly replied, He did not; to which I as closely returned, That I found he did. He denied my assertion, and said, The Government gave him what he demanded and took; to which I gave the following answer: Inasmuch as he did not anything for the widow, for which he reasonably might require a reward, I believed the Government would not insist upon it for him, if he would be willing to drop

it, which in common equity I thought he should. The Priest, displeas'd with this modest reply, tartly answered, You are no Christians. I told him, The charge was high, and false, and he might more easily affirm than prove it; wherefore I put the question and asked him, Why we were so charged by him? To which he returned this insignificant answer, That we denied part of the divinity of Christ! I told him, He was a novice, and receded in his opinion from most of his brethren; seeing it was a general reflection cast on us by most of his fraternity, That we owned the divinity of Christ, but denied his manhood, which was false also; therefore I demanded of him, to prove what part of the divinity of Christ we denied; in which if he failed, I should look upon him as a false accuser, and those present would, I hoped, be my witnesses: But he shuffled, and declined answering, though I urged him as much as possible; and to cut the matter off, he asked, Whence I came? (The Sheriff bid him give me a verse in Greek; I told him, I mattered not meddling in that, for as the English tongue was best understood by those present, therefore I thought it would be best to keep to it.) I told him, I was of Old England; but still reminded him of proving his assertion, which I looked for from him; but instead of that, he asked, What part of Old England I came from? I told him from Yorkshire; and bid him produce his proofs, as before urged, but he still evading the matter, desired to know from what place? I told him I was born at North Cave; And, said he, I was born at South Cave, and my father was Minister there many years, his name was Sharp, and there is but a mile difference betwixt those places: I said, It was a long one. No sooner was this over, but the Priest, transported with my being his countryman, began hugging me to such a degree, that I was quite ashamed of him: When I had, not without some difficulty, got clear of his embraces, I asked him, If he esteemed himself a Minister of Christ? He answered, yea, and lawfully called thereto; I told him, If he was a gospel-minister, as the gospel was free, so should his ministry be free; and turning to the people there present, I told them, I would not have them deceived, for they might understand he only possessed his place by virtue of a law in that case provided; and his call and ordination was only such as had been transferred upon him for a fee, which made him require pay for what he did, and indeed where he did nothing, which was highly unfair; wherefore they might upon consideration find he was but a minister of the letter, which was dead, and not a minister of the spirit and Divine power: From which he offered not to clear himself, though I urged him thereto. Then I asked him, Which of those odious characteristicks the false ministers were branded with, and deciphered by in the New Testament, he could clear himself of? which I then enumerated to him. The Sheriff said, It was so; and withal said, 'Mr. Sharp, answer the man, for the question is very rational, and you ought to answer him; and for honour-sake clear yourself of those odiums if you can.' But he would not offer to meddle with it; wherefore I told him, To mind for the future, not to charge any man or people with more than he could be sure to prove; for it was highly scandalous. It being now Meeting-time, I asked him to go thither; but he refusing, said, he durst not; so we parted."

Although I have done with *Keith's* case, it may not be amiss here to shew, further, how our Ministers in America were treated by him in his Church-mission thither; and how they sometimes replied: but I will first shew *what place John Richardson had with his Friends at home*, and what he thought of the gift he had, and exercised.

"After a large Yearly-meeting, where were many able Ministers, worthy William Penn, who was one of them, taking me aside, said, 'The main part of the service of this day's work went on thy side, and we saw it, and were willing and easy to give way to the truth, though it was through thee, who appears but like a shrub; and it is but reasonable the Lord should make use of whom he pleases: Now, methinks, thou mayst be cheerful.' From which I gathered, that he thought

I was too much inclinable to be cast down; therefore I gave him this true answer, I endeavour to keep in a medium, out of all extremes, as believing it to be most agreeable to my station; with this remark, the worst of my times rather imbitter the best to me: William shook his head, and said with much respect, There are many who steer this course besides thee, and it is the safest path for us to walk in; with several other expressions which bespoke affection.

“This worthy man, and minister of the gospel, notwithstanding his great endowments and excellent qualifications, yet thought it his place to stoop to and give way to the truth, and let the holy testimony go through whom it might please the Lord to empower and employ in his work; although it might be through contemptible instruments. I sincerely desire this may prove profitable to those whom it may concern, and into whose hands it may come, that the Lord’s work may be truly minded, and given way unto, when it is opened; for seeing no man can open it, let not any strive on the man’s part to shut the same. I have at times seen something of this nature, which hath not been altogether to my satisfaction; a word to the wise may serve, I would hope, and may be sufficient for a caution: for what I have written is in the love of God, and under a concern that hath been upon my mind at times, for some years, to leave behind me a gentle caution to my tender Friends of both sexes, to have an especial care in all things to recommend not only their gifts, but their demeanour in them, as also their conversations after them, to every man’s conscience in the sight of God; so that you may build up the Lord’s house (like the wise woman.) And always have a great care, that nothing you say or do may any way tend to the hindrance of the Lord’s work, or discourage the weakest in the flock of Christ; but labour to fasten every stake, and strengthen every cord of Sion, and as much as you are capable, build up the Tabernacle in Jerusalem; for as God is a spirit, and the soul of man is a spiritual existence, and as the the soul and body of man become sanctified and prepared, as a temple for the Lord by his holy spirit to tabernacle in, the Lord is to such as a sanctuary to fly to, and rest in, from heats and from storms: here is the true church’s rock, and place of defence (to wit) the name and power of the mighty God. Oh! that all the inhabitants of the earth were acquainted with this name, and rock of defence, they would not then be so much overcome, as they are, with the power of the enemy of the soul; but would live above his region, which is in the earth, or rather in the earthly hearts of men. All you who have escaped the pollutions of the world, keep in your tents, until the Lord moves and leads forward, and opens the way; sometimes as in a wilderness.

“Read, and understand from whence these things have their rise and original; for there is the Church’s safety, and its comeliness too in abiding in the truth; this is your place of safety, where the enemy has no power, where the wiles of Satan and inventions of man cannot reach. No enchantment hath power over these, renowned be the great name of the Lord now and for ever!

“How comfortable, how easy and pleasant are even all the books and testimonies, and exhortations, that are given forth in the spirit, love and life of Christ! Yea, the very company and conversation of such who are preserved in the life, becomes a sweet savour of divine life to the living. There is edification, comfort and consolation, a strengthening and building up one of another in the most holy and precious faith! So that I find the truly quickened soul taketh great delight to resort to, and as much as may be, converse with the awakened and truly quickened souls; who take up the cross of Christ daily, and follow him in the way of self-denial, although it be a way that is much spoken against, by such who know not the nature and discipline of the holy cross, and despise such who are the true followers of Christ. To feel this essential virtue, seed or leaven of the kingdom, or salt of the covenant (Christ) to work so effectually to the restoring of the powers and faculties of the soul, into the first rectitude and purity, that all the malignity may be thoroughly purged out, with all the dross or tin, which defileth the man, and makes him unfit for the kingdom and service of God, is a great work.

Neither is the vessel preserved clean, (when it is in degree cleansed) but through great care, watchfulness and diligence in attending upon the Lord, with great devotedness, and resignation to his mind and will in all things: Experience hath taught us, as well as what we read in the holy Scriptures, that there are many combats to go through for such as are engaged in this warfare, before the above-said state, viz. Deliverance from sin and Satan, and a sabbatical or peaceful rest in Christ, can be obtained to the soul.

“Come thou that lovest the light, and bringest thy deeds to the light, and believest in the light; and hast thy body full of light—by keeping thy eye single to God, and in and to all things that may tend to his glory and thy duty, thou wilt become a child of the light, and receive the whole armour of light; this is that which will arm thee, on the right hand and on the left: Put off thy own righteousness, which it may be thy breast hath been too much possessed with, and put on Christ’s righteousness as a breast-plate, for it much emboldens in imminent dangers, and also at approaching death: Wait upon him that hath power, that thy feet may be shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace. So that as the gospel-power, and gospel-ministry, all tend to gather into the ways of the gospel and of virtue, thou mayst not fail to be a preacher of righteousness, in thy walking and in thy whole conversation; for this is one of the good ends for which the gospel-power hath reached and visited thy soul, viz. to purge it and make it clean. And take care to have upon thy head the helmet of salvation, which will be a strength and as a crown to thee; not only in the many encounters, but more especially in thy last encounter with death; and [Oh] that thou mayest have faith as a shield to put on, that thou mayest overcome the world and have victory! And above all things, take to thyself the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; that through this excellent armour of proof, thou mayest be able to quench all the fiery darts and temptations of the devil.

“If thou art a soldier of Christ, this is thy armour; these are thy accoutrements which fit thee for thy vocation, as a follower of the Lamb through many encounters with thy enemies, which armour will give thee the victory, and bring thee through many tribulations; which is the way to the kingdom of heaven.”

The method of George Keith seems to have been, to preach against his former Friends, the quakers, behind their backs; and, when present with them, to shape his conduct according to the character, (or imagined qualities) of the person he was to oppose. He had nothing to say to Thomas Story, and the latter took care not to set him going; wanting the time for his own exercise: he had intimidated *Samuel Bownas* a diffident young man (See Vol. I, p. 147) and, in concert with Bradford, procured his imprisonment—and he probably intended to serve this Friend the same measure: but he was here met, in that short and easy method with such people (the occasion presenting) which never fails to bring them to a stand, *the giving of the lie direct*. The rencounter took place on the eve of the Monthly Meeting, at *Lynn* in Massachusetts: when Keith came to the door of the house where John lodged, having a priest and a great number of people with him. Is here a man that is a scholar [cried this Goliah] is here a man that understands the languages, amongst you? If so, I will dispute with him.’ ‘I told him [says the Yorkshire weaver-preacher] it was probable that the English tongue was most generally understood and used, among that people, and therefore it was best to keep to it. He went on, and said that he was come in the Queen’s name, to gather the quakers from quakerism to the Mother Church, the good

old Church of England; and that he intended to exhibit, in our Meeting on the morrow, these charges following against us, which he said he could prove we were guilty of, out of our Friends' books, viz. *errors, heresies, damnable doctrines and blasphemies*. 'Look,' said he, 'to answer for yourselves; for if you do not, the auditory will conclude that what I exhibit against you is true.'

The (but mean-looking) quaker minister stood the while, leaning on the rails in front (Keith on horseback outside) his spirit roused 'in a holy zeal against these wicked insults and great threatenings'—for much had been already uttered in this way when, as he was proceeding to say 'that the quakers pretended to be against persecution, but were not clear; for the quakers of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys had persecuted him, and would have hanged him, but that there was an alteration in the government'—

"Then came out one of my arrows which cut and wounded him deep: I said, 'George, that is not true.' Upon that, the Priest drew near and appeared very brisk, and said, I had as good as charged Mr. Keith (as he called him) with a lie. I replied, Give me time, and I will prove that which George said, was not true, and then thou and he may take your advantage to rescue him from that epithet of a liar if you can. The Priest said, I knew not Mr. Keith: I replied, if he knew him as well as I did, he would be ashamed to be there as an abettor of him. The Priest got away, and troubled me no more in all the engagements that George and I had afterwards (although the said Priest was with him.) Then I demanded of George, what way our Friends proceeded against him, and what measures they took, as he would insinuate to bring him to the gallows? But I perceived fear began to surprise the hypocrite; and he thinking by my boldness I was an inhabitant in those parts, and knew his abuse to Friends in these provinces, and their peaceable behaviour towards him, was willing to let the matter drop; and demanded my name, which was told him. I then asked, how he could have a face to urge such a notorious untruth in the view of that people: who were much strangers to, and ignorant of the troubles and differences, chiefly created by him, among Friends in these parts?

"This Meeting (as before mentioned) being generally newly convinced of the truth, therefore I urged to have him come to the particulars of Friends proceedings against him; that even for very shame, among those strangers, he would set forth as far as he could in truth, the steps Friends had taken in persecuting him, as he pretended; but he would not meddle in the least with it. Then I shewed him, and the people, the falsity of his charge, and the wickedness of his spirit, and the peaceableness of Friend's behaviour towards him, and what great affronts and provocations they had put up with at his hand; as I had it from those who were eye and ear witnesses of it: For as I shewed George Keith, I had searched into the bottom of these matters, and heard that when he stood before Governors and Assembly-men in their Courts of Judicature, when they were met about the affairs of the three Provinces, he has tore open his buttons and told them, His back tickled for a whipping, and could they not cut him into collops, and fry and eat them with salt; and that he scorned they should wipe his shoes: All which, with much more, I told him I could prove against him. And when he saw he could not provoke Friends to give him some condign punishment, which I thought, as I said to him, none but Friends would have spared, especially, when his back tickled so much for a whipping; but they like men of peace and religion overlooked it all,—he like a man full of malice, rather than want something to slur and blacken Friends with, writ a letter I know not where, but dated it from Bridlington prison in West Jersey. It must have been dated on the outside of the prison, the doors being locked, so that he could not get into it; yet this went

current far off, that George Keith was in prison; consequently by friends' procurement, they being chief at the helm of government in those three provinces.

"I asked, What he had to say to all this, for it was all proveable? He did not object one word against what I had said; but vainly hoping for better success relating to his undertaking in old England, finding me (as he might suppose) so well versed in the American affairs, hoped, no doubt, that I had been more ignorant of the affairs in Britain: But poor man, he sped as ill there also; for he boastingly said, Since it pleased God to open his eyes to see into the worst of the Quakers' errors; although, he said, charity did oblige him to construe every thing at the best whilst in fellowship with them,—but since they were so opened, as he said, he had been instrumental to bring from Quakerism, to the good old Mother Church in old England, five hundred people. I replied, That is not true: If he rightly considered what he had done in old England, he had little cause to boast; for, I said, I thought about as many persons as he spoke of hundreds, would make up the number there; and if there was occasion, I could name all or most of them: And withal told him, that some of those few, whilst amongst us, were grown to be neither honourable nor comfortable to us. I urged George, if he could, to name or make appear more in number than I had mentioned, that he had so gathered, as he had falsly said. This was a very great stroke upon him, and put him to a stand.

"He then began to ask of my country, and from whence I came? With the account of which I humoured him; yet withal put him in mind of his great brag, and importuned him to make something appear towards that great matter he had done in old England, even for very shame; for I was ashamed for him, that a man of his learning, parts, and pretensions should so expose himself: but he went no farther about it. Then I shewed to the people what sort of a man he was, (as they themselves could not but see, who were impartial) and that he was not worthy of our notice, for he cared not what he said, so that he could but calumniate and abuse us."—

For the remainder of the dispute, conducted partly at the Meeting, (but without defeating its intention) I must refer the Reader to the work itself. John Richardson returned from this journey in America to the Yearly Meeting in London, 1703.

ART. II.—*Fox's Epistles.*

Concluded from p. 368.

Epist. 162. *Meetings for business; and concerning judging.*

"Friends, keep your Meetings in the *Power* of God, and in his *Wisdom* (by which all things were made) and in the *Love* of God; and by that ye may order all to his glory. And when Friends have finished their business, sit down and continue a while quietly, and wait upon the Lord, to feel Him: And go not beyond the power, but keep in the power, by which God Almighty may be felt among you. For the power will bruise the head of the serpent, *and all false and contrary heads* [every high thing that exalteth *itself* against it, 2 Cor. x, 5. *Ed.*] This blessed Seed, as he is the Head of the Church, so is he also the head of every member of his body. And so, by the power of the Lord, ye come to love truth, and love Jesus Christ, and love holiness: and by the power ye come to love God and praise *him*, and bless *him*, and magnify *him*, who lives for evermore! For the power of the Lord will work, through all, if that ye follow it.

“ 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. F.”

Epist. 177. *Concerning giving Tribute.* 1659.

“ All Friends, every where, 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 [do it for them]. And as for the Rulers that are to keep [the] peace, for peace's sake and the advantage of Truth give them their tribute.—The men of peace—under the several powers—have paid their tribute. Which they may do still, for Peace sake, *and not hold back the earth, but go over it*: and so doing, Friends may better claim their liberty [to serve Christ]. G. F.”

Epist. 257. *Of visits to convinced persons, and against sleeping in Meetings.* 1668.

“ Dear friends, be faithful in the service of God, and mind the Lord's business, and be diligent: so will the power of the Lord be brought over all those that have gainsaid it. And all ye that are faithful, go to visit them that have been convinced, from house to house; that, if it were possible, ye may not leave a hoof in Egypt, And so, every one go to seek the lost sheep, and bring him home on your backs to the fold; and there will be more joy of that one sheep, than [of] the ninety and nine in the fold.

“ And Friends, take heed of sleeping in meetings, and sottishness and dullness: for it is an unsavoury thing to see one sit nodding in a Meeting, and so to lose the sense of the Lord: And it is a shame and a sadness, both, and it grieveth the upright and watchful, that wait upon the Lord, to see such things; and for the priest's people and others, that come into your meetings, and see you that come together to worship God, and meet together to wait upon Him, and to have fellowship in his Spirit, for you to sit nodding it is a shame, and an unseemly thing. Therefore be careful and watchful, *and let it be mended*: and mind the Light and power of Christ Jesus in you, and that will condemn all such things, and lead you out of and above such things, and make you watchful over one another for your good. *Let this be read in all your Meetings.* G. F.”

Epistles 263 and 264, under date 1668–9, are very full on the subject of discipline, &c.; the latter of them being entitled, ‘ An additional Extract from other of G. F's Epistles, both of former and latter dates, more largely speaking to things contained in the paper foregoing [entitled, *An Exhortation to keep to the ancient principles of Truth,*] with some new matters recommended by him (from time to time) to be taken notice of at their Quarterly and other Meetings.’

Of the discipline. Friends' fellowship must be in the Spirit.—Two or three from each particular Meeting to attend the Quarterly.—In cases of public reproach, the Quarterly Meeting to be applied to, and to deal with offenders; also to search out cases of delinquency, and

advise ; admonishing the careless, and seeking after the lost sheep.—And to see that all that come amongst Friends keep to *Yea* and *Nay*, in their dealings and conversation ; in justice and equity, not in oppression.—Friends' testimonies to be maintained against *tithes* and *priestcraft* ; and for the Church which is in God,—‘the living members, which Christ the spiritual man is the Holy head of.’—

All differences to be ended by some appointed out of the Meetings.—Friends to speak but one at a time.—Evil reports to be stopped.—All disorderly persons to be admonished—and in a spirit of meekness.—No condemnation to go farther than the transgression.—Admonition to be before condemnation—and in the gentle wisdom of God.—None to be publicly reproved before privately spoken unto.—Friends to take care of the poor, and of prisoners, and such as are sick.—To take care for the widows, and to set out their children apprentices.—One meeting to help another, as to the burthen of the poor.

Monthly and *Quarterly Meetings* being now set up, the necessities of the poor, &c. to be enquired into by these meetings.—All Legacies to go to a public stock.—‘Friends to have and provide a house for them that be distempered [in mind] and not to go to the world’?—And to have an Almshouse, or Hospital, for poor Friends that are past work.—‘And Friends to have and provide a house or houses, where an hundred may have rooms to work in, and shops of all sorts of things to sell ; and where widows and young women might work and live.’—Estates of Widows and fatherless to be registered at *Monthly* or *Quarterly Meetings*, and Trustees assigned them to see they have their rights.—Two faithful Friends, in a *Monthly Meeting*, to be receivers of Collections made of individuals ; and four to receive for *Quarterly Meetings* from the *Monthly Meetings*.—Specific legacies to have specific trusts ; and those public, not of individuals only.—*Those who go to Quarterly Meetings to be substantial Friends, and such as can give account of Sufferings and other matters.*—Advice as to conduct in Meetings for discipline : to be solid and sober and keep unity, and not carry home tales about others.—Meetings to have cognizance of Births and Burials ; and Registers to be kept, both in the *Monthly* and the *Quarterly Meetings*.—Advice to procure convenient Burying-places.—Testimonies to be recorded of deceased Friends ; and Ministers (unknown where they travel) to have Certificates.—Friends to make a solid pause (gathering inward to God) at the close of their business before they separate.

Of marriage, training of children, &c.

General advice at some length as to the marriage covenant, and against marrying by the priest. ‘And all such as marry by the priests who have (some of them) the rough hands of Esau [to deceive] and fists of wickedness [to smite withal ;] and who have had their hands dipped in the blood of our brethren in *New England* ; and who have been the cause of the banishment of some of our brethren ; and have spoiled so many of their goods ; casting them into prisons, and keeping so many of them in prison at this day,—All such as go there for wives

or husbands must come to judgment, and condemnation of themselves, and [of] that spirit that led them to the priests to marry them; or else, Friends that keep their habitations must write and bear their testimony against them both.'—'For the right joining in marriage is the work of the Lord only, and not the priest's or magistrate's: And therefore Friends cannot consent that they should join them together: For we marry none; it is the Lord's work, and we are but witnesses. But yet, if a Friend, through tenderness, have a desire that the Magistrate should know it (after the marriage is performed in a public Meeting of Friends and others, according to the holy order and practice of Friends in Truth, throughout the world, and according to the manner of the holy men and women of God of old) he may go and carry a copy of the Certificate to the Magistrate: Friends are left to their freedom herein.'—

Advice against disorderly proceeding: not less than twelve to be present at a Marriage, Friends and relations.—Widows marrying to make suitable provision (out of former husband's estate) for their children.

'And all men that hunts after women, from woman to woman; and also women whose affections run sometimes after one man, and soon after to another; and so hold one another in affection—and after a while leave one another and go to others, and then do the same things there, these doings are more like *Sodom* than saints; and [this] is not of God's moving; nor joining, where they are not to be parted. For Marriage is God's ordinance, and God's command [joining] one to another; and in that [union] is felt the power of God.'

Consent of parents &c. to be first obtained, *in order to the proposal itself*.—Strict inquiry into Friends' clearness from all others.—Notice of proceedings before the Men's and Women's meetings.—'And if any man should defile a woman *he must marry her, if she be a beggar, though he have never so many hundreds*. For he must fulfil the law: for the law of God commands it, that he *must* marry her and condemn his action, and clear God's Truth. But no such marriages, where the bed is defiled [by previous fornication] be bring into our Men and Women's Meetings: but [let] some Friends (if such a thing happen) draw up a Certificate; and they to set their hands to it, that they will live faithfully together, as man and wife, and fulfil the Law of God.' [About 20 pages Folio in Ep. 263 and 264] G. F.

To this last regulation of our honourable Elder (not a rule of the Society itself) I must take the liberty to annex some observations. I suppose the case as stated by Geo. Fox, to have included, in his view, these conditions, viz. That the man had been the seducer, and the woman previously virtuous; and that she or her friends, on her behalf, insisted on the marriage. But I can imagine a case, of a heedless youth drawn aside by a light woman, in which it might more truly be said that the woman had defiled the man—and in which it would be far more advisable (the thing being found practicable) that they should be at once separated, and repent of their folly apart. I should expect any thing but concord and happiness, in a union so forced—and do

not see why the first indiscretion a man may commit in this way should become the basis of connubial misery, to be accumulated (possibly) so long as the parties live: with every prospect of disadvantage, religious and moral, to their children.

With regard to the very important point of a private marriage by Certificate, and not in a public Meeting, as the remedy 'for the present distress' (1 Cor. vii, 26) it has not I believe ever been acted upon by us, though in my opinion charitable and justifiable: but it is very doubtful whether any thing short of religious principle, and public order proceeding, would then have borne the brunt of the Clergy's displeasure, or survived the persecution raised by them upon it. *Ed.*

Epist. 355. *To Friends in America, concerning their Negroes and Indians.*

"All friends, every where, 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.—

"And also, you must preach the *Grace of God* to 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 of 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.—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 ye 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 reprov'd, condemn'd and judg'd by Christ; who hath all power in heaven and in earth given to 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 that he is God's salvation unto 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 should cover the earth."

After proposing to the Friends the example of faithful Abraham, in instructing his family to keep God's laws and statutes after him, and adverting to a prophecy which applies to the subject, the Epistle concludes thus:

"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 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—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 to the Lord God, through Jesus Christ, for ever and evermore, Amen. G. F. *Swarthmore*, the 10th Month, 1679."

Epist. 379. *An Epistle to all planters, and such who are transporting themselves into Foreign plantations in America, &c.* 1682.

"My Friends, that are gone and are going over, to plant and make outward plantations in *America*, keep your own plantations in your hearts, with the spirit and power of God.—And in all places where you do outwardly live and settle, invite all the Indians and their kings, and have meetings with them, or they with you: so that you may make inward plantations with the light and power of God (the Gospel) and the grace and truth, and spirit of Christ. And with it you may answer the light and truth and spirit of God, in the Indians, their kings and people: and so by it you may make Heavenly plantations in their hearts, to the Lord; and so beget them to God, that they may serve and worship Him, and spread his truth abroad: And so, that you may all be kept warm in God's love, power and zeal, for the honour of his name:—So that his camp may be holy, and all the holy may come into it: and He who is Holy may walk in the midst of you his camp, and be glorified in and among you all; who is over all, and worthy of all glory from Everlasting to Everlasting, blessed and praised for evermore! [Mal. i, 11: Ps. xcvi, 1: cl, 6: cxlix, 4, recited] G. F. London, the 22nd of the Ninth Month, 1682."

Epist. 415. *Exhortation to live in Christ.* 1688.

"Dear Friends, My Love is to all Friends in the Truth, in the Eternal Life; and my desire is that in the Everlasting life you and I may live, even in the Lord Jesus Christ, that is over all from Everlasting to Everlasting. Amen. G. F."

ART. III.—*Remarks on Scripture passages*: Continued.

Jam. 1, 17. 'The Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, nor shadow of turning.'

A description, indeed a definition, of the SUN the father of *outward* lights, as contrasted with the *Moon*; in which (beside many lesser variations in her course) there is a complete change in the course of every lunation, a 'shadow' produced by her 'turning,' from the wholly enlightened Full, to the invisible state of the disc at New Moon. One of the most appropriate and elegant comparisons that we have in all Holy Scripture! *Revelation*, in its full and proper sense, as the source and fountain of human knowledge, concerning God and those things which belong to his worship and service, is never more suitably figured than by the *Sun*: and human reason never more truly represented, than by putting it on a level with the *Moon* and planets; that shine by reflecting his more glorious light. But, what should we think of the man, who would never walk abroad but in the full blaze of day: or who was so possessed with the dread of moonshine, that he could neither sail, nor travel, nor work by the aid of her friendly beams! This, of religious concerns and labours:—to the *Civil* no such distinction applies.

Chap. ii, 19. 'The devils also believe and tremble.' I have before made some remarks on this text (Vol. II, p. 11.) but the reader of the original may here observe that the Greek is *ta daimonia*, neuter plural: as if the writer had intended the *powers of hell*, generally; and not demons as individuals.

Chap. iii, 1. 'My brethren, be not *teachers of too many observances*.' This rendering would agree with the context, of *multiplied condemnation*. The Apostle proceeds immediately to shew them, in what it was principally necessary that believers should watch, and rule their own spirits.

Ver. 6. The Greek in an important part of this verse is *phlogizousa ton trochon tes geneseōs*, setteth on fire the wheel of generation [by driving the carriage too fast.] The present rendering is, like that of the term *pleonexia* before noticed, apart from the real and emphatic sense: *which however every reader ought to know for himself*. It is an awful warning against a certain description of conversation. That which kindles the passions thus is, itself, 'set on fire of *hell*!'

Ver. 15. 'Earthly, sensual, devilish'—*a gradation in descent* to the worst of all natures; worthy our notice. The mere earthly body is actuated according to the animal sensual nature; this animal nature, uncontrolled, falls under the *demon*, and the human *soul* is lost.

Ver. 11. Has probably reference to judging one another, and speaking evil one of another, about the Law or the Ceremonial observances it enjoins. On this question, we know that the Apostle James differed from his Fellow-Evangelist *Paul*: and his covert way of repressing the rash censures of some, who might agree with and follow his own opinion, shews the eminent discretion and prudence of

the writer. If the words *about the law* were even put in, in Italics, the version would convey a clearer sense.

Chap. v, 1. 'Be aroused, now, ye rich men.'

Ver. 3. *Gr. eis marturion esti*, (literally) is an evidence (to-wit, the rust) that you have too long hoarded your money. *Verdigris* is a caustic, a corrosive poison; which, accumulated on coin containing copper, laid up long in a damp place, would eat the flesh of such as afterwards came to handle it. And the natures and tempers of the hoarders themselves do not commonly fare much better! God's grace is, however, sufficient to strengthen even against this *palsy of the soul*.

Ver. 4. 'Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days.' Alluding probably to the predicted ruin of the Jewish state and polity, then fast approaching: and which came on amidst much of wanton cruelty, and oppression of the people by their leaders.

Ver. 5. 'Ye have fed abundantly, as in a time of slaughtering cattle.'

Ver. 6. 'Ye have condemned, killed every just man; however unresisting.'

Ver. 7. 'Be patient, however, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord.'

Ver. 12. In the extremity of their trials, the believers might be tempted in their own hearts, or assailed by the threatenings of the adversary, *on this subject of swearing, more especially*: whether brought on by the state of their own affairs, in the endeavour to extort from them either money or unjust service (see ver. 4) or by that of their brethren around them. The command of Christ is therefore enforced upon them, that they should use only direct and simple speech, both in affirmation and denial. The 'condemnation' must, I think, be that of their own hearts and of the Church, should they fail: for the State might probably require oaths of them. Heb. vi, 16.

I Peter, i, 7. If we read this passage with *ou* instead of *tu*, before *apollumenou*, it may be rendered thus: 'That the trial of your faith (a far more precious *thing* than gold, which yet perisheth not, though tried by fire) might be found, &c.' The *gold* does not perish, but survives the destruction of the dross: yet it is possible the subsequent wearing out of the things made of it may have been in the writer's view; but the other is the more natural allusion.

Chap. ii, 16. 'Free' *from the yoke of the Ceremonial law*, but freed in order to serve God—not, as having cast off their Jewish profession in an evil mind before God; to live as did the Gentiles around them.

Chap. iii, 6. Whose children ye are become [alluding to their husbands and themselves, as in Gods covenant, being children of Abraham by faith] and in well-doing have nothing to be afraid of.

Ver. 7. 'Giving honour unto the wife.' The Greek *timēn*, I think, must be understood here, of that kind attention, and regard to modesty, which is ever due to the sex: 'Respecting the feelings of the wife.'

Chap. iv, 6. The sense of the latter part appears to me to be this : That they might be found set aside by persons living after the flesh [in allusion to the evil speaking mentioned in ver. 4] but accepted of God, living to him in the spirit.

Ver. 12. ' Be not surprised, my beloved brethren, at the fire which is kindled among you for the trial of your faith.' Alluding to the *dokimion*, the gold refining mentioned in i, 7. The *Vulgate* has it ; Charissimi nolite peregrinari [do not estrange yourselves by absence] in fervore qui ad tentationem vobis sit.

Ver. 13. ' Marcus ' [why not Mark] my son ' and probably the scribe for this occasion.

2 Pet. i, 19. The fore part connects closely with ver. 18, ' And this voice which came from heaven we heard, &c.' ' And thus we [the Apostles] have fully confirmed unto us the word of prophecy [the prophetic scriptures concerning Christ:] to which ye *also* do well to take heed, &c.'

The revelation by the voice on the mount, where Jesus was glorified, had sealed effectually, to the minds of his Apostles present, the several prophecies of the future kingdom and glory of their Lord. Peter, as one present testifies this ; but still commends the letter to their attention, till they should receive the spirit, and know the day of clearer Gospel light to arise and shine in their hearts.

Conclusion of Volume Third.

I have found it impracticable to comprehend, within the limits proposed at the beginning of this Volume, the matter which I considered suitable for publication at the present time. It is thought desirable that the 'Chronological Summary' should be continued, if not to our own days, at least to a further period in the History of the Society than that in which I had purposed to break off: and I should deem the work incomplete in a very important part, if I did not also present, from like authentic sources, some of the information we possess, of the concluding hours, and peaceful retrospects on a death-bed, of the remainder of the heroes of my story—of those who were enabled by the mercy and goodness of God to weather the storm ; who outlived the fury of persecution, mostly to a good old age, and departed in peace with God and man ; looking with joyful anticipation to the recompence reserved for the righteous in Heaven.

The state of the Religious body, here treated of, having become, by various Legislative provisions in its favour, that of a *Toleration*, in

comparative ease and quiet, the Reader is not now to expect so much of *adventure* (if I may so use the term) in the lives of its members; so much in the Narrative, of a kind that should interest the country at large, and stir the feelings of those who value their birthright as Englishmen. Still, the subject will not be without its interest, as connected with what has gone before. We have yet to do justice to the character of *one man*, the Founder of the *Sect* (would we had been, in a good sense of the term, *more entirely his followers*—) in derision called quakers. A man, than whom few have had to encounter more of the rage and malice of disappointed cruelty, vented in undeserved reproach: few have stood more conspicuously as ‘in filthy garments before the Angel of the Lord,’ with the *Satan* close at hand. Zech. iii.

Without pretending to exalt this really modest person to the first place in heaven, or picturing him as borne by the angels to his rest in Abraham’s bosom, it may be worth while for the sake of suffering *Truth*, and in vindication of the insulted religion of Him in whom George Fox most firmly believed, to wipe off this dirt, and shew his honest face (which never needed to be, nor was, ashamed before his enemies), in that light in which it behoves posterity to view him; as *the last of the real leaders of the PROTESTANT REFORMATION in this land*. The space required for this undertaking, together with the *Memorials* of his fellow-labourers deceased in the early part of the 18th Century, will occupy several Numbers: and there is matter in reserve, beside, with which to keep up the diversified character of the Work. It may be six months before another *Half-volume* can appear. *Ed.*

ADVERTISEMENT.—*Subscription for Joseph Lancaster and family*: See Vol. II. pa. 31; and pages 96 and 192.

The Contributions to this *National object* have very little exceeded Eleven hundred pounds. The sum of £887. 2s. 6d. has been invested in a Government Annuity for the joint lives of Joseph Lancaster, and wife—the latter considerably younger than himself. The remaining balance is about to be invested immediately in a further Annuity, for the life of Lancaster *himself*.

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INDEX TO VOLUME THIRD.

- ABUSE of terms in Indictments treated, 177.
ACCESSION of *William* and *Mary*, remarks on, 209.
ACTS of Parliament, and proceedings about, 69, 82, 114, 308, 310, 313.
ADDRESS of the Assembly to William Penn, 355.
ADDRESSES to the Throne, 137, 194, 337.
ADMINISTRATION of effects, persecution by, 89.
ADVICES, general, of the Society, 122.
AFFIRMATION Act passed, 305.
——— Thos. Story committed about, 248.
ALFRED, the times of; a fragment, 63.
ALGIERS, sufferers at, 348.
ALIBI proved, in favour of Friends, 87.
APOLOGY, Barclay's, when published, 53.
——— Remarks on, 4.
APPEAL of Geo. Keith to the Yearly Meeting, 293.
APPLICATIONS of Friends to Government, 113-16, 135-39, 227.
ARMORER, Sir William, persecuting, 50.
ARREST of Wm. Penn by the Council, 203.
——— by the Mayor of Wells, 291.
AUDIENCES of quakers at Court, 81, 115, 136, 198, 306.
AUTHOR, compiler, &c. on the terms, 318.
BABYLON mystical, owned by quietists, not by quakers, 135.
BACON, Chr. minister, dec. 70.
——— Recorder of Norwich, persecuting, 83.
BARBADOES, 213, 275, 280.
BARCLAY, Robt. 4, 53, 64, 67, 69, 101, 136, 198.
——— deceased, 215.
——— David deceased, 190.
BARNARDISTON, Giles, minister, dec. 72.
BARROW, Robt. minister, dec. 329.
BATH and Wells signs a *Mittimus*, 157.
BATTLEDOOR, Geo. Fox's, 320.
BAYLEY, Will. minister, dec. 70.
'BEAM in the eye' what, 90.
BILL to repeal 35 Eliz. lost or stolen, 114.
——— restrain the press, put aside by quakers, 339.
BIRTH and burial Notes, &c. forms of, 39.
BISHOP of London questions G. Whitehead before a Committee, 311.
BISHOPS visited in the Tower by Barclay, 196.

- BLACKHOUSE, Jas.** dies a prisoner for Tithes, 339.
BLACKS and Indians, religious care for, 216, 347, 368, 379.
BLASPHEMY made out of Scripture, 146.
BOOKS, seized, 295.
BOWS and courtesies, treated by G. F. 287.
 'Bread from Heaven,' text of treated, 140.
BRISTOL persecutors, 152, 156.
BURNET, Dr. (Bishop of Sarum) his *conduct*, 211.
BURNYEAT, John, minister, 189. Dec. 212.
BURYING in Woollen enforced: burial fees, &c. 44, 52, 85, 87, 157.
BYLLINGE Edward, a proprietor of New Jersey, 98, 101.
- CALLOW, William,** his sufferings and brave defence, 162.
CAMFIELD, Francis, aged minister, prays for Charles II. 115.
CAPTIVES in Barbary, Friends redeem their, 347.
 'CAPTIVITY led captive,' how to be understood, 301.
CARTER, Richard, grave-maker, presented, 87.
CASES of sufferings of the Society, laid before James II, 137, and William III, 308.
CERTIFICATE of a discharged parson, 218.
 ————— needful to Emigrants, 77.
CHALKLEY, Thos. minister, visits America, 338.
CHANGES, modern, in quaker habits, *Int.* 3.
CHARACTERS of noted persecutors, 173, 189.
CHARLES II, his Charter to William Penn, 102.
 ————— six great persecutions under, 117.
 ————— his decease, 117.
CHARITY sermon by Geo. Fox, 285.
CHILDREN hold a public Meeting, 80.
CHOIR GAUR, a poem, 33.
CHRIST, as Head of his church, what to the body, 302.
 ————— his second coming, texts of treated, 111.
CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY, Continued, 49-54, 65-73, 81-90, 97-110, 113-21, 129-39, 151-9, 116-7, 177-80, 189-91, 193-206, 209-20, 225-39, 241-8, 257-65, 273-85, 289-98, 305-13, 321-30, 337-52, 353-63, 369-75.
CHURCH, the, should not help the State in its wars, 139.
CHURCH-RATE and tithe Bill put by, 1689; 310.
CIVIL Government, argument on, of Rom. xiii, 252.
CLOWN, what by Geo. Fox's account, 288.
COALE, Will. minister, dec. 71.
COMFORTER, the, his offices treated, 171.
COMPTON, Bishop of London, his *courage*, 210.
CONFESSION of faith required, 226.
 ————— of Nayler to Christ as the Word, &c. 146.
CONGRESS of Nimeguen addressed, 69.
CONVENTION of 1688, how made a Parliament, 209.
CORBETT, W. his case and petition, 158.

- CORNBURY, the Lord, 25, 26.
 CORNELIUS, his case treated, 187.
 CORONATION oath of William III, remarks on, 210.
 COUNCIL of the whole Church, 185.
 CRIME, on the term, 31.
 CRISP, Stephen, minister, deceased, 257.
 CRESSON, ELLIOTT, lines to, 64.
 CROOK, JOHN, Ex-justice and minister, dec. 343.
 DEAD, of baptism for the, 270.
 DECEPTION, of various terms implying, 222.
 DECLARATION of allegiance, quakers', 227.
 DELAVALL, John, minister, dec. 282.
 DENNIS, Isaac, gaoler, end and character of, 175.
 DERBY, Earl of, persecuting, 162.
 DERIVATIONS and meanings of words, 31, 221, 263, 318, 335, 351.
 DEVIL; the having one in what sense imputed to Christ, 168.
 DEWSBURY, William, minister, his last sermon and decease, 204.
Diopetes. Acts xix, 35, what, 206.
 DICKENSON, James, minister, visits America, 273.
 DISCIPLINE, advice of G. F. touching the, 377.
 DISTRRAINT, goods taken by, refused at markets, 51, 86.
 DOCTRINALS, &c. Fox's, reviewed, 285, 314, 363, 375.
 DREAM, remarkable, of T. Story, 253.
 DRESSING and patching treated by G. F. 286.
 DRUM and kettle-drum, whence, 240, 326.
 EDICT of Nantz, &c. repealed, 197, *note*.
 EDMUNDSON, William, minister, 229.
 EGERTON, Sir Philip, persecuting, 83.
 ELIOT, John, 4.
 ELIZABETH, Princess Palatine, 67.
 'ENGLAND'S present Interest considered,' 66.
 EPISCOPACY, how abolished in Scotland, 211.
 EPISTLE of George Fox on marriages, 58.
 ————— on Ministry, a month before his decease, 216.
 ————— of Burlington Friends, to the Yearly Meeting, 76.
 ————— from Friends in Pennsylvania, 94.
 ————— of the Yearly Meeting 1700, 350.
 EXCHEQUER fines, exorbitant, 82, 152.
 FAITH should be used, not prayed for, 75.
 FARNSWORTH, Richard, minister, dec. 70.
 FELLOW, on the term, 351.
 FENCING confers no security ont the person, 242.
 FENELON, Archbishop, his retractation, 134.
 FIELD, John, Schoolmaster, tried, 154.
 'FIERY trial,' 1 Peter iv, 12. 383.
 FINCH v Batger and others tried, 227.
 FIRST step of James II, towards liberty of Conscience, 138.

- ‘FIVE in one house divided,’ how made out, 92.
- FLETCHER, Col. Governor of Pennsylvania, his proceedings, 261.
 ——— displaced, and Penn restored, 283.
- FLIM-FLAM, what, 335.
- FOP, the term treated, 336.
- FORMAL cause, object, &c. 7.
- FOX, George, 115, 201. dec. 215.
 ——— his Doctrinals and Epistles, 202, 314, 363, 375.
 ——— advice on Marriage, &c. 377.
 ——— Scriptural faith certified, 314.
 ——— Defender of the faith, in 1688; 314.
- FOX, Margaret, fined as Margaret Fell, 153.
- FRIENDS made Papists for their horses, 245.
 ——— ministers distrained on for a Poll-tax, 313.
- FROST of 1683, Sufferings in great, 116, 137.
- GAOLER at Philippi, his case, 188.
 ——— fearful end of a merciless, 175.
- GATES, George, imprisoned until death, 153.
- GILL, Roger, minister, dies of the fever at Philadelphia, 342.
- GOD and Mammon their contrary requisitions, 75.
- GOODAIR, Thomas, minister, dec. 282.
- ‘GOOD MORNING’—‘good night,’ &c. treated by George Fox, 288.
- GOODS, distrained, restored by King James, 195.
 ——— refused at markets, 51, 86.
- GOSPEL, on the term, 54.
 ——— non-resistance shewn, 74.
 ——— to be preached to the Indians and negroes, 379.
- GOVERNMENT of Pennsylvania, 260, 282.
- GRAVE-STONES and mourning habits, 43.
- GUION, the Lady, 127, 129.
- GUISE, Sir John, persecuting, 51.
- Gunai, John ii, 4, &c. its import, 125, 172.
- HARRISON, George, abridged Barclay, 54.
- HEALING by Christ was attended with forgiveness of sins, 55, 73.
- HELLIAR, Sheriff, and others, persecutors, 151, 156, 176.
- HERETIC, Tit. iii, 10, remark on, 333.
- HEROD, on Christ’s speech concerning, 93.
- HIGH and Low Church, distinction of, begins, 65.
- HILL, John *v* the Vicar of Sandal, 45.
- HIPSLEY, John, abused and taken up at a Meeting at Chard, 156.
 ——— ironed in Ilchester jail, 120.
- HOLLAND and Germany, visits to, 66, 215, 247.
- HUBBERTHORN, Richard, letter of, 150.
- HUDSON, Roger, a martyr for Tithes, 84, 85.
- HYMANS, Thomas. his case for not swearing, 181.
- JACOBITE, the name how disowned, 247.

- JAMES II, his accession as described by Penn, 117.
 ——— issues an *Order* to the Clergy, 138.
 ——— abdicates, 203.
 ——— is applied to by suffering Friends, in Ireland, 229.
- JAMES, the Apostle, his discretion, 381.
- JEFFREYS, Judge, 120.
- JENNINGS, Samuel, 25, 99, 109.
- ILL company, advice of Fox against, 366.
- IMAGE which fell from Jupiter, what, 206.
- IMMEDIATE Revelation, 6, 199.
- IMPARTIALITY secures the Prince, 67.
- IMPRESSMENT of a young Friend, 339.
- INDEMNITY from prosecution, bought of the Informers, 153.
- INDIAN, North American, traits of character of, 109, 321.
- INDICTMENTS, 179.
- INDULGENCE to dissenters, revoked by Chas. II. 49.
- INFANT Baptism treated, 303.
- INFORMERS pilloried, 136.
 ——— their perjuries, &c. 52, 54, 70, 87, 136, 153.
 Job Chap. xxviii, from the Latin, in paraphrase, 267.
- IRELAND, Sufferings during the war in, 229.
- ISLE of Man, persecution renewed in, 161.
- JUBILEE at Ackworth School, 79.
- JUDAS, his fall gradual, 170.
- JURY without a Coroner, 181.
- KEELING, Justice, persecuting, 50.
- KEITH, George, 5, 102, 219, 259, 278, 293, 341, 371.
- KIDDER, Bishop, his kindness to Friends, 292.
- KNOWLEDGE of God in the heathen, of the, 220.
- LABADIE and his sect, 68.
- LAD, lass, &c. on the terms, 263.
- LAKES, a visit to the, in 1807, 141.
- LAMPIT, William, priest, death and character of, 174.
- LAMPLUGH, Justice, his fair dealing, 164.
- LANCASTER, Joseph, 96, 192, 384.
- LATEY, Gilbert, 113, 135, 166.
- LAZARUS, of the proposal to die with, 169.
- LEEDS, proceedings at, 178.
- LEVINZ, Judge, 168, 183.
- LIBERATE, Sheriff's, form of a, 155.
- LICENCE of the press, bill to restrain, put by, 339.
- LIVINGSTON, Patrick, minister, 190, 290.
- LLOYD, Governor, resigns at Philadelphia, 220.
 ——— his death and character, 260.
- LODGE, Robert, minister, dec. 214.
- Logia zōnta*, Acts vi, 38; 185.

- MAGISTRATES of New Jersey, how qualifying, 110.
- MANY MANSIONS, of the, John xiv, 2, 170.
- MARKHAM, Governor, commissioned by Penn, 285.
- MARRIAGE Certificate, 20, 22.
- Register, form of, 39.
- George Fox, on proceedings in order to, 58.
- Quakers imprisoned upon, 152.
- MARSHALL, Charles, minister, dec. 340.
- MARY, Princess, married, 69.
- Second, queen, deceased, her character, 289.
- MEAD, William, 226.
- MEADITES and Pennites, 307.
- MEDALS on Negro Emancipation, 79.
- MEEKNESS; *Intr.* 2, 74.
- MEETINGS broken up by force, 165, 212.
- for discipline, 24, 375, 377.
- on sleeping in, 376.
- MEETING-HOUSES occupied or demolished, 166.
- MEMBERS of parliament for Yorkshire applied to, 90.
- MEN of the suffering times in London, 167.
- how seen as trees walking, 56.
- MERLIN, the magician, his exploits, 34.
- MEW, Bishop, 71.
- MINISTERS, deceased, accounts of, 70, 204, 212–19, 257, 262, 281, 290, 295, 329, 340, 343.
- MINISTRY, on provision for and conduct of the, 265, 271, 345, 371.
- MITTIMUS, curious of Sheriff Helliard, 156.
- MOLINOS, Michael de, 129, 130. *note.*
- MOLINEUX, Mary, minister, dec. 297.
- MONMOUTH, duke of, his rising, &c. 97, 118, 120.
- MORE, Hannah, 223, 255.
- ‘MORE sure word of prophecy,’ 2 Peter i, 19. 383.
- MORTON, James, his violent conduct to a meeting, 165.
- MOUNTMELICK, occurrences at, 231–38.
- MYSTERY of Christ in the Gentiles, 316.
- iniquity in the Church, 318.
- MYSTICISM prejudicial to the truth, 14.
- NATURE, sense of the term, Rom. ii, 14—249.
- NAYLOR, James, account of, 145.
- his autograph and R. Hubberthorne’s copied, 148
- NEW Jersey, 98, 99, 101, 109.
- NOMENCLATURE of Clouds, lines on, 64.
- NORFOLK priests and justices petition, 340.
- OATHS favour the insincere, 29.
- dispensed with by Charles II, for some Quakers, 195.
- OCCULT science, called ‘curious arts’ 188.
- OLD advices before New homilies, 121.
- ORANGE, Prince of, invited over, 196.

- ORDINANCES, Col. ii, 20, remarks on, 317.
- OSGOOD, John, 226.
- OSSERY, Bp. of, persecutes, 247.
- OUTRAGE on an aged female, 237.
- OVERSEERS in Scotland, 281.
- OWEN, Nathanael, fined, 52.
 ————— his autograph copied (against 384, vol. 2.)
- PAETS, the Heer, controversy of Barclay with, 199.
- PARACLETE, what, 171.
- PARAPHRASES of Scripture, 267.
- PARDON, on the term, 31.
- PARKER, Alexander, minister, dec. 211.
- PARLIAMENT applied to, 69.
- PAUL, the apostle, how actually guarded to Cæsarea, 207.
- PEACE of Europe, project for the, 260.
- PECULATION treated, 222.
- PENINGTON, Isaac, minister, dec. 72, 302.
 ————— MSS. 78.
- PENN, William, 22, 69, 94, 98, 101, 102, 109, 117, 194, 197, 200,
 203, 211, 220, 245, 260, 282, 291, 296, 343, 346, 356, 359.
 ————— Gulielma Maria, dec. 281.
 ————— Springett, dec. 346.
- PENNSYLVANIA, its' government, &c. 102, 260, 282.
- PERSECUTION, finally relaxed as to Meetings, 167.
 ————— a seed-time, 228.
- PERSONALITY of the Holy Ghost, 187.
- 'PERSUASIVE to moderation' Penn's, 200.
- PHILADELPHIA, 94, 347. Chartered, 362.
- PLANTERS, advice of G. F. to, 380.
- PLATONISTS, their opinions noticed, 13, 54.
- PLOWMAN'S Creed, extract from, 352.
- POETRY.—Anticipation, 30.
 ————— Ant and Grasshopper, 160.
 ————— Ape and Dolphin, 32.
 ————— Blackmore on Content and discontent, 271.
 ————— Brush for the Mantle, 48.
 ————— Christian Sabbath, 79.
 ————— Extract from Plowman's Creed, 352.
 ————— Farewel to Emont, 144.
 ————— Found Comb, 16.
 ————— Fox in the Bramble, 16.
 ————— Lines to Elliot Cresson, 64.
 ————— Modern Viatics, 160.
 ————— Night-dialogue, 192.
 ————— Old age, 93.
 ————— Optimist, 79.
 ————— Professions new robed, 128.

- POETRY.**— Recollections in Westmorland, 143.
 ——— Soliloquy of a bride, 304.
 ——— Stonehenge, 33.
 ——— Times of Alfred, a fragment, 63.
 ——— Verses to a Friend, 224.
 ——— on John vi, 68, 93.
 ——— prophetical, of Guion, 127.
 ——— on Nomenclature of Clouds, 64.
 ——— Way of Salvation, 78.
- POMP**, pageant, procession; whence, 239.
- POPERY** charged on Penn: his reply, 198.
- POPISH** recusants, quakers put for, 70, 83, 90.
- PRAYER**, short and easy method of, 131.
 ——— advice of George Fox to, 368.
- PREMUNIRE**, 137.
- PREROGATIVE**, danger of invading the, 101.
- 'PRESCRIPTION** money,' 51.
- PRESS** resorted to and defended by Friends, 199, 295, 339.
- PRINCE** of this world, John xii, 31, what, 169.
- PROPHETS**, spirits of, how subject to, 354.
- PROVIDENCE**, facts in proof of a, 245. *note*.
- PSALMODY** treated, 28, 256.
- Psuchē*, on the term, 57.
- QUAKERS**, above 1000 petition Chas. II. as prisoners, 114.
 ——— cases of 1450 in prison, presented to Jas. II. 135.
 ——— Marriages, births, &c. Register and form 17, 23, 39, 42.
 ——— at what times raised up in the several counties, 364.
 ——— have no political creed, 307.
- QUIETISM** discussed, 129, 134.
- RABBONI**, on the term, 57.
- REBELLION**, Monmouth's, Friends conduct and affairs during, 118.
- REFORMATION**, religious, a dream of, interpreted, 254.
- RELEASE**, general, of quakers under James II. 135.
- REPLEVY** made by Penn of his horse, 245.
- REST** of God's people, Heb. iv, treated, 333.
- RETROSPECT** of Half-century to 1700; 353.
- REVELATION**, objective, subjective, 6.
- REVOLUTION** of 1688, how quakers contributed to, 193.
 ——— meditated, 196.
 ——— effected, 203.
- RICHARDSON**, John, visits Friends in America, 369.
 ——— disputes with Keith, 373.
- RIGHT** ear of an adversary how cut off, 172.
- RIOT**, how to breed at a Meeting in order to prosecute, 165.
- ROUT**, what by Lord Coke, 154.
- RUM**, law against selling to Indians, 363.
- RUPERT**, Prince, his kind disposition, 114, 161.
- RUST** of heaped treasure, Jam. v, 3. 382.

- SALTHOUSE, Thomas, minister, dec. 218.
- SANCROFT, Archbishop, 69, 210, 290.
- SAWYER, Sir Robert, king's warrant to, 137.
- SCHEDULE, extravagant, of Tithes, 89.
- SCHOOL teaching by quakers, how dealt with, 87.
- Friends' public, Philadelphia, 219.
- SCOTLAND, Friends in, 189.
- SCRIPTURE Texts, remarks on, 15, 26, 54, 73, 90, 111, 124, 139, 168, 184, 206, 220, 249, 268, 298, 316, 330, 381.
- 'SEED and birth of God in man,' of the, 8.
- SERIOUS people's reasoning with the world, 286.
- SERMON, if better written or extempore, 265.
- a quaker-preacher's last, 204.
- of Fox to London Magistrates, 285
- 'SHALL' put for 'will' in our version, 28.
- SHEWEN, William, minister, dec. 295.
- SHELDON, Archbishop, death of, 69.
- SHIPWRECK of R. Barrow, minister, and other Friends, 321.
- SIEGE and surrender of a quaker-minister in his house, 235.
- SIMPSON, William, minister, prophesies naked, 213: his peaceful end, 214. *note*.
- SIN, how imputed to the blind, 168.
- 'SNAKE in the grass,' Lesley's, 340.
- SODER and MAN persecutes, 162.
- SOMERSET, duke of, conference with, 248.
- SONNEMANS, Aarent, his untimely death by a shot, 101. *note*.
- SONS of the prophets, 15.
- SORCERERS and witches, Nayler on an imputation respecting, 148.
- SOWLE, Andrew, printer, his good end, 295.
- STAMPER, Francis tried at the Old Bailey, 165.
- STOCKDALE, Eleanor, cruel treatment of, 163.
- STONE, rejected by builders, on the text of the, 111.
- STORY, Thomas, 241, 253, 362.
- SUBSTANCE, what in Logic, 10.
- SUFFERINGS, select cases of, 50, 83, 151—4.
- advice of G. F. to record, 367.
- SUN, the father of (outward) lights made a scripture figure, 381.
- TAX on public preachers, falls on Friends, 313.
- TAXES, *Intr.* 2.
- Teknogonia*, 1 Tim. ii, 15, questions on, 330
- TESTIMONY, Whitehead's view of the, 117.
- 'THAT prophet' John i, 21, treated, 125.
- THEOCRACY for the world, supposed as provided, 169.
- Theses theologice*, of Barclay, 53.
- THREEPENNY curates, how paid, 248.
- TILLOTSON, Archbishop, 197, dec. 290.
- TITHES, 305—13.
- TOLERATION, heathen examples of, 200.

- TOLERATION** act passed, 225.
 ———— paid by the 'Church' as the price of *her* safety, 210.
 ———— a vantage-ground, to be improved for entire freedom, 228.
- TONGUE** bored for the fault of the ears, 148.
- 'TORIES and raparees'** in Ireland, 230.
- TRAVERS**, Rebecca, minister, dec. 206.
- TREATY** of Ryswick, and peace: address thereon, 337.
 ———— of Penn with the Indians, 356.
- TRIALS** in court, of quakers, 153.
- TRIBUTE** to be paid to rulers, 376.
- TRIUMPH**, on the term, 240.
- TWELVE** at least of the faithful should witness a marriage, 60.
- TYRCONNEL**, Earl of, applied to, 230.
- TYTHINGS**, what and when, *note*, 63.
- UNLAWFUL** assembly, what, 155.
- VAUGHTON**, John, minister, 226.
Vehiculum Dei, 9, 14.
- VERDICT** without a Coroner, 181.
- VICKRIS**, Richard, tried for his life, 151.
- VINE** of Truth, John xv, 1. 2., 171.
- VISIONS** and dreams, Acts ii, 17, remarks on, 184.
- VULGATE**, notices of the, 317, 318.
- WAKEFIELD**, appeal tried at, 45.
- WALDENFIELD**, Samuel, minister, trial of for a riot, 166.
- WALROND**, Henry, a persecutor, 173.
- WAR**, 3, 36
 ——— tax refused at Philadelphia, 355,
- WATSON**, Richard, his public spirit, 84.
 ———— copy of his commitment, 85.
- WHITEHEAD**, George, 81, 82, 113, 116, 135, 153, 166, 225, 229,
 258, 306, 338.
- WHITING**, John, his Memoirs &c, 88, 117, 118, 137, *note* 292.
- WILLIAM III.** 227, 308, 337.
- WILSON**, Thomas, visits America, 273.
- WINDHAM**, Hugh, Judge, 114.
- WOMEN**, of the suffering times, in London, 167.
 ———— their subject state, in matrimony and ministry, 21, 300.
- WONDER**, on the term, 221.
- ZEAL** beyond discretion, apology for, 355.

ERRATUM: Page 102, line 5, 'Not the person,' read 'the person,' and put a ?.

END OF VOL. III.

5 — 0 — 2

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9



