The history of the rise, increase and progress of the ...
Quakers, tr., revised

by
Willem Sewel

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1834.
THE

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

THE SEVENTH BOOK.

Having now left America, and being returned to England, let us go and see the state of persecution in London, where desperate fury now raged; though it was not in that chief city alone the Quakers, so called, were most grievously persecuted: for before this time there was published in print a short relation of the persecution throughout all England, signed by twelve persons, showing that more than four thousand and two hundred of those called Quakers, both men and women, were in prison in England; and denoting the number of them that were imprisoned in each county, either for frequenting meetings, or for denying to swear, &c. Many of these had been grievously beaten, or their clothes torn or taken away from them;
and some were put into such stinking dungeons, that some great men said, they would not have put their hunting dogs there. Some prisons were crowded full both of men and women, so that there was not sufficient room for all to sit down at once; and in Cheshire sixty eight persons were in this manner locked up in a small room; an evident sign that they were a harmless people, that would not make any resistance, or use force. By such ill treatment many grew sick, and not a few died in such jails; for neither age nor sex was regarded, but even ancient people of sixty, seventy, and more years of age, were not spared: and most of these being tradesmen, shopkeepers, and husbandmen, were thus reduced to poverty; for their goods were also seized, for not going to church, (so called) or for not paying tithes. Many times they were fain to lie in prison on cold nasty ground, without being suffered to have any straw; and often they were kept several days without victuals: no wonder therefore that many died by such hard imprisonments as these.

In London, and its suburbs, were about this time no less than five hundred of those called Quakers, imprisoned, and some in such narrow holes, that there was scarcely convenience for every person to lie down; and the felons were suffered to rob them of their clothes and money. Many that were not imprisoned, suffered hard-
ships in their religious meetings, especially at that in London, known by the name of Bull and Mouth. Here the trained bands came frequently, armed generally with muskets, pikes, and halberts, and conducted by a military officer, by order of the city magistracy; and rushing in, in a very furious manner, fell to beating them, whereby many were grievously wounded, some fell down in a swoon, and some were beaten so violently, that they lived not long after it. Among these was one John Trowel, who was so bruised and crushed, that a few days after he died. His friends therefore thought it expedient to carry the corpse into the aforesaid meeting place, that it might lie exposed for some hours, to be seen of every one. This being done, raised commiseration and pity among many of the inhabitants; for the corpse, beaten like a jelly, looked black, and was swollen in a direful manner. This gave occasion to send for the coroner; and he being come, empaneled a jury of the neighbours, and gave them in charge, according to his office, to make true inquiry upon their oaths, and to present what they found to be the cause of his death. They viewing the corpse, had a surgeon or two with them, to know their judgment concerning it; and then going together in private, at length they withdrew without giving in their verdict, only desiring
the friends to bury the corpse, which was done accordingly that evening. And though the coroner and jury met divers times together upon that occasion, and had many consultations, yet they never would give in a verdict; but it appeared sufficiently, that the man was killed by violent beating. The reasons some gave for the suspense of a verdict were, that though it was testified that the same person, now dead, was seen beaten, and knocked down; yet it being done in such a confused crowd, no particular man could be fixed upon, so that any could say, that man did the deed. And if a verdict was given that the deceased person was killed, and yet no particular person charged with it, then the city was liable to a great fine, at the pleasure of the king, for conniving at such a murder in the city in the day time, not committed in a corner, but in a public place, and not apprehending the murderer, but suffer- ing him to escape. In the meanwhile the friends of the deceased were not wanting to give public notice of the fact, and sent also a letter to the lord mayor, which afterwards they gave out in print, together with a relation of this bloody business. In this letter it was said "It may be supposed thou hast heard of this thing, for it was done not in the night, but at the mid-
time of the day; not suddenly, at unawares, or by mishap, but intendedly, and a long space of
time in doing; and not in a corner, but in the streets of the city of London; all which circumstances do highly aggravate this murder, to the very shame and infamy of this famous city, and its government."

A certain person who spread some of these printed relations, was imprisoned for his pains; nevertheless another brought one of them to the king, and told him how the thing had been done; at which the king said, "I assure you it was not by my advice that any of your friends should be slain; ye must tell the magistrates of the city of it, and prosecute the law against them." This saying of the king was not long after also published in print: but violence prevailed still; for the person that was apprehended for spreading the said books, was sent to prison by the special order of alderman Brown, of whom since mention may be made several times in this work, it gives me occasion to say something of what kind of man he was.

In the time of Cromwell he had been very fierce against the royalists, especially at Abingdon, not far from Oxford: for this error he endeavoured now to make compensation, by violently persecuting the harmless Quakers; otherwise he was a comely man, and could commit cruelty with a smiling countenance. But
more of his actions may be represented hereafter.

The Quakers, so called, seeing that they could not obtain justice, let the matter of the murdered person alone; for suffering was now their portion, and therefore they left their cause with God. Oftentimes they were kept out of their meeting houses by the soldiers; but then they did not use to go away, but stood before the place, and so their number soon increased; and then one or other of their ministers generally stepped upon a bench, or some high place, and so preached boldly. Thus he got sometimes more hearers than otherwise he might have had. But such an one sometimes was soon pulled down, which then gave occasion for another to stand up and preach, and thus often four or five one after another, were taken away as innocent sheep, and carried to prison with others of their friends, it may be forty or fifty at once. This puts me in mind of what I heard my mother Judith Zinspenning say, who in the year next following, having gone to England, with William Caton and his wife, (who lived at Amsterdam,) to visit her friends there, and arriving in London, went with others to the Bull and Mouth meeting; but entrance being denied, they staid in the street, where she saw one preacher after another pulled down, at the instant cry of some officer or other, "Consta-
ble, take him away." Several being thus led away, the constable came also to her, and perceiving by her dress that she was a Dutch woman, pulled her by the sleeve, and said with admiration, "What, a Dutch Quaker!" but meddled no farther with her. This keeping of meetings in the streets became now a customary thing in England; for the Quakers, so called, were persuaded that the exercise of their public worship was a duty no man could discharge them from, and they believed that God required the performance of this service from their hands. And by thus meeting in the streets, it happened sometimes that more than one, nay, it may be three or four at a time, did preach, one in one place, and another in another, which in their meeting places could not have been done conveniently. But thus they got abundance of auditors, and among these sometimes eminent men, who passing by in their coaches, made their coachmen stop. At this rate they found there was a great harvest, and thus their church increased under sufferings; and in those sharp times they were pretty well purified of dress, since the trial was too hot for such as were not sincere; for by frequenting their meetings in such a time, one was in danger of being either imprisoned, or beaten lame, or unto death: but this could not quench the zeal of the upright.
Now the taking away of one preacher, and the standing up of another, became an ordinary thing in England, and it lasted yet long after, as I myself have been an eye-witness of there. And when there were no more men preachers present it may be a woman would rise, and minister to the meeting; nay, there were such, who in years being little more than boys, were endued with a manly zeal, and encouraged their friends to steadfastness. In the meanwhile many also were imprisoned, without being haled out of their meetings; for some have been apprehended for speaking only something on the behalf of their friends; as Rebecca Travers, who, going to the lieutenant of the Tower, desired him to have compassion on some who were imprisoned for frequenting meetings. But he grew angry at this; and when she went away, one of the keepers gave her ill language; on which she exhorting him to be good in his place, whilst it was the Lord's will he had it, he was so offended, that going back to the lieutenant, he complained that she had spoken treason, and thereupon she was apprehended, and sent to prison. Nay, the rude soldiers were encouraged to cruelty by officers who were not a whit better, for they themselves would sometimes lay violent hands on peaceable people; as amongst the rest the afore-mentioned alderman Richard Brown, who formerly had been a major general under Crom-
well and now behaved himself with such outrageous fierceness, that even the comedians did not hesitate to expose him, by an allusion to his name Brown, and saying, "The devil was brown."

A book was also printed, wherein many base abuses, and also his furious behaviour were exposed to public view; and this book was dedicated to him with this short epistle:

"Richard Brown,

"If thou art not sealed up already for destruction, and if repentance be not utterly hid from thy eyes, the Lord convert thee, and forgive thee all thy hard and cruel dealings towards us: we desire thy repentance rather than thy destruction; and the Lord God of heaven and earth give judgment of final determination between thee and us, that all the earth may know whether thy cause against us, or our cause be just before him, who only is the righteous judge."

The said book, though published without the author's name, yet one of them was not only sent to Brown, but as a sign that the Quakers, so called, owned it, others were, by about thirty of them, delivered to the lord mayor, and the sheriffs of London, that so they might know what was acted under their authority; for some, though not authorised, yet being favourites at court, made bold to act against the Quakers.
whatever their malice prompted them to. Among these was one Philip Miller, who, though not an officer, yet in the month called May of this year, came into a meeting of the said people in John's street in the parish of Sepulchres, at London, without any order or warrant, and having a cane in his hand, commanded the rabble who attended him, to secure whom he pleased; and then he fetched a constable, whom he forced by his threats to go along with him, and five persons he apprehended, among whom was John Crook, of whom farther mention is like to be made again. Some days after, this Miller came to the said meeting place again, and struck several persons with his cane, because they would not depart at his command; and then he charged the constables, whom he brought along with him, to secure and take into custody whom he pleased.

About the latter end of the aforesaid month, on a first day of the week, one captain Reeves, and some soldiers with muskets and drawn swords, came violently rushing into the Bull and Mouth meeting, where they pulled down him that was preaching, and presently laid hold of another, who desired Reeves to shew his order for this his doing; to which he answered, he would not in that place; but it appeared afterwards that he could not, as having no warrant. Yet he caused his soldiers to take
away about forty persons, (some of whom were not at the meeting, but had been taken up in the streets,) and have them into Paul's yard where they were kept till the public worship was ended there; and then alderman Richard Brown came into the place where the prisoners were guarded, and with great rage and fury laid hands first on a very aged person, and pulled him down twice by the brim of his hat, whereby he lost it. Then he served another in like manner, and a soldier struck this person a great blow with a pistol on his bare head: two others Brown used in the like manner, and then he sent them all to Newgate, guarded by soldiers.

The same day some soldiers came to a meeting in Tower street, and without any warrant, took away twenty-one persons, called Quakers, and carried them to the Exchange, where they kept them some time, and then brought them before the said Richard Brown, who in a most furious manner struck some, and kicked others; which made one of the prisoners, seeing how Brown smote one with his fist on the face, and kicked him on the shin, say, "what Richard, wilt thou turn murderer? Thou didst not do so when I was a soldier under thy command at Abingdon, and thou commandedst me with others, to search people's houses for pies and roast meat, because they kept Christmas as a holy time; and we
brought the persons prisoners to the guard, for observing the same." For such a precise man the said Brown was at that time, that he pretended to root out that superstitious custom; though there is reason to question, whether his heart was sincere in this respect: however, such blind zeal was unfit to convince people of superstitions; and Brown well knowing that by his former carriage, he had very much disoblige[d] those of the church of England, endeavoured now to make amends for it, by his fierce brutality against the harmless Quakers, and so to come into favour with the ecclesiastics and courtiers. One of Brown's family having heard what was said to him, replied, "There is an Abingdon bird." To which Brown returned, "He is a rogue for all that," and struck him with his fist under the chin; which made another prisoner say, "What, a magistrate and strike!" Upon which Brown with both his hands, pulled him down to the ground by the brim of his hat, and then commanded the soldiers to take them all away, and carry them to Newgate.

Upon a first day of the week, in the month called June, a company of soldiers came into the Bull and Mouth meeting, with pikes, drawn swords, muskets, and lighted matches, as if they were going to fight; though they knew well enough they should find none there but harmless people. The first thing they did was to pull
down him, that preached, whom they haled out of the meeting, rejoicing as if they had obtained some great victory: then they brought him to the main gaard at Paul's, and returned to the Bull and Mouth, where they apprehended some more, whom they also carried to Paul's. After some hours, these prisoners were carried to the house of the fore mentioned Brown, and he, asking the names of the prisoners, and hearing that of John Perrot, said, "What, you have been at Rome to subvert," but recalling himself, said, "to convert the Pope." On which Perrot told him, "He had suffered at Rome for the testimony of Jesus." Whereupon Brown returned, "If you had converted the Pope to your religion, I should have liked him far worse than I do now. To which Perrot replied, "But God would have liked him better." After some more short discourse, Brown committed them all to Newgate.

After this manner, the meetings of those called Quakers, were disturbed at that time, of which I could produce, if necessary, many more instances. Once, one Cox, a wine cooper, came with some soldiers into a meeting, where, after great violence used they took up two men of those called Quakers, whom they beat most grievously, because they refused to go along with them, though they shewed no warrant for it. At length the soldiers carried them both
upon muskets into Paul's yard, and when they laid them down, they dragged one of them by the heels on his back, in a very barbarous manner; which being done the said wine cooper was heard to say, he would go and get a cup of sack, for these devils had even wearied him out: and yet he went to another meeting place of these people, where he also behaved himself very wickedly: and being asked for his order, his answer was, holding out his sword, this is my order. Thus it seems he would ingratiate himself with Brown, who now being in favour at court, was knighted, and sometime after also chosen lord mayor of London; and by his furious behaviour, the soldiers were also encouraged to commit all manner of mischief; insomuch, that being asked, what order they had for their doings, one lifting up his musket, said, "This is my order:" so that things now were carried by a club law. Nor did the soldiers respect age, but took away out of a meeting at Mile end, two boys, one about thirteen, and the other about sixteen; and they were brought before the lieutenant of the Tower, who to one present, saying he supposed they were not of the age of sixteen years, and then not punishable by the act, returned, they were old enough to be whipped; and they should be whipped out of their religion. And so he sent them to Bridewell, where their hands were put into the stocks,
and so pinched for the space of two hours, that their wrists were much swollen; and this was done because they refused to work, as being persuaded that they had not deserved to be treated so; they also eating nothing at the charge of the said workhouse. These lads, though pretty long in that prison, yet continued steadfast, rejoicing they were counted worthy to suffer for the name of the Lord: and they wrote a letter to their friends' children, exhorting them to be faithful in bearing their testimony for the Lord, against all wickedness and unrighteousness.

Some days before this time, Thomas and John Herbert, living in London, and other musketeers, came with their naked swords into some private dwellings, and broke two or three doors; (for when some persons were seen to enter a house, though it was only to visit their friends, it was called a meeting.) Now it happened in one house, these rude fellows found five persons together, one of whom was William Ames, who was come thither out of Holland, and another was Samuel Fisher; and when it was demanded what warrant they had, they held up their swords, and said, "Do not ask us for a warrant; this is our warrant." And thereupon they took away these persons by force, and carried them to Paul's yard, where they were a laughing stock to the soldiers; and
from thence they were brought to the Exchange, where they met with no better reception from the rude soldiers; and from thence they were conducted to alderman Brown's house. in Ivy-lane. He seeing these prisoners, sent them to Bridewell with a mittimus, to be kept to hard labour. But afterwards bethinking himself, and finding that his mittimus was not founded on justice, (for these persons were not taken from a meeting) next morning he sent another mittimus, wherein they were charged with unlawfully assembling themselves to worship. Now, suppose one of the musketeers had heard any of these persons speak by way of exhortation to faithfulness in this hot time of persecution, this would have been taken for a sufficient charge, though not cognizable by law: but they ran upon shifts, how poor or silly soever.

Thus these persons were committed to Bridewell, and required to beat hemp; and they were treated so severely, that W. Ames grew sick, even nigh to death, wherefore he was discharged; for in a sense it might be said, that his dwelling place was at Amsterdam in Holland, since he was there the most part of the time for some years successively, and that he might not be chargeable, he worked at wool combing; and it being alleged that he was of Amsterdam, it seems they would not have him die in prison, as some of his friends had done. The others hav-
ing been six weeks in Bridewell, were presented at the sessions in the Old Bailey; but instead of being tried for what was charged against them, they were required to take the oath of allegiance, as the only business, (according to what the deputy recorder said) they were brought thither for. The prisoners then demanded, that the law might be read, by virtue of which the said oath was required of them. This was promised by the court to be done; but instead thereof, they ordered the clerk to read only the form of the oath, but would not permit the law for imposing it to be read. But before the prisoners had either declared their willingness to take it, or their refusal of it, they were commanded to be taken away; which the officers did with such violence, that they threw some of them down upon the stones. This made Samuel Fisher say, "Take notice people, that we have not yet refused to take the oath; but the court refuseth to perform their promise which they made but just now before you all, that this statute for it should be read: if such doings as this ever prosper, it must be when there is no God." But this was not regarded; and the prisoners, without any justice, were sent to Newgate. Among these, was also one John Howel, who had been sent by alderman Brown to work at Bridewell, because he being brought before him, did not tell on a sudden
what was his name; and being demanded in
the court why he did not tell his name, he
answered, Because he had been beaten and
abused in the presence of Richard Brown, when
he was brought before him. Brown, who was
also on the bench, asked him roughly, "Where-
in were you abused?" And Howel replied,
"Blood was drawn on me in thy presence;
which ought not to be done in the presence of a
justice of peace." But Brown growing very
impetuous, returned, "Hold your prating, or
there shall as much be done again here in the
presence of the court."

About midsummer, Daniel Baker returned
into England, (who, as hath been related, had
been at Malta) and about a fortnight after his
arrival, he, with four others, was taken by a
band of soldiers from the Bull and Mouth meet-
ing, and carried to Paul's yard, where having
been kept for some hours, they were brought to
Newgate; but in the evening they were had
before alderman Brown, to whom Baker with
meekness said, "Let the fear of God and of his
peace be set up in thy heart." But Brown fell
a laughing, and said, "I would rather hear a
dog bark;" and using more such scoffing expres-
sions, he charged Baker, &c. with the breach
of the king's law in meeting together. To
which Baker said, "The servants of God in the
apostles' days, were commanded to speak no
more in the name of Jesus; and they answered, 'and so do I too, whether it be better to obey God than men, judge ye.' He also instanced the case of the three children at Babylon, and Daniel, who obeyed not the king's decrees. But Brown grew so angry, that he commanded his men to smite Daniel on the face. This they did, and pulling him four or five times to the ground, they smote him with their fists, and wrung his neck so, as if they would have murdered him. This these fellows did to please Brown, shewing themselves to be ready for any service, how abominable soever. And Baker reflecting on his travels, signified, that even Turks and heathens would abhor such brutish actions. His fellow prisoners, were also abused by Brown, and then sent to Newgate again. And after some days, they were called to the sessions, where their indictment was read, which like others in such cases, did generally run in these terms: that the prisoners, under pretence of performing religious worship, otherwise than by the laws of the kingdom of England established, unlawfully and tumultuously did gather and assemble themselves together, to the great terror of his majesty's people, and to the disturbance of the peace of the king, in contempt of our said lord the king, and his laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, &c. The indictment bein
read, no witness appeared against the prisoners, save Brown who sat on the bench; and therefore the oath as the ordinary snare, was tendered to them; for it was sufficiently known, that their profession did not suffer them to take any oath. They denying to swear, were sent back to prison, to stay there until they should have taken the oath.

If I would here set down all such like cases as have happened, I might find more work than I should be able to perform: for this vexing with the oath was become so common, that some have been taken up in the streets, and brought to a justice of the peace, that he might tender the oath to them, and in case of denial, send them to prison, though this was directly contrary to the statute of Magna Charta, which expressly saith, "No freeman shall be taken nor imprisoned, or be disseised of his freehold or liberties, but by the law of the land." But this was not regarded by Richard Brown, who did whatever he would; for force and violence were now predominant: and sometimes when the prisoners were brought to the bar, for frequenting meetings, freedom was denied to them to justify themselves; but to be hectored and baffled was their lot.

Once it happened, that a prisoner, who had been a soldier formerly under Brown, seeing that no justice or equity was observed, called
to him, saying, "That he was not fit to sit on the bench; for he made the son to hang the father at Abingdon; so that he could prove him to be a murderer." This bold saying caused some disturbance in the court, and Brown, how heavy soever the charge was, did not deny the thing in court, nor clear himself from it: yet the other Quaker-prisoners did not approve this upbraiding, but signified, that though the fact were true, yet they were not for reproaching any magistrate upon the bench, whose place and office they did respect and honour. But I do not find that Brown (on that account) ever prosecuted him that spoke so boldly, although otherwise he did whatever he would, without fearing that his fellow-magistrates (who respected him that was a favourite at court) would disclaim it, as may appear by this following instance.

A certain person who had been in a very violent and abusive manner taken to prison by the soldiers out of a meeting, because he was not willing to go, said in the court, that his refusing to go, was because they would not shew him any warrant for their apprehending him; since, for aught he knew, they might be robbers or murderers, with whom he was not bound to go. But Brown, who was for violence, said to this, If they had dragged him through all the kennels in the street, they had served him
right, if he would not go. This he spoke in such a furious manner, that one of the prisoners told him, "Thou hast had many warnings and visitations in the love of God, but hast slighted them; therefore beware of being sealed up in the wrath of God." Hereupon one of the jailors came with his cane, and struck several of the prisoners so hard, that divers of them were much bruised; and it was reported by some, that Brown cried, knock him down, though others (for mitigating it a little) would have it, pull him down. But the former seems most probable; for the blows were so violent, that some of the spectators cried out Murder! murder! and asked, "Will ye suffer men to be murdered in the court?" Whereupon one of the sheriffs in person came down from his seat to stop the beating. But Brown was so desperately filled with anger, that he said to the prisoners, "If any of you be killed, your blood shall be upon your own head:" and the hangman standing by with his gag in his hand, threatened the prisoners to gag any of them that should speak any thing. Thus innocence was forced to give way to violence. And once, when one at the common juridical question, guilty, or not guilty, answered, I deny I am guilty, and I can say I am not guilty; and also in Latin, non reus sum. Yet he was sentenced as mute, and fined accordingly, though the words he spoke, fully signified.
not guilty, albeit he had not expressed them in the same terms. But now they were for crossing the Quakers in every respect.

I will yet mention some more instances of Brown's brutality, before I leave him. Another being demanded to answer to his indictment, guilty, or not guilty, and not presently answering, but thinking a little what to speak safely, Brown scoffingly said, "We shall have a revelation by and by." To which the prisoner said, "How long will ye oppose the innocent? How long will ye persecute the righteous seed of God?" But whilst he was speaking, Brown indecently began to cry in the language of those wenches that go crying up and down the streets, "Aha, aha! Will you have any Wallfleet oysters?" And, "have you any kitchen-stuff, maids?" And when a prisoner at the bar said he could not for conscience-sake forbear meeting among the people of God, Brown scurrilously returned, "Conscience,—a dog's tail." And when Alderman Adams speaking to one of the prisoners said, "I am sorry to see you here." "Sorry!" said Brown, "What should you be sorry for?" Yes, said Adams, "He is a sober man." But Brown, who could not endure to hear this, replied, that there was never a sober man amongst them, meaning the Quakers. The spectators, who took much notice of him, discommended this his carriage exceedingly.
But he seemed to be quite hardened; for at a certain time two persons being upon their trial for robbing a house, he told them, they were the veriest rogues in England, except it were the Quakers.

Sometimes it happened that the prisoners were brought to the bar without being indicted; and when they said, "What have we done?" and desired justice; Brown having no indictment against them, often cried, "Will you take the oath?" And they then saying, that for conscience-sake they could not swear, were condemned as transgressors, though such proceedings as these, were directly against the law. But this seemed at that time little to be regarded.

However, sometime before it happened at Thetford in the county of Norfolk, that judge Windham, at that time shewing himself just in the like case, sharply reproved the justices upon the bench, for having not only committed some persons to prison, but also had them up to the bar, when no accuser appeared against them. But Richard Brown did whatever he would, and shewed himself most furiously wicked, when any prisoner was brought before him with his hat on.

One John Brain, being taken in the street, and not in any meeting, was brought by some soldiers before Brown; who seeing him with
his hat on, ordered him to be pulled down to the ground six or seven times, and when he was down, they beat his head against the ground and stamped upon him; and Brown, like a madman, bade them pull off his nose; whereupon they very violently pulled him by the nose, and when he was got up, they pulled him to the ground by the hair of his head, and then by the hair pulled him up again. And when he would have spoken in his own behalf against this cruelty: Brown bade them stop his mouth. Whereupon they not only struck him on the mouth, but stopped his mouth and nose also so close that he could not draw breath, and was likely to be choked; at which actions Brown fell a laughing, and at length sent him to gaol.

Thomas Spire being brought before Brown, he commanded his hat to be taken off; and because it was not done with such violence, as he intended, he caused it to be put upon his head again, saying, “It should not be pulled off so easily.” Then he was pulled down to the ground by his hat, and pulled up again by his hair. William Hill being brought before him, he commanded his hat to be pulled off, so that his head might be bowed down: whereupon he being pulled to the ground, was plucked up again by the hair of his head. George Ableson was thus pulled five times one after another to the ground, and plucked up by his hair, and so
beaten on his face, or the sides of his head, that he staggered, and bled, and for some days was in much pain.

Nicholas Blithold being brought before Brown he took his hat with both his hands, endeavouring to pull him down to the ground; and because he fell not quite to the ground forwards, he pushed him, to throw him backwards; and then he gave him a kick on the leg, and thrust him out of doors. Thomas Lacy being brought before him, he himself gave him a blow on the face; and Isaac Merrit, John Cook, Arthur Baker, and others, were not treated much better; so that he seemed more fit to have been a hangman, than an alderman, or justice. But I should grow weary to mention more instances of his cruelty. These his abominable achievements were published in print, more at large than I have mentioned them; and the book, as hath been said already, was dedicated to him. And yet I do not find any have been prosecuted on that account; though his wickedness was extravagant, and such as if he wanted to have stakes erected at Smithfield to sell his wood; being by trade a woodmonger.

In this hot time of persecution, Francis Howgil wrote and gave forth the following paper for the encouragement of his friends.

"The cogitations of my heart have been many
deep and ponderous, some months, weeks, and
days, concerning this people whom the Lord
hath raised to bear testimony to his name,
in this the day of his power; and intercession
hath been made often for them to the Lord,
and a patient waiting to know his mind concerning
them for the time to come; which often I received
satisfaction in as to myself, but yet something I
was drawn by the Lord to wait for, that I might
comfort and strengthen his flock by an assured
testimony. And whilst I was waiting out of all
visible things, and quite out of the world in my
spirit, and my heart upon nothing but the living
God, the Lord opened the springs of the great
deep, and overflowed my whole heart with light
and love: and my eyes were as a fountain, be-
cause of tears of joy, because of his heritage, of
whom he shewed me, and said unto me in a full,
fresh, living, power, and a holy; full testimony,
so that my heart was ravished therewith in joy
unspeakable, and I was out of the body with
God in his heavenly paradise, where I saw and
felt things utterable, and beyond all demon-
stration or speech. At last the life closed with
my understanding, and my spirit listened unto
him; and the everlasting God said, "Shall I
hide any thing from those that seek my face in
righteousness? Nay I will manifest it to them
that fear me; I will speak, do thou listen, and
publish it among all my people, that they may
be comforted, and thou satisfied." And thus said the living God of heaven and earth, upon the 28th of the third month, 1662.

"The sun shall leave its shining brightness, and cease to give light to the world; and the moon shall be altogether darkness, and give no light to the night: the stars shall cease to know their office, or place: my covenant with day, night, times and seasons shall sooner come to an end, than the covenant I have made with this people, into which they are entered with me shall end or be broken. Yea though the powers of darkness and hell combine against them, and the jaws of death open its mouth, yet I will deliver them, and lead them through all. I will confound their enemies as I did in Jacob, and scatter them as I did in Israel in the days of old. I will take their enemies, I will hurl them hither and thither, as stones are hurled in a sling; and the memorial of this nation, which is holy unto me, shall never be rooted out, but shall live through ages, as a cloud of witnesses in generations to come. I have brought them to the birth, yea, I have brought them forth; I have swaddled them, and they are mine. I will nourish them, and carry them as on eagle's wings; and though clouds gather against them, I will make my way through them; though darkness gather together as an heap, and tempests gender, I will scatter them as with an east
wind; and nations shall know they are my inheritance, and they shall know I am the living God, who will plead their cause with all that rise up in opposition against them."

"These words are holy, faithful, eternal, good, and true; blessed are they that hear and believe unto the end; and because of them no strength was left in me for a while; but at last my heart was filled with joy, even as when the ark of God was brought from the house of Obed-Edom, when David danced before it, and Israel shouted for joy.

"Francis Howgill."

That this writing of F. Howgill, who was a pious man, of great parts, together with many powerful exhortations of such who valiantly went before, and never left the oppressed flock, tended exceedingly to their encouragement in this hot time of persecution, is certain. For how furious soever their enemies were, yet they continued faithful in supplications and prayers, to God, that he might be pleased to assist them in their upright zeal, who aimed at nothing for self, but from a true fear and reverence before him durst not omit their religious assemblies. And they found that the Lord heard their prayers, insomuch that I remember to have heard one say, that in a meeting where they seemed
to be in danger of death from their fierce persecutors, he was as it were ravished, so that he hardly knew whether he was in or out of the body. They then persevering thus in faithfulness, to what they believed the Lord required of them, in process of time, when their enemies had taken such measures, that they were persuaded they had found out means by which they should suppress and extinguish the Quakers, they saw the Lord God Almighty rise up in their defence, and quash and confound the wicked devices of their cruel persecutors, as will be seen in the course of this history.

In the meanwhile let us take a view of the persecution in Southwark. Here the Quakers' meetings were no less disturbed than in London. Several persons, having been taken from their religious meetings, were committed: and after having been in White-lion prison about nine weeks, were brought to the bar where Richard Onslow sat judge of the sessions. The indictment drawn up against them was as followeth.

"The jurors for our lord the king do present upon their oath, that Arthur Fisher, late of the parish of St. Olave, in the borough of Southwark, in the county of Surrey, yeoman; Nathaniel Robinson, of the same, yeoman; John Chandler of the same, yeoman; and others, being wicked dangerous, and seditious, sectaries, and disloyal
persons, and above the age of sixteen years, who on the 29th day of June, in the year of the reign of our lord Charles the second, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c. the fourteenth, have obstinately refused, and every one of them hath obstinately refused, to repair unto some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, according to the laws and statutes of this kingdom of England, in the like case set forth and provided (after forty days next after the end of the session of parliament, begun and held at Westminster, on the 29th of February, in the year of our lady Elizabeth, late queen of England, the thirty-fifth, and there continued until the dissolution of the same, being the tenth day of April, in the 35th year abovesaid.) To wit, on the third day of August, in the year of the reign of the said Charles, king of England, the fourteenth abovesaid, in the parish of St. Olave aforesaid, in the borough of Southwark aforesaid, in the county aforesaid, of themselves, did voluntarily and unlawfully join in, and were present at an unlawful assembly, conventicle, and meeting, at the said parish of St. Olave, in the county aforesaid, under colour and pretence of the exercise of religion, against the laws and statutes of this kingdom of England, in contempt of our said lord the king that now is, his laws, and to the evil and dangerous example of all others in
the like case, offending against the peace of our said lord the king that now is, his crown and dignity, and contrary to the form of the statute in this same case set forth and provided."

I have inserted this indictment, that the reader may see not only the manner of proceeding, but also with what black and heinous colours the religious meetings of those called Quakers, were represented. This indictment being read, the prisoners desired that they might be tried by the late act of parliament against conventicles. But it was answered they might try them by what they would that was in force. Then the prisoners desired that that statute, (viz. the 35th of Elizabeth) might be read. This was done but in part, and it was said to the clerk, It was enough. The prisoners said then, that that act was made in the time of ignorance, when the people were but newly stepped out of popery; and they shewed also how unjustly they were dealt with. Then being required to plead guilty, or not guilty to the indictment, some who were not very forward to answer, were haled out of the court, as taken pro confessionis; and so sent back to prison. The rest, being twenty two in number, pleaded not guilty. Then the jurymen were called, and when they had excepted against one, the judge would not allow it, because he did not like the
reason they gave, viz. that they saw envy, prejudice, and a vain deportment in him. Another was excepted against, because he was heard to say, that he hoped er long, that the Quakers should be arraigned at the bar, and be banished to some land, where there were nothing but bears. At this the court burst out into a laughter; yet the exception was admitted, and the man put by. The prisoners not thinking it convenient to make more exceptions, the jury were sworn, then two witnesses were called, who testified at most, that in such a place they took such persons met together, whose names were specified in writing. Then the prisoners bid the jury, take heed how they did sport or dally with holy things, and that those things, which concerned the conscience, were holy things. And as a man was not to sport with the health or illness of his neighbour, so he was not to sport with the liberty or the banishment of his neighbour. And whereas they were accused of being wicked, dangerous, and seditious sectaries, that was not true; for they were not wicked but such as endeavoured to live soberly, righteously, and godly in the world; concerning the truth of which, they appealed to themselves. Neither were they seditious, but peaceable. And whereas they were charged for not coming to hear the common prayer, this was incongruous; for the service
book was not quite printed several weeks after the said 29th of June; so that they could not be charged with neglecting to hear that which was not to be heard read any where. This puzzled the court not a little; and other pinching reasons were also given by the prisoners, some of whom were men of learning; inasmuch that the judge was not able to answer the objections, but by shifts and evasions. At length the jury went out to consult; and one of them was heard to say, as they were going up stairs, "Here is a deal to do indeed to condemn a company of innocent men."

After some time, the jury coming again, and being asked, whether the prisoners at the bar were guilty, or not guilty, they said, they were guilty in part, and not guilty, in part. But this verdict did not please the judge. The jury then going out again, and prevailing upon one another, quickly returned, and declared the prisoners guilty, according to the form of the indictment. Hereupon the judge Onslow pronounced sentence, viz. That they should return to prison again, and lie there three months without bail; and if they did not make submission according as the law directed, either at, or before the end of the aforesaid three months, that then they should abjure the realm; but in case they refused to make abjuration, or after abjuration made, should forbear to depart
the realm within the time limited, or should return again without licence, they should be proceeded against as felons.

Just before sentence given, the judge said to one of the prisoners, there was a way to escape the penalty, viz. Submission. And being asked, what that was? the judge answered, "To come to common prayer" and refrain these meetings." The prisoner giving reasons for refusal of both, the judge said, "Then you must abjure the land." "Abjure," returned the prisoner, is "forswear." To which one of the justices said laughingly, "And ye cannot swear at all," just as if it were but jest, thus to treat religious men. But they had signified already to the jury, that they must rather die than do so. How long they were kept prisoners, and how released, I could not learn; but this I know, that many in the like cases have been long kept in jail, till sometimes they were set at liberty by the king's proclamation.

In this year it was the share of John Crook (who himself once had been a justice) to be taken out of a meeting at London in John's street, as hath been said already, by one Miller, though not in office. And he with others was brought to his trial in the said city, before the lord mayor of London, the recorder of the same, the chief justice Forster, and other judges and justices, among whom was also Richard Brown.
Now since J. Crook published this trial in print, and by that we may judge, as ex ungue leonem, of other trials of the Quakers, I will give it here at large.

J. Crook being brought to the sessions house in the Old Bailey with two of his friends, viz. Isaac Gray, doctor of physic, and John Bolton, goldsmith: one of the prisoners was called to the bar, and then asked by the

Chief Judge. What meeting was that you were at?

Prisoner. I desire to be heard, where is my accuser?

Ch. Judge. Your tongue is not your own, and you must not have liberty to speak what you list.

Pris. I speak in the presence and fear of the everlasting God, that my tongue is not my own, for it is the Lord's, and to be disposed of according to his pleasure, and not to speak my own words; and therefore I desire to be heard: I have been so long in prison——then he was interrupted by the judge.

Judge. Leave your canting;—and commanded him to be taken away, which he was accordingly, by the jailor. This was the substance of what the prisoner aforesaid spoke the first time.

C. Judge. Call John Crook to the bar;
which the crier did accordingly, he being a-
mongst the felons as aforesaid.

John Crook being brought to the bar;

C. Judge. When did you take the oath of
allegiance?

J. Crook. I desire to be heard.

C. Judge. Answer to the question, and you
shall be heard.

J. C. I have been about six weeks in prison,
and am I now called to accuse myself? For the
answering to this question in the negative, is to
accuse myself, which you ought not to put me
upon; for, Nemo debet seipsum prodere. I
am an Englishman, and by the law of England
I ought not to be taken, nor imprisoned, nor
disseized of my freehold, nor called in question,
nor put to answer, but according to the law of
the land: which I challenge as my birthright,
on my own behalf, and all that hear me this
day; (or words to this purpose.) I stand here
at this bar as a delinquent, and do desire that
my accuser may be brought forth to accuse me
for my delinquency, and then I shall answer to
my charge, if any I be guilty of.

C. Judge. You are here demanded to take
the oath of allegiance, and when you have done
that, then you shall be heard about the other;
for we have power to tender it to any man.

J. C. Not to me upon this occasion, in this
place; for I am brought hither as an offender
already, and not to be made an offender here, or to accuse myself; for I am an Englishman, as I have said to you, and challenge the benefit of the laws of England; for by them is a better inheritance derived to me as an Englishman, than that which I received from my parents; for by the former the latter is preserved; and this is seen in the 29th chapter of Magna Charta, and the petition of right, mentioned in the third of Car. 1. and in other good laws of England; and therefore I desire the benefit and observance of them: and you that are judges upon the bench, ought to be my council, and not my accusers, but to inform me of the benefit of those laws: and wherein I am ignorant, you ought to inform me, that I may not suffer through my own ignorance of those advantages, which the laws of England afford me as an Englishman.

Reader, I here give thee a brief account of my taking and imprisonment, that thou mayst the better judge of what justice I had from the court aforesaid; which is as followeth.

I being in John’s street London, about the thirteenth day of the third month (called May) with some other of the people of God, to wait upon him, as we were sat together, there came in a rude man (called Miller) with a long cane in his hand, who laid violent hands upon me, with some others, beating some, commanding
the constables who came in after him; but having no warrant, were not willing to meddle, but as his threatenings prevailed, they, being afraid of him, joined with him to carry several of us before justice Powel (so called) who the next day sent us to the sessions at Hick's Hall; where after some discourse several times with them, we manifested to them the illegality both of our commitment, and their proceedings thereupon; yet notwithstanding, they committed me and others, and caused an indictment to be drawn against us, founded upon the late act against Quakers and others; and then remanded us to New Prison, where we continued for some days; and then removed us to Newgate, where we remained until the sessions in the Old Bailey aforesaid: whereby thou mayst understand what justice I met withal, by what went before, and now farther follows:

Chief Judge. We sit here to do justice, and are upon our oaths; and we are to tell you what is law, and not you us: therefore, Sirrah, you are too bold.

J. Crook. Sirrah is not a word becoming a judge: for I am no felon; neither ought you to menace the prisoner at the bar; for I stand here arraigned as for my life and liberty, and the preservation of my wife and children, and outward estate, [they being now at the stake]