



The Quakers in Chester under the Protectorate

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FEW months ago, I was fortunate enough to procure, through the catalogue of a London bookseller, a very curious and interesting pamphlet which throws much light upon Quakerism in Chester in its early days. It consists of fifty-four pages, with three pages of preface, and was printed in London in 1657, the year before Cromwell's death. It seems worth while to print this tract *in extenso*, as it is of extreme rarity; its full title will be found on a following page. The pamphlet appears to have been drawn up by Anthony Hutchins, although the initials F. H.¹ are appended to the preface.

It will be remembered that the Churches of Chester at this time were in the hands of Presbyterian ministers, who, in Quaker parlance, are always designated priests. A settled ministry of any kind was contrary to their deepest convictions.

The sufferings of the Quakers were cruelly severe, although it must be admitted by those who respect their

¹ Francis Howgill, see *Dictionary National Biography*.

principles, and admire their honesty and fortitude, that they provoked much of the persecution which they so patiently endured. A modern "friend," mild, pleasant, neatly dressed, carefully educated, is as unlike as possible, except in a few "principles," to the obtrusive, intolerent, rude, coarse, disputatious Quaker of the early days of their sect.

The "Little Ease" which occurs so frequently in the following pages, was situated under the Northgate prison.²

² See *Hemingway's* "Chester." I., 349, 350; II., 168-170.

CAINES
 BLOODY
 RACE
 KNOWN BY THEIR
 FRUITS
 OR, A TRUE
 DECLARATION
 OF

The Innocent sufferings of the Servants of the living God, by the Magistrates Priests, and people in the City of Westchester, who lives in a profession of God, Christ, and the Scriptures, as their forefathers did, who slew the Prophets, persecuted Christ, and the Apostles, as is declared in the Scriptures of truth, &c.

They persecute him whom thou hast smitten ; and they add unto the sorrow of them whom thou hast wounded. Psal. 69, 26.

Bloody men hate him that is upright ; but the just have care of his soul.
 Prov. 29, 10.

Remember the word that I said unto you, The Servant is not greater than his Master ; if they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also ; if they have kept my word, they will also keep yours. Joh. 15, 20.

Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake, rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven, for so persecuted they the Prophets which were before you. Matt. 5, 11, 12.

LONDON, Printed for Thomas Simmons, at the sign of
 the Bull and Mouth, neer Aldersgate, 1657.

TO THE
R E A D E R

Reader,

Amongst the many sad objects of pitty and commiseration which these dayes afford, and do bring forth, here is one not of the least, where thou may behold the sad and woful sufferings of many of the dear and precious servants of the Lord, who have denied themselves and the glory of this World, that so they might be followers of Christ, and doers of his Will, that so they might receive peace with the Father through Jesus Christ, who hath called us to suffer for his Names sake, and be conformable unto his Will, that so the Crown of Glory may be received, which is laid up for all them that keep the faith, and doth not deny it, nor him in whom they have believed, before men, as these Cloud of Witnesses and faithful sufferers have done, who have kept the Faith, and confessed him before men, and among such also where the Devil hath his Throne, and rules as King; and by his unrighteous Scepter hath the Rulers of Chester acted, as the Discourse hereafter will manifest, wherein thou may see the Image of the Father in the sufferers, and of the Lamb, who was dumb before the Shearer, and opened not his mouth: And in this after written thou may see the Scriptures fulfilled, as it is written by the Prophets, They eat my people as men eat bread, and they chop them in pieces as flesh; for the Caldron and the time which Christ spoke of is come, that they that kill you shall think they do God service; and all these

things they wil do unto you for my Names sake, and they shall shamefully intreat you, and cast you into prison, and speak all manner of evil of you falsly for my Names sake; but blessed are they who are not offended. And in those blood thirsty inhumane Magistrates (so called) who have done all this violence and cruelty, thou may also read the image of the Devil brought forth, for their works that they have done and wrought are of him; and as Christ said to them who would have been counted holy, who said God was their Father but their Works manifested them to be of the Devil, and he was their Father who abode not in the truth. And that which makes the violence and cruelty more intollerable of these men, is, because they profess themselves to rule for God, and are christian Magistrates, but their actions that they have brought forth will Christ never own, for he came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them; neither did he ever set up anysuch rule as to slay his servants, nor any such Magistrates who are a terror to them that do well, and therefore they must be recorded among the Adversaries of the Lord whom the Lord will dash to pieces. What! Is this the reformation brought forth in their City, imprisoning them that reprove sin in the Gate, and set drunkards at liberty? Oh preposterous and prodigious cruelty! In the time of the King and in the time of the Bishops never such presidents of cruelty was found; and this hypocritical generation will be lesse excusable than they, they in ignorance, but these in the day, when light is declared abroad, and have been warned; they never professed liberty of conscience, but these do; they never professed toleration or protection unto any but them that conformed to them in all things, but these do. Oh England! Is thy sun

set when it was but new risen? and utter darknesse coming upon thee again? And must this be fulfilled upon thy Rulers, and among them, They are all evening-Wolves, who devour so greedily, that they gnaw not the bones till the Morrow? Oh unheard-of cruelty! unparell'd Wickednesse! violence is broken forth into a Rod, and now smiteth the just in great cruelty, and the innocent in great rage; but all these things are recorded and taken notice of by him who weighs all things in an even ballance, and will scatter the wiced and ungodly as Chaff, and as dust shall they be blown away; but all the stripes, reproaches, sighs, tears, and sufferings of the upright will he reward, when their enemies shall sink as a stone into the Sea, and be overwhelmed in the pit of everlasting vengeance, wo, and misery, which is prepared for the old Dragon, the Devourer, and all his Seed and Race for ever, who would not have Righteousnesse to rule, nor Innocency to live, but subtilty and craft, pride and arrogancie, in which the Kingdom of the Devil stands, and envy, murder, and oppression, and he that hates his Brother is a man-slayer. And when thou hast read over this Discourse, and sees the envy, wickedness, and madness and cruelty of these Rulers, their spirit thou will see, and cannot but abhor as detestable, and may truly say, While such bear rule, the Land cannot but mourn; but the mischief they have hatched shall fall upon their own pate, and peace shall possesse the reins of the just, and the heart of them that have suffered shall rejoice and be glad in him who hath counted them worthy to suffer for his Names sake, and great shall be their reward, for they shall reign with him for ever and ever over all their Enemies, and shall trample them down under their feet; which

if thou believe, and in patience endure and suffer with them that suffer, thou shalt rejoyce with them that rejoyce, in the joy which is unspeakable and full of glory, and know the Dominion which is everlasting, when all those unrighteous powers and dominions shall come to an end; and all that endure to the end and keep the faith, this shall see fulfilled; and the Lord is hastening it for Wickedness is near at the heighth, and then his Wrath shall consume his Enemies, and they shall melt away that hate the Lord.

F[RANCIS] H[OWGILL]

CAINES

BLOODY

RACE

KNOWN BY THEIR

FRUITS

FIRST, UNDER EDWARD BRADSHAW, Mayor; Richard Hubberthorne³ coming into Chester City about the 29th of the 9 Month, 1653. the occasion of his coming at that time was to visite a brother in the truth, who was for the truths sake a prisoner in the County-Goal, his name was John Lawson; so he (Richard Hubberthorn) being in the House, where he lodged all night peaceably, not giving the least occasion of offence to any but was writing in a Book he then had of his own; so as he sate writing came in Richard Golborne a Lawyer, and took his Book from him, and gave him envious and threatning words, and went his way, and informed Edward Bradshaw Mayor what a dangerous Fellow was in the Town, and caused him to be brought before the Magistrates into the Pentice, so when they and the chief Priest had examined him, and finding the Law not by him transgressed, he being clear in all things from the least breach thereof, they caused him to be put a-part into another Room, until they had devised wicked and unlawful devices against him, for this was the time when the Lord first tryed them how they could bear the sincerity and plainnesse of the innocent truth and Gospel of Christ, which was then beginning to spread abroad in the Nation; which Truth, and the

³ See *Dictionary National Biography*.

servants thereof, doth onely seek the Honor which comes from God, and doth only give the Honor to God; and doth not seek that Honor which comes from men, neither can give that Honor which men seek one of another; and for this cause was the Wrath of the Magistrate lifted up, until they had both lost the knowledge of the Law, and of Reason, who in their Wrath sent him into prison, no breach of the Law being found by him, only by the information of Richard Golborne, who had broken the Law in taking his Goods from him, contrary to all the Laws of this Nation; only this they said they imprisoned him for, because he could not promise them to go out of the Town when they commanded him. But Festus who was a Ruler amongst the Heathens, he well might be called Noble, for to him it seemed unreasonable to send a Prisoner, and not to shew the causes of offence that was laid against him: But these Magistrates which say they are Christians, they manifest themselves to be void of understanding, sense, and reason, having sent many to prison without so much as signifying a just occasion against them. So when R Hubberthorne had suffered about three moneths imprisonment, he was called before a Sessions, and they finding nothing against him, again asked him if he would go forth of the City, which if he would, they said he should be set free; which he denied to promise them, and stood in the Authority of the Almighty over their deceit, being they could lay nothing to his charge; then their Wrath arose, and commanded him to be put into prison, and kept close that none should come to him; all which the Keeper obeyed for about eight dayes; and then the Mayor and the rest of his Brethren joyned together to make a Passe to send him from Constable to Constable, into

Lancashire; but when the Lord had tryed them to the full, then they broke their Order which was sealed with seven Seales, and he was onely brought forth of the City, and set free.

Thomas Holme coming into this City, had a Meeting in the same about the nineteenth day of the first Month, 1653, where he and many more were met together to wait upon the Lord in a house in the same City; then Thomas Holme spake as he was moved of the Lord, Edward Bradshaw then Mayor, being informed thereof, sent one of his servants, and commanded him to bring Tho. Holme before him, so he committed him to prison to the Common Goal for the City, where he was kept about six Weeks, in which time he was much abused and beaten by Robert Emisone, Keeper of the Prison, who is a common notorious Drunkard. Before Tho. Holme was released, Edward Bradshaw sent Samuel Elcock unto him, to know if he would promise him to depart the City, which if he would, he might be released; who said he could make no such promise. Now Tho. Holme having a letter by him, which was sent him from Rich. Hubberthorne, directed to Edward Bradshaw he gave it to Samuel Elcock to give it as directed, who did; so when Edward Bradshaw had read over the Letter, he said that Tho. Holme should be whipped, and (as we are informed) had a man in readinesse to do it, he thinking all the while it had been Tho. Holme which writ it to him; so Thomas Yarwood hearing what was intended against Tho. Holm, and understanding it was because of that Letter, went to Edward Bradshaw, and said, Friend, Tho. Holm did not write that Letter to thee, it was Rich. Hubberthorne, but Tho. Yarwood not doffing his Hat, Edward Bradshaw committed him to the Stocks, where he was

kept about an hour and a half at the least, then the next day after Tho. Holme was committed as aforesaid, Edward Bradshaw sent for Rich. Hickock and Edward Morgan, they being two that was at the Meeting the day before, and committed them to prison upon the twentieth day of the first month, 1653, and kept Rich. Hickock fifteen Weeks, and Edw. Morgan nine Weeks.

Elizabeth Levens, and Jane Waugh, coming to this City to visite their Brethren in prison, and as they were passing peaceably through the Streets, were tooke up by a drunken man, and brought before Edward Bradshaw, and by him committed to prison, who were a great part of their imprisonment kept in a stinking place, where for the most part thieves and murderers are kept; the whole time of their imprisonment was about five Weeks; who when they were released, were sent from Constable to Constable, as Vagabonds, into their own Countrey.

Anne Fara coming to this City, was moved to go to a steeple-house, and spake unto the Priest, she was much abused by the rude multitude, and by them took before Edw. Bradshaw, and by him committed to prison for many dayes.

Richard Hickecke was moved to go to a Steeple-house in the City, where was a High-Priest, called Samuel Eaton,⁸ who when he had ended that he called his Sermon, Rich. Hickock spake some Words to the people, but they pulled him down, and did much abuse him; yet neverthesse Edw. Bradshaw committed him to prison, and commanded the Keeper to put him into a dark stinking Room, where he saw a Snake, and other venomous creatures; it is such a place that none

⁸ For Samuel Eaton see *Dictionary National Biography*.

is put into at any time but such as are condemned to dye, and therefore is called The dead Mans Room ; and likewise Edw. Bradshaw commanded Irons to be put on him, all which his commands were executed to the highest degree of malice that might be ; in which condition he was kept 13. Weeks and upwards, and it 's believed by some, the Priest and he together intended to destroy the outward man, though he had a Wife and many small children ; such is their cruelty, had they not been prevented by George Minshall, one of the Protectors servants, who coming to the Town at the time of the General Sessions holden for the County, and hearing of their usuage of him, was moved with pittty, and fetched forth a Habeas Corpus, and brought his body before the Judge for the County, out of the hands of those bloody and cruel men, to answer the Law, who finding no just cause of imprisonment proved against him, and being moved with pittty towards him, understanding how cruelly he had been used by them, did freely release him, to their shame and trouble.

Tho. Yarwood was moved to go to the Steeple-house, and stood till the Priest had done what he had to say, and then he spoke to the people, but he was haled forth, and ill abused by the baser sort, and brought before Edward Bradshaw, and by him committed to prison, where he was kept most part of two days ; he being a Souldier, and under Command, his officer sent to him to know why he had imprisoned his Souldier, and fetcht him out of prison ; Edward Bradshaw sent him Word, He came in amongst them with a laudable Voice, and disturbed the Assembly before the Minister had done, though he spake not till the Priest had done, as before is said.

John Owen being in his own house, following his lawful employment, there was a stone flang at his window, and missed it; then he and his men went off the Table they sate on, which was close to the Window, who were no sooner off the Table, but a great piece of a Brick stone was flang through his Glasse-Window, which broke it in pieces, and had not he and his men (as is said) come from the Window, it might have killed some of them, it came with such force into the House; so he seeing who threw it, took the stone in his hand to Edward Bradshaw, and shewed him the stone, and who it was that threw it into his House, and brake his Window, as is said, who said, Do you come to complain before a Magistrate in such an unreverent manner? and said, I will neither heare your cause, nor right you; and with his own hands thrust him forth of his doors, and charged him to come before him no more.

The innocent sufferings of the servants of the Lord in Chester City, under Richard Bird, Mayor of the same.

Edmond Ogden being moved to go to a Steeple-house, spake not a Word until the Priest had done, and then spake some Words to the Priest to make good what he had said; but he was drawn forth into the Street by the hair of his head, and then sent to prison by Richard Bird, and kept nine Weeks.

Richard Bird sent for Edward Morgan forth of his own House, and committed him to prison, when he had not spoke to any, nor to this day knows what he was imprisoned for, onely it was reported by some he did

it because Edmond Ogden had been at the Steeple-house.

At another time Rich. Bird caused Edw. Morgan to be taken out of the Street, who neither said or did to any, yet he caused him to be put into the Grate, where for the most part Thieves and Murderers are put.

Mary Endon came to this City to see her Husband ; who was in bonds for the truth, she was then moved to go to a Steeple-house, and asked the Priest a question ; but she was exceedingly abused by the People, and taken before Rich. Bird, and by him committed to prison, where she was kept four days.

William Sarrot passing through the street with a piece of cloth, John Poole called to him, and asked if he would sell his cloth, who said, Yea ; John Poole asked him his price ; he said, so much the Yeard ; John Poole said he would have it ; William Sarrot hearing him say so hastily he would have it, said, Friend, do not mistake thyself, I ask so much the yard ; John Poole said, Thou lyeest, thou asked me so much an ell, but William denyed it, and said as before ; then John Poole struck him very ill, and thrust him out of his shop, and kept his cloth, though his Wife and Mother would have had him to have given him his cloth again, they being (its very like) sensible how it was ; but he would not give him his cloth again, but said he would teach him to be a Quaker ; many people cryed out against him for so doing, but for all that was said to him, he was shameless, and would not part with the cloth. So William Sarrot came and informed some of his Friends, who bad him to go to the Mayor, and inform him thereof, who did ; the Mayor was high with him, because he could not give

him that honor he expected from him, but in the end did send for John Poole, who came; and as soon as he was come, the Mayor and he went apart, and discoursed awhile; but when they returned to William, the Mayor said to William, unless he would put off his Hat to him, he would do him no justice, but would send him to prison for coming before a Magistrate so unmannerly; but in short, he sent William Sarrot to the Common Goal, and not in the least reproved John Poole, who would have cheated him of his Cloth. So the third day after William was put in prison, the Mayor sent for him forth to his own House, where Pool had sent the Cloth; so when William Sarrot saw his Cloth upon the Table, he said, Friend, is this Cloth of so much the Ell, as Pool said he would have it for? The Mayors Wife said it was better worth; then the Mayor gave William his Cloth again, and discharged him, paying his Fees; he denyed to pay any Fees; then the Keeper took him to prison again; but when he saw he would pay him no Fees, he turned him forth without.

The innocent sufferings of the people of God under William Wright, Mayor of Chester City.

Sarah Adgit, and Margret Wood, coming to this City, were moved to go to a Steeple-house; Sarah spake a few Words when the Priest had done; Margret spake not in the Steeple-house at all; they were both taken before William Wright, and by him committed to prison, and kept above four Weeks, though (as afore-said) one of them spoke not at all in the Steeple-house.

Upon the 31. day of the first Month, Richard Sale was moved of the Lord to come to the City, and to

go to a Steeple-house, where the Judge for the County, and many more of the City and Countrey were assembled, and Nathaniel Lancaster Priest,⁴ found in the steps of the Scribes and Pharisees, who in the highest place of the Assembly was found, exalting himself as their Teacher. So Richard Sale stood so long as he could, and opened not his mouth, until at last the burden of the word of the Lord burned as fire within him, that contrary to his own will he was forced to speak; but before he could utter many words, he was violently halled forth as their manner is, and committed to the County gaol for one day, and then by the same power that committed him was released for that thing; so the Law being satisfied, he went to his own house.

Then upon the second day of the second moneth, 1656. Richard Sale, being commanded of the Lord, to come to Chester citty, and by the Lord commanded to reprove sin in the gate, he being in the liberty of the County, about Glovers-stone, he then was pulled by violence into the Liberties of the City, and delivered to one of the Mayors Officers; so he was taken before William Wright Mayor, who committed him to prison: Demand was made what he was committed for; Answer was given, For speaking before the Judges; though he had as aforesaid satisfied the Law, for that before, and yet for the same thing was committed to prison again, and there kept in a most cruel manner 33 weeks, in all which time he might not be suffered to have a little fire, though none of their charge, he being in a cold open room, and the coldest time in all the year, such was their cruelty, then at last they released him privately without any tryal at Law.

⁴ Nathaniel Lancaster, Minister of Tarporley, was son of Gabriel Lancaster of Rainhill, Lancashire. He died 9th January, 1660.

The Innocent sufferings of the People of God in Chester city, under Peter Leigh Mayor of the same, who in a most cruell, bloody, and mercil-esse manner hath executed his power against them.

Upon the ninth day of the tenth month, 1656. Edward Morgan had a servant wrought with him, whose name was William Fletcher, who had stole a peece of Leather from him, which was worth two shillings, or thereabouts; Edward being informed thereof by one of his servants, called Thomas Edwards; then Edward Morgan asked Fletcher, why he stole his Leather from him? Fletcher denyed it, and did begin to quarrell with him: Insomuch that another of Edward Morgans servants, went and informed Peter Leigh Mayor, (unknown to Edward) the Mayor sent for them both, who came before him, the first word that the Mayor spake was to Edward Morgan, asking him, if he was not a Freeman of this City, being he came so unreverently before him, and farther said, Are you not sworn to be obedient to Magistrates? he answered, What I do is contrary to my own will in obedience to the Lord: the Mayor said, The Scripture saith, Honour thy Father, and Mother: Edward said, I honour my Father in that I am obedient to that of God in my Conscience: then the Mayor said to Edw. That unless he would put off his hat, he would not hear his cause, so Edw. came away, and the man that stole his Leather escaping punishment for stealing, because he whom he stole it from could not in conscience put off his hat.

Upon the fifteenth day of the tenth moneth, 1656. Peter Leigh Mayor commanded Edward Morgan to come before him, who (as it will appear hereafter) had

laid a snare to entrap him, because he had escaped imprisonment before, when he was before him last, seeing he would not put off his hat: The Mayor had sent for Rich. Bird (formerly Mayor) who was an approved man for his purpose, to persecute the innocent without a cause, and John Johnson as bad as he; so they being met together in the Pentice, sent for Edw. Morgan, (as aforesaid) pretending to punish him that stole his leather if he desired it: Here all may see how unfit these men are to be Magistrates, for they that know anything pertaining to the Law, know this, that a Magistrate in his place ought to be a terror to him that doth evil, and is upon all occasions to use his utmost endeavour to find them out, and them to punish according to their offence, and in so doing becomes a terror to them. Nay further, if any man hath so much respect to him that hath transgressed the Law, as to conceal it such a time as the Law sets down, according to the offence, he makes himself equal transgressour with him that hath transgressed: Now these Magistrates are so far from this, that they told Edward Morgan, that if he desired the thief to be punished they would punish him; so ignorant are they of their places, that because Edw. Morgan did not desire it from them, they did not punish him for stealing: but this was but their pretence to ensnare him, as their actions hereafter will appear. Then the Mayor asked him, if he was not a perjured fellow to come before them so unreverently, and many such like words he used, but (in short) according to their design on him, they began to cast how to bring him under their Law, there being a bench at the lower end of the room, Edw. did sit down: Tho. Robbinson one of the Sheriffs called to him, and said, Dost thou know where thou art? and

told him that was not a place for such fellows as he to sit on, and said, he should be taught better manners: for they would put a bridle on his head, and many such like unsavoury words he used, not worth repeating over, so in the end, they got John Taylor, John Knowles, and John Whitley to swear against Edward Morgan.

To wit, He said his Conscience told him, he could not bow to deceit, so this was the ground for which they committed him to prison, because he could not bow to deceit, and made a warrant which was signed by John Johnson, and Rich. Bird, the sum of which was, that Edw. Morgan misbehaved himself before the Mayor, so to prison Edward was sent straightway, but he that stole his Leather found favour from them and was not punished at all for stealing, though he confessed so far to the stealing of it, that of himself he brought part of the Leather back again to Ed. Morgan, but not by any constraint of either Mayor or Justices; so now that for which they sent for Edward Morgan hath fully appeared.

Now Ed. Morgan lying in prison, as is said, many as he dealt with in things belonging to his trade, understanding the grievous wrong he had done him, went of their own accord, unknown to Edw. Morgan, unto Peter Leigh Mayor, to desire Edwards enlargement from him, the Mayor told them in a fawning hypocritical manner, he did not desire to keep him in prison, and told them it was Rich. Bird, and John Johnson that did commit him, they seeing how uncivilly he behaved himself before me; and said, if they would release him, he would be content therewith; this the Mayor did say in the hearing of many Witnesses. Then David Bathow who was one that heard him

say so, went to Rich. Bird, and told him what the Mayor had said, when Ric. Bird had heard him tell what the Mayor had said to them, he did deny that he was cause of it, and said that he had rather have gone 20 miles another way, then have gone about any such thing, when the Mayor sent for him; and farther said, he did not desire any poor man should be kept in prison; and said farther, if any man would but come and passe his word for his good behaviour, he would undertake to prevail so far with M^r Mayor, as to procure his enlargement, and likewise said if any man would come, and passe for him as is said, he would pass his word to him he should never be troubled for so doing.

Upon the 21. of the tenth moneth, 1656. Some of those that had been with the Mayor before, went to him again about the same business, but he would not suffer them to speak with him, but sent them word by his door-keeper that they should attend him upon Fryday, it being the three and twentieth of the tenth month, and bring a surety with them, and he should be released: so as they were appointed they came to the Pentice, and brought a surety with them, as the Mayor had appointed them to do, now the Mayor and many more being present, they made known their businesse to them, so they said as they had before (not knowing) there was any to passe for him, that if any would passe for his good behaviour, he should be released, or else not: Then the man spoke, and said, he would passe for his good behaviour; when the Mayor and the rest heard that any would passe for him, they then denied to release him upon sureties, unless Edw. Morgan would come himself before them, and desire it with his hat in his hand, if so, then

they would release him upon sureties, or else (some of them said) there he should rot, so they were all dismissed. Now any who are in the least measure turned to the Light wherewithall Christ Jesus hath enlightened them, may see their deceit, for at the first the Mayor said it was John Johnson, and Richard Bird that committed him, and he could not release him, because they did it: Rich. Bird said, What they did was by the Mayors appointment, but both said, Bring a surety to passe for his good behaviour and he should be released; but when a surety came, none would release him, unlesse he would come before them with his hat in his hand, and desire his enlargement of them himself, or else some of them said, he should rot there; but in the end all were made manifest to be lyars, for upon the second day of the first month . . . 56. After he had endured eleven weeks imprisonment, the Mayor sent a Constable to the keeper of the prison to release him privately, it is beleaved, because the general Sessions for the County drew neer, least their actions there should have been made publick.

In the time of Edw. Morgans imprisonment as afore-said, he sent a modest Letter to Peter Leigh Mayor, by the hands of Deborah Maddock, she finding him in the Pentice, did deliver the Letter; he asked her from whence it came? she told him; he said, What dumb Spirit hath set them on work now? then the Mayor said unto her, That such Huswives as she was fitter for the stocks, or to be ducked in a Cuck-stool, then to carry letters, and come before Magistrates to deliver them so unreverently, she said, There is no respect of persons with God; the Mayor called for a Constable, and sent her into little ease, the hole in the Rock, where she was kept about 4 hours.

Richard Sale, being a Freemans son of this city, went to Peter Leigh Mayor, to demand his Freedom, as in right it could not be denyed him, upon the one and twentieth day of the tenth month ; the Mayor asked him his name ; he told him, the Mayor said, I thought you had been in prison long enough to have learned better manners, but seeing you have not ; I will teach you some if I can ; Rich. Sale answered, Evil words corrupt good manners, and thou hast heard none from me yet, the Mayor said he would teach him to com with more reverence before Magistrates, and called for a Constable ; but being none ready, he sent him to a Constables house ; the Constable asked the man that brought him, what he must do with him, he said, bring him to prison ; R. Sale said, thou received no such orders, then the Constable went to the Mayor himself, to know what he must do with him, so when he came back, he came to R. Sale, and said, If he would promise him not to trouble the town any more, neither meddle with their Ministers, he might go his way ; but he denyed to condition with him at all, who when he could get none, let him go without.

Upon the 4th day of the 11th month, 56, it being the first day of the week, Rich. Sale, as he was waiting upon the Lord in a meeting in Chester, then was commanded of the Lord to go to a place in the City called the Minster : so he coming there, he met John Glendall Priest,⁵ and was moved to speak to him ; there passing by a Constable, one told the Priest thereof, the Priest bad the Constable take Rich Sale to the Mayors house, and keep him there untill he came to him. So the Constable being ignorant of his place,

⁵ John Glendole was Minister of St. Peter's, Chester.

did take him as the Priest commanded him, and there kept him a great while, but the Priest came not, as he said he would: for to them it is a light thing to lye; then at last Rich. Sale was taken before the Mayor, who asked him, Why he disturbed the Ministers of the Gospel? he answered, He did not disturb any Ministers of the Gospel; then the Mayor demanded of him sureties, for the keeping of the Peace; he told him he had not broken the peace, therefore he denied to put in sureties to keep that he had not broken, so the Mayor commanded him to be put into prison untill the next day; so the next day he sent for him forth of prison, and gave order he should not be brought before him, but put into little ease, the hole in the rock, where he was kept about 8 hours, it being a very cold day, in which place he could not sit, kneel, stand nor lye, yet before they would let him forth, they would have had him to have promised them not to have disturbed their Ministers, nor Magistrates, or else they said they must not loose him forth. But he denied their propositions, and was made rather willing to give his body up to be murdered by them, then to yeeld to their wills. Then to cover their cruelty, they said he pulled Priest Glendals cloak from off his back, when he did not so much as touch any part of his garments; unless they meant it by laying open the fruits of his Ministry, and pulling off his Cloak of hypocrisie; and if so they meant, we shall not say against it: Then Peter Cowsnock being in the Town, and seeing how the Mayor had used Edw. Morgan, and Rich. Sale, it lay upon him of the Lord to go to the Mayor, and to speak to him concerning his usage of them as is said; so upon the 5. day 11 month 56. the Mayor, and Sheriffs, and many more being met together in the

Pentice, he went in amongst them, and spake to the Mayor his message once and again; the Mayor seemed as though he heard him not: the Mayor then spake to a man that stood by him, who came immediately and plucked Peter Cowsnocks hat from off his head, and flang it down, then the Mayor turned towards him, and asked him, How he came before him so profanely with his hat on? Peter told him the occasion of his coming; he received from them many scornful and reprochful words, likewise some of them threatened to whip him, others to put him into little ease, the hole in the Rock which is worse, then at last he pulled forth a Pass with a Letter, both from some of the Council of State, his Pass shewing that none should interrupt him in his journie to the Isle of Man, from whence he came; yet for all this did Wil. Street, and Will. Haywood say to the Sheriff, He might do well to search him for Letters, it being (as they said) in his power; so he being ready to execute their malice did, and took divers writings from him of great concernment, which he could never to this day get any of them again; now let any man judge whether this was not a contempt against those of the Council of State, that made him his pass; now this is certain, had he not had that Pass, they would have don to him, as afore is said, for against him their malice was as great as against any other which they have acted much cruelty against; for two or three times Constables were sent to Anthony Hutchins house to charge him he should neither entertain Peter Cowsnock nor his son, but their Message was by him little regarded in that thing.

Upon the 20th day 11 month 56. Richard Sale was moved of the Lord to come to Chester, it being the

3^d day of the Week, as he was passing to a friends house he met with one of the Pharises called William Haywood, and said to him, The Serpent lives upon dust and dust is the Serpents meat: he then asked Rich. Sale if he was God, and many such like tempting questions; but he shut him out, and would not answer to his vain questions at all: There standing by Hamnet Kerkes a shoo-maker in the same City, who began to kick and push Rich. Sale to and fro, and offered to strike up his heels, but missing of his end, stroke Richard over the face, he turned to him the other side, then Hamnet Kerkes stroke Rich. Sale over the face with such violence that he bruised his left eye exceedingly, who when he had don so went to the Steeple house worship, R. Sale followed him to the door, but their worship not being ended, he staid in the Graveyard, untill the Priest had done; so when people came forth he spake these words, Friends, let the usage of my body this day bear Witness for God, and against you that your Worship is not the Worship of God, but of the Scribes and Pharisees; and then when the Mayor came forth, Rich. Sale cryed for Justice and Judgement from him for the wrong he had done him in the Street, and shewed him his face, how he was used; but instead of Justice and true Judgment, he commanded one of his Officers to take him to prison, who did: The Mayor sent word to the under-keeper to put him in Little-ease, the hole in the Rock, who did as he was commanded, but he could not lock it, unlesse (as he beleaved) he must either bruse his body or soar face, he being moved with pity towards him, took him to prison again, and said he would go to the Mayor, to know why he was sent to them, being they had nothing to do with that prison; so he abode

in prison till within night: Then there came either one or both Sheriffs, and five Constables, as the Keepers Wife said, who took him forth of prison, and violently thrust him into the hole in the Rock; and Hamnet Kerkes who had bruised his face, did thrust in his head with much cruelty, and said he hoped it might be good for him hereafter; so in this condition they kept him three hours, and then released him, the man telling him which did release him, he must not have released him yet had he not a Boy to put in.

Upon the 11th day of the 12th Month, 1656. Peter Leigh Mayor, and many more, as Justices, Aldermen, & Sheriffs, all of this City of Chester, was then passing through the Street towards the Common-Hall of the same City, to a customary Feast they there hold yearly, and before them went blowing a Company of Pipers, which were (as I was informed) sent for from Shrewsbury by Peter Leigh Mayor, to play the day before, before him to a customary Horse-race, holden yearly without the City-Walls; but this is certain, Peter Leigh Mayor, put by one of their Exercise-days, or days of Worship, set up and allowed on according to his own principles, to follow these Pipers to this Horse-Race; such is his zeal for God now come to, which so long he hath made a large profession of. So they all as aforesaid went along the Street, following the Pipers, as men void of either fear towards God, or shame towards men. Thomas Yarwood seeing them, was moved to speak a few Words in much tenderness and pittty towards them; the sum of what he spake was onely this; He exhorted them to mind in what true Christianity stood, which was in true holiness, in the fear of the Lord. And William Ince (one of their Justices) said, he said well, and for saying well, the

Mayor commanded one of his Officers to put him in the Stocks, who was about to do it; then the Mayor, thinking them to be too good a place for such an offence, sent Word he must not be put in there, but into Little-Ease in the Rock; so there they put him, and kept him five hours; he being a weak and sickly man, his knees were bruised very much, that of some Weeks he did not recover the hurt he got there for disturbing Pipers; for none can say wel, but such cursed fire-brands of Hell as those are disturbed, and all that takes pleasure in them.

Upon the seventh day of the first Month, 1656. William Simson was moved of the Lord to come to this City of Chester; and being in a Friends House, the burden of the Lord did fall upon him concerning the Market; and waiting a while after he had felt the burden, there came in Rich. Sale, who did partake of the same burden with him; so they both together went into the Market, and declared through most of the Market; then Rich. Sale was taken up and put into Little-Ease, the Hole in the Rock, where he was kept above five hours. In this time William Simson had been declaring in the Streets, and after that had been in the County-Goal with some Friends who were then prisoners for the truth, and was come from them, and was passing thorow the Street, intending to have gone to a Friends House, but as he passed, was took up by a Constable, and brought before the Mayor, who commanded him to be put into Little-Ease, Rich. Sale being released, and there was kept four hours.

Upon the 8th day of the first Month, 1656. Willian Simson was moved of the Lord to go to a Steeple-house called Johns, where he stood peaceably amongst

them until the Priest had done, and was coming forth of his High Place, then did he utter these Words, to wit, Friend, wo to him that is covered with a covering, and not with my Spirit, saith the Lord; Which Words were no sooner ended, but violent hands were laid on him, and he haled forth; then a Constable took hold on him, and took him before Peter Leigh Mayor, who asked the Constable if he had spoken within time; the Constable said he had not; then the Mayors Wife took upon her the place of a Magistrate, and asked the Constable if the Minister had said his prayer, he said he had; but for all this the Mayor commanded that William Simson should be put into the Stocks, in which place he declared the Word of the Lord in much power: The Mayor seeing people gather about him (or being thereof informed) did send for him forth of the Stocks, and commanded he should be put into Little Ease in the Rock, where he was kept some nine hours, and when he was released, was not suffered to come into the Town, though it was late in the night-season; such entertainment they give to Strangers in the City of Westchester. Then the next day in the morning it lay heavy upon William Simson to go to Peter Leigh Mayor, to demand of him in much meekness, to shew him what Law he had broken, telling him it was the Magistrates place to convince him of the Law he had broken, being he had suffered so much hardship under him the two foregoing dayes; the Mayor gave him no answer to that, but queried of him who sent him to this City: William answered, He was moved of the Lord; the Mayor said, By what Spirit? He said, By the measure of his Spirit which he hath manifested in me. The Mayor said, It was by the Spirit of the Devil: There standing by Thomas Robbinson, one of the Sheriffs of the City, who was

stirred up with envy and cruelty to such a height that he (Thomas Robbinson) did strike William Simson over the face with such a violence, that the blood burst forth in the presence of Peter Leigh, Mayor, and John Taylor a Constable, yet did the Constable (its like) by the mayors Order, pull him who had his blood drawn, forth off the Shop, and took him, and put him into Little-Ease, who bled all-along the Street, which is one of the longest Streets in the City, and some more, and after he was put into the hole, to the great astonishment of the people, who many of them cried out of them (shame) for using him so barbarously. Now let any sober-minded man judge what a magistrate Peter Leigh is, and who he bears the Sword for, and turns the edge against, when a man for demanding (after he is punished) to know that, which was the mayor or magistrates place and duty to have told him, before he had punished him, what Law he had broken; and yet instead of shewing him the Law, suffered the Law to be broken in spilling his blood, and the shedder of blood not punished, but punishes him whose blood was shed, as is declared.

Upon the same day after that William Simson was released out of Little-Ease, as aforesaid, he went to a friends house where Rich. Sale was come, who that morning was moved to come five miles to that City; so both being moved of the Lord, went into the Streets with much boldness, and declared against their deceit and cruelty, until a Constable came and took them to the mayors house, who when they came there, were not admitted to come before him, but he sent word to the Constable he should put them into prison, Richard Sale he put into Little-Ease, where he was kept four hours, and William Simson he put into the City-Goal, where he was kept seven days.

Thus saith the Lord, I will make my people as Signs and Wonders in this wicked and adulterous generation, and they shall see it, yet they shall not believe, but trust in the imaginations of their own hearts, until they sink down into the pit.

This is a true declaration of the manner of my being a Sign in City of Chester, as I Richard Sale was moved of the Lord; and it I declare for the satisfaction of the innocent, to remove all occasion of stumbling out of the minds of any which might lend an ear to the wicked one, to think or conceive that I was mad; but what I did was in obedience to the Lord, whose commands and ways are strange unto the children of darkness, and was and is a true sign of the state and condition that all men are in who are erred from the light, being in the dark Night of apostacy. The manner is as followeth,

Upon the 3. day of the week, being the 10th of the first month, 1656. there being a monthly meeting of priests in the City, for they have a custom for every new moon to observe a day of worship; so upon one of their new moon-days I was commanded of the Lord to be a sign in the City, the burden of which I had born for the space of 6. weeks; the command of the Lord coming unto me upon the 21. day of the 11. month, as I was passing along the East-gate-Street with Candles in my hand, it being the 4. d. of the week, the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Return again, and light up one of thy Candles, and carry it in thy hand into the streets of this City, and say, Behold ye despisers, and wonder, for the Lord is working a Work in this your day, though a man declare it unto you, yet you will not believe it. And they shall say unto thee again, What art thou mad to come with a light

Candle into the street at mid-day. And thou shalt say unto them again, What use is all your Candle-light for now who are in the night of Apostacy? Now the Light of the Son of God is come, which hath given his people an understanding to discern betwixt things that differ; and the Temple now is witnessed which neither needeth the light of sun, moon, or candle, for the Lord God and the Lamb is the light thereof, and no more use is all your Candle-light-worship for now, then my Candle is in your streets at mid-day. So I having undergone the terrors of the Lord for my disobedience, was now made willing by his Power to do what I was commanded of him, being that he would not free me from the same. And on the third day aforesaid, I lighted up a Candle, and went into the Street, and was to have gone into the Steeple-house amongst them at their new-Moon-Worship, but I was prevented by a rude multitude, and stricken by a professing Woman, who hath stricken others of the Lords Messengers, and slat dirt in the faces of some of them, and yet by the Priests in this City, and other professors, is accounted a religious Woman, (her name is Kathern Hinde) and my Candle was pulled forth of my hand, and I ill abused; but I declared the Word of the Lord in much power, until I was taken up by the Sword-Bearer, and delivered to a Constable to be brought into prison, where I was kept about a Week; the same corrupt Will which imprisoned me, sent for me forth. I neither being convinced, accused, nor examined what Law I had broken, but turned me out privily, whose actions would not abide the light to discover them.

From him who is a sufferer for
the testimony of the
Truth,

RICHARD SALE.

Now while Rich. Sale and William Simson were in prison, as aforesaid, they sent two several Letters to Peter Leigh Mayor, to put him in mind of his unjust dealing with them, but the Bearers of both he caused to be put into Little-Ease for many hours, though neither of them knew what was written in the Letters, having not heard them read over.

Upon the next third day of the Week after William Simson was released forth of prison, he was moved of the Lord to go into a Steeple-house in the City, where many people were assembled, where he stood peaceably among them until the Priest had done, then another Priest stepped up, and desired the people to stay the Ordinance of baptism, which was the sprinkling of an Infant, in which discourse he laboured to confirm that to be an ordinance of God; and the child thereby made a Member of a visible Church: When he had done this Discourse, William Simson desired Priest Nab in moderation to clear those things by Scripture, to wit, That the Church of God is visible, and sprinkling of Infants is an Ordinance of God; but no answer could he get from him, but was ill beaten by the people, and thrust forth of the doors; then the Priest came forth, and passed by him; he desired the same thing of him, that so the people might be satisfied; but he would not answer, but the hireling fled because he was an hireling, and went into an house; then William Simson spake a few words to the people in the street, but a man shortly took hold on him, and put him into Little-Ease, the hole in the Rock, where he was kept eight hours, or thereabouts.

Upon the third day of the fourth Month, 1657. Edward Morgan being peaceably at his outward imployment there then came Joh. Fletcher, who was il

drunken, & a notorious common drunkard known to be all the City over; this Fletcher came and called Edw. Morgan Cuckold, and his Wife a Whore in the presence of many people, and railed so on Edw. that he could not in quiet follow his employment; then at last Edward went to Peter Leigh Mayor, and informed him thereof, and told him he was now at his shop ill drunk; the Mayor said to Edward, Will you swear he is drunk? he said, Nay, what need I to swear when the man is to be seen? said the Mayor, I will order you both, and called for a Constable, and called Edward Morgan a perjured fellow, for his unreverent coming before him, and straightway sent him into Little Ease for no other cause than as is said, For complaining of a drunkard who had abused him, but the drunkard was not at that time questioned. Many being sensible how it was, and saw Edward punished, and the drunkard go free, cryed out against it; and their cry coming to the Mayors ear, three dayes after he had sent for the drunkard, and sent him to prison until he had drunk a pot or two of strong drink, and then released him; Little Ease being too course a place for a drunkard. And now let all honest hearted people judge if ever the like thing was done by any Christian Magistrate, as he professeth himself to be, yea, or by Heathen Magistrate either, that a Drunkard should go free, and he that was abused by him, and made complaint against him, should be punished because in conscience he could not doff his hat when he made his complaint. He that justifieth the wicked, and condemneth the just, even they both are an abomination to the Lord.

Edmond Ogden coming to a Meeting of the people of God in Chester City one first day, and another man came with him of Cains generation, into the Town,

and was with him when the Constable took Edmond up, yet they suffered the other man to go, and took Edmond Ogden before Peter Leigh Mayor, who committed him to the Stocks, where he sate about half an hour, and then taken and put into Little-Ease four hours, or thereabout.

Upon the 10th of the 4 month, 1657, it being the 3 day of the Week, Richard Sale was moved of the Lord to come to Chester City, and to go into Pepper-street, where he found it his place to abide, and there sate down, and within a short space after there were carryed forth a dead Corps out of Richard Golbornes house, and two priests going before it; and as they passed by him, he was moved to charge them in the Name of the living God to make good their practice by plain scripture, and shew by it where-ever any of the Apostles or holy men of God preached any Funeral-Sermons, but they returned him no answer; then he was made to declare against them and their practice, they being found out of the Doctrine of Christ, and practice of the holy men of God: Then there following after them a company of proud ungodly ones, he was made to cry out from the burthen of the Lord, against their pride, covetousnesse, violence, and oppression, which many of them lived in; and was made to declare that all their worship and sacrifices offered up in that nature they lived in, was but as a smoke in the Lords Nose all the day long: Then one Jonathan Goldson being more cruel than all the rest, though one of the chief pillars of the pharasaical Church, came out of the company in great rage, and laid violent hands on him, calling him Rogue and giving him many more unsavoury speeches, holding his hand up many times, as if he would have stricken him, and gnashed upon

him with his teeth, and took him to a constable, and he brought him before Peter Leigh Mayor, & he ordered him to be put into Little-Ease, who did with much cruelty, where his body endured the strength of four men before they could get the door to lock; in which cruel place they kept him four hours, neither his friends nor others being admitted to come to him; but by the power of the living and unchangeable God, he was preserved without pain, declaring his word in much power, to the confounding of all gain-sayers. Then when he was released, the constable offered to take hold on him, thinking he was unable to stand, but he denied his help, and was made in the power of God to go as well as before, though his Knees were all bruised, and did swell, and then the constable charged him to go home, and trouble the city no more; but he refused his charge, and passed into the city again, where he staid all night.

Then the day following he was moved to go to Peter Leigh Mayor to demand what Law he had broken, and told him it was the Magistrates place to convince the transgressor if a transgressor, what Law he had broken, and then to punish him according to the transgression committed; but the Mayor called for a Constable, and said he was not subject to Authority, or words to that effect; he said to him, if thou wert a Magistrate of the Law of God, or any Law or Statute in this Nation, I could own thee in thy place, but thou art a Magistrate of neither, but of thy own corrupt will, and the hands of the wicked are strengthened by thee: Then the Constable came, the Mayor gave him order to bring him out of the town from Constable to Constable, (as the Constable told him) so out of the City he was brought by two Constables, but after them he passed into the

City again, in at the same gate he was brought forth at, and passed by the Mayor's shop, and went to a friend's house.

Then the latter part of the same day Rich. Sale was passing near Newgate in the same City, and there meeting him Jonathan Goldson, who as he passed by him said, Friend I exhort thee to Repentance for the wrong thou didst me the other day, Jonathan having a Ruler in his hand offered to strike R. Sale, and said, Sirrah hold thy tongue, or I will make thee thou Rogue; Rich. asked him if such words as these proceeded from a Christian Conversation, Yea, or Nay? but he said, Sirrah, if thou wilt not hold thy tongue, I will put thee into this Lake, there being by a dirty Lake; with that Jonathan did thrust Rich. violently from him, then Rich. declared the Woes of the living God against him, and all who were of the like profession with him; then with another thrust Jon gave him, his hat fell off his head into the Lake, then Richard going to take up his hat, Jonathan struck at one of his Legs, thinking thereby to have laid him along in the Lake, but it was ordered he kept his feet, and when he was through the Lake, he was made to stand still to be a Witness for God and against him, it being from the Lord cleared to him, that the fruit of his ungodly profession must farther be manifested, so Rich standing on the other side of the lake as is said, the Hypocrite ran for stones, and flang them into the lake to plash him, and with him came two or three boyes, hewing stones for him; so he and the boyes joined together and were made brethren in iniquity, and set up laughters, and made a great hubub and stir, and plashed him so with the dirty lake Water that the fore part of his body was wet from the head to the feet, but in all

this time R. Sale was made to stand still, and bade the people that saw his usage, take notice if any such actions as these ever proceeded from a Christian conversation; telling them, that they that were publicanes and harlots were neerer the Kingdom of God than he; then Jonathan Goldsons Wife ran behind Rich. Sale, and took up clods of dirt, and flang them at his bare head, sometimes hitting him on the face, insomuch that he was exceedingly besmeared with dirt; all this while he was made to stand still, not offering any violence: then in the sight of many people Jonathan his wife did take up dunghill durt in her hands, daubing it upon his face and mouth, as if a man had been daubing a clay wall, so that his head, face, shoulders and hands were all besmeared with her most barbarous usage of him, and in this condition he was moved to go through the streets, and up to the Mayors shop, and informed him who they were that had used him so, and the cause for what they did it; not that he desired any revenge on them, knowing his Revenger liveth, but to try if he would be partial in respecting persons in judgement, and likewise in the City to lay open the truth of their ungodly profession; then the Mayor did appoint him to come the next day, when he and the rest of his Council were met in the Pentice; so he came away, and declared down the Streets in much power, and when he had cleared his Conscience he went to a friend's house, and in some measure made him clean, and then returned forth of the Town to his own house.

The next day as Peter Leigh Mayor appointed him, he came to the Pentice, and spake to the Sword-bearer to go and acquaint the Mayor, that according to his appointment the day before he was come, and ask him if I must come to him, the Sword bearer brought

him word again from the Mayor, he must not come to him unless he had witnesses to swear; so R. Sale staid in the outward Pentice till the Mayor came forth, and then said unto him, Friend I am come according to thy appointment, to wait for Justice and Judgment, but the Mayor bade him either bring in his witnesses upon oath, or else he said he could do nothing, this the Mayor said though he himself were an ey-witness how he was used; now this Mayor must have Witnesses to swear, or he cannot lawfully proceed to punish them that transgresseth the Law; then I would fain know by what Law he hath acted, and leave it to any sober man to judge, when he hath judged and commanded soar and grievous punishments to be inflicted, when neither he hath convinced them of any Law they have broken, neither any accused them, neither he himself examined them, nor ever required any to swear against them, and yet tortured, imprisoned and banished them; but now to do justice against any that hath evilly entreated, and shamefully abused the innocent, and harmless people of God, he cannot by no means unless witnesses be sworn, though as is said, he saw how shamefully he was used himself; but the Lord God liveth before whom he shall answer for these things, and true judgment shall pass against him, and none be required to swear. (But to proceed) the Mayor went into the Steeple-house to a Lecture Sermon as they called it, the Righteous spirit being grieved in Rich. Sale, he was made to stay until they had done their worship, and when the Priest came forth he said, Behold ye Priests the fruits of your Ministry, how that I had like to have been murdered in the Streets by a professing man and his Wife of your Church; but wo to you that build up Sion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity, for the dreadful

hand of the living God is stretched forth against you : then he was violently pulled down from the place where he stood, and halled away ; then as he went he informed the people how the Mayor had appointed him to come for Justice, but when he came was denied of the same, because he would not bring people to swear ; therefore is Justice perverted by him, and Judgment turned backward, for instead of doing him Justice, the Mayor sent him into little ease, the hole in the Rock, by two Officers, but they seeing it could not be locked, but judged it would either bruise his face or limbs, they being not so cruel as some others, took him forth again, & put him into the City gaol, where he remained above 2 hours, & then came a Constable with another man and took him forth of prison, and brought him into Little-ease again ; but they likewise found it such a cruell place, it could not be locked unless as they beleaved they must lame him, they only reared a block of wood to the door, and said they would go to the Mayor, and inform him, that if he would have any put in there that was in mans stature, the place must be made bigger unless he would lame them, so in that place he was kept five hours ; and when he was let forth he was charged straitly to keep him forth of the eity ; but the next day he came to the city again, notwithstanding all the threats of his enemies.

Upon the 19th day of the 5 month 57. Rich. Jones was coming to a meeting of Saints in Chester City ; and was by a Constable taken up, and his horse taken from him, and he let go : then when the meeting was broken up he went to look after his horse, and with him went Edmund Ogden, the Constable took them before the Mayor and Iohn Ratcliff Recorder ; who asked them many vain questions, but in the end com-

mitted them both to prison, where they were kept untill the next day in the evening, and then released.

Upon the 4. day 7 month 57. Richard Scostrip coming to this City was moved to exhort people in the street to Repentance, and was then taken up and brought before Peter Leigh Mayor, who asked him from whence he came, he told him from Yorkshire; then the Mayor asked him if he knew in whose presence he was, he told him yea, he was in the presence of the Lord; he said, I will teach you to know you are before a Magistrate, and straitway sent him into Little-ease in the Rock, where he was kept about two hours.

Then the next day Rich. Scostrip was moved to reprove sin in the Gate; when he had said what he had given him to say, he went his way with an intention to depart out of the town, he being clear of the same, and was gone as far as the Gate of the City but was fetched again by a Constable, and put into the House of Correction, who gave the man that kept the House strait orders to keep him to hard labour, where he was kept part of four days, and then released, and not at all called before any Magistrate, neither when he was committed to prison, nor when he was taken forth of prison: Such are their Laws in this City.

Upon the 28th day of the 7th month, 1657. I Anthony Hutchins did then send a true Declaration of some of the innocent sufferings of the Saints in Chester, to Peter Leigh Mayor, by the hands of John Owen, the Mayor sent him into the House of Correction, and kept him two days.

Upon the seventeenth day of the eighth month, 1657, there was at Peter's Steeplehouse in Chester, a Sermon,

(as its usually called) to the hearing of which many people did assemble themselves, and the more, in regard this was the day that they in the City made choice and elected new Officers, as Mayors, Sheriffs, &c, and it being said to be a free place where any may come to hear, Rich. Sale came in amongst the rest, and stood as peaceably, and gave as good heed to what was there said, as any there did, and against what was spoken did not utter a word; yet notwithstanding a man came to him, and by violence pulled him forth, and put him into the house of correction, who at the end of three dayes was released by Command of Richard Minshal, who was newly elected Mayor. Now observe, for not going to their Assemblies we are by them reproached, and accounted as Hereticks, then if any of us go, and take that liberty which the true Church allowed, 1 Cor. 14, 20, 30, 31, 32, then are we cast into prison as breakers of the Law, and disturbers of their Ministers, then will they say, Cannot you come and be quiet, and take what you like, and let the rest alone; and let our Ministers alone, and you need not be thus imprisoned; and now Richard Sale came, as is said, and stood as civilly as any did, and neither spoke against their Minister as they call him, nor any other, and yet (as is said) was not suffered to stay, not only so, but sent to prison. Now whether these proceedings be lawful and honest, I leave it to the Reader to judge.

There hath been much more sufferings of the innocent people of God (the Saints) in this City of Westchester, which is not here mentioned, these being sufficient to show what fruits the proud, covetous, hireling Priests have brought forth in the same.

And now I shall give you a true description of this Little-Ease, or hole in the Rock, so often in this Book spoken of, which Peter Leigh Mayor hath made the Executioner of his cruelty, madness and folly, against the innocent and harmless people of God. Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee; the remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain.

It is a hole hewed into the Rock, the bredth and cross from side to side, is 17 inches from the back to the inside of the great door, at the top 7 inches; at the shoulders 8 inches; at the brest 9 inches and an half; from the top to the bottom, one yeard and half; now to take in the height of that as their malice puts them on, they have draw-boards which shoot over crosse into the two sides, to a yeard height, or thereabout.

Now let any sober-minded man in this Nation judge if such inventions as these were ever invented by any that feared God, to torture their fellow-creatures in, for not putting off the hat, or speaking to a Priest in the Street sound and sober words, or for desiring to have the Law shewed them they have broken, when they have endured much punishment, and have not known for what; and instead of shewing them the Law, themselves have broken the law in drawing their blood, and put them into this hole when they have done; or for disturbing pipers with saying wel; or for calling for justice when their faces have been bruised; or for exhorting people to repentance; or for reprovng sin in the Gate; or for delivering a meek and sober Letter; or for desiring a priest when he hath done, to clear what he hath said by Scripture; or for complaining of a drunkard; or for passing quietly through the streets to a meeting, to wait upon the Lord; all which things

before mentioned, which this is a short relation of, hath been done by the command of Peter Leigh Mayor of the City of Chester, and suffered by the innocent people of God in this Little-Ease, or hole in the Rock; to the truth of which, lest any should doubt, as they might do if they were not witnessed to by some, they being such unheard-of cruelties as never were acted by any who profess themselves to be Christian Magistrates, nay, nor by the worst of Heathen Magistrates that ever I read of; and I being an eye-witness to most of them as they were executed upon the innocent, shall be ready (if called thereunto) to answer to the truth of them, Anthony Hutchins.

You that be Magistrates in the City of Chester, who hath thus acted with prejudice against the people of God, and servants of God, you have turned your Sword backwards against the just, and ye have not been a praise to them that do well, but your fruits and actions have been a shame to men that fear God, & to modesty, & them that own true justice and equity; you make men offenders for words, and you persecute them that reprove sin in the Gate, and they is made a prey upon by you; you have provided a torturing place, a squeezing pressing place, for such as declare truth amongst you; you are become rebels against the truth; truth is fallen in the streets, and equity cannot enter, the door to that is shut; ye become abominable amongst men, your doings the Lord hath taken notice of: ye are boisterous and perverse, yea, envious in the persecution of the Lord's servants, and the Lords presence hath been amongst them in all their sufferings, yea in the greatest of your cruelty: can you be proud, and boast when you have done, that you would have all to see your peevishness, the beholders by, that ye may be upon

record brought. Doth not your fruits and actions before mentioned, dishonor the place of a Magistrate? We number not the just with the wicked, nor the godly with the profane, but put a difference: What have you gotten by all your actions? but shewed forth your spirits, whereby they are tryed not to be the spirit of Christ nor the Apostles, who saith, Love your Enemies, but you persecute your Friends; the Lord forgive your persecutions, persecutors were ever blind, you have manifested the end of your Religion in this the day of the Lord, and the fruits of your Teachers, and the end of your profession, and the order and government of your Church and Ministry, as before mentioned declares, besides all the abuses the people of God (the Saints) have had in their Meetings, which was never rebuked by the Magistrates.

GEORGE FOX.

Upon the 28. day of the 6th Month, 1657. I sent a Copy of all these things before-written, save only some which have been acted against the innocent since, and likewise some things which were acted before, which was not then in remembrance, which is added in this to Peter Leigh Mayor of Chester City. The direction that I writ in the beginning, was to this effect, That if he, or any other who was therein concerned, could object against the truth of anything therein written, they might do it before I went on with what I intended, wch intent of mine was to print the Book, though at that time I denied to certifie them so much; but the Bearer thereof Peter Leigh Mayor sent into Little-Ease in the Rock, but I heard nothing from them until the eighth day of the 7. Month, and then the Mayor sent

for me up to the Pentice by two Constables, and when I came in before them, I found Peter Leigh, Mayor; John Ratcliffe, Recorder; Edward Bradshaw, Justice of Peace, the two Sheriffs, and many more then present; the Mayor asked me if I had seen that Book, it lying before them, which was the same I sent him, as afore-said; I said I had. He asked me if I wrote that Name at the latter end thereof, which was my own Name. I said I did not; but I told him I had gotten it written fair over after one that I had writ. Then he said, Do you own it? I said I did. He asked me if I read it over. I said I had. Then he gave me many threatening words. Then I asked them whether committed the greater evil, They that act cruelty, or they that write down cruelty when acted by another? The Recorder said, Who must judge of that? I said, Let that of God in your own consciences judge whether committeth the greater offence. The Recorder said, Many a one hath had their ears nailed to the Pillory for a lesse offence. I said, If he deserved to have his ears nailed to the Pillory that writ these things down, what did they deserve that acted them? Then they gave me threatening Words. I told them I desired no favor from them, but that I might have fair Plea in the face of a Court, and if I had transgressed the Law, I was willing to suffer by it. Likewise I told them, I judged it not equal they themselves should be Judges in their own cause. One of them said they would not, twelve men should judge it; but the Recorder said twenty four men should judge it. Then the Mayor said I was a railing fellow. I turned to the people, and asked if any of them heard me rail since I came; he said I did in the Book. I told him if I should say such words to them as Paul said to Elimus, they then would say I railed,

though truth might be written and Names and Titles might be given to men answerable to their actions, as Paul said to Elimus, whose Name was Elimus, yet Paul called him a child of the Devil, and an enemy to all righteousness; but I said, I had used no such Words to them. The Recorder said Paul might say so to Elimus, who was a Sorcerer. I said, All the Priests in England which preach for hire, and divine for money, are Sorcerers, for thereby the right ways of the Lord comes to be perverted. The Recorder said I must not judge them; I said, Their practice judged them. Then I charged them concerning their hard usuage of my Friends in that Little-Ease, or hole in the Rock; and asked them, where they ever read of such a prison as that w^{ch} bruised mens bodies in such a cruel manner, & told them the Law hath so much respect to men (though transgressors of the same) as to provide large prisons to secure their bodies in, and not such holes as these to presse and bruise them in, or words to this effect. I told them I could see drunkards and swearers passe up and down the Streets, but I heard of none of them that was put into that place. The Mayor told me if I saw such things, I might come and inform him thereof, and then see if he did punish them: I said, So I might get the same reward which Edward Morgan got, who came and complained to thee of a man that was ill drunk, and had ill abused him too, and thou caused him to be put into Little-Ease, and suffered the drunkard and quarreller to passe unpunished. Many more questions and answers passed betwixt us, which I omit to make mention of here; but (to be short) they put me to this issue, either to put in Sureties to appear before them the next Quarter Sessions holden for, and in the City, or to go to prison; but to put in Sureties

I refused, knowing myself to be clear from the breach of any Law, and they themselves to be guilty, according as it's written in the foregoing Relation; So into the Common Gaol for the City I was brought upon the eighth day of the seventh Month, 1657. I demanded a Copy of my Mittimus, and used all the means I could, which stood in my Freedom, but could get none, though the Recorder said I should have one. So when I had been in prison about four Weeks, the General Sessions at this City for the County was holden; so my body was by a Habeus Corpus removed out of the City-Goal to answer the Law before the Judges for the County; and before them I was brought upon the ninth day of the eighth Month, after I had lain in prison, (as is said) 32 days: So coming before the Judges, as is said, they demanded of the Recorder the causes of my imprisonment; so the Mittimus by which I suffered, was read in the Court; the substance contained therein was, That I had writ a Book of Libels, wherein I reproached Peter Leigh Esq; (for so it was written) and other Magistrates and Ministers in the City of Chester. To which I make this short answer, Libels are things which are scattered, and not owned, which are full of lyes and scoffs, and their whole intention is to reproach and revile them they are directed against; now so far as I know, things written and scattered upon this account, are Libels: Now this I sent to Peter Leigh Mayor, cannot have any colour to be called a Libel, for I writ my Name to it when I sent it, and likewise I had not scattered any of them at all, when I sent that to him, I owned it before them all, as is said in my examination, I put them to it to disprove anything I had written, if they could, which was the ground I sent it to them for, that if they would object against it,

they might, before I went on with what I now have accomplished, but they did not convince me of any thing I had written, to be false, neither could they; besides my intent therein was neither to reproach nor revile them, or any one of them, for I writ nothing therein but the truth, and the truth never reproached or reviled any man; for if any act those things that are not just, and of a good report, or hath used violence, or acted cruelty against any man, and the truth of these things be written down, and published abroad, and they who have thus acted, come thereby to be reproached, he that writes down the truth brings not the reproach, but he that doth the thing which is not right, brings the reproach upon himself. But to proceed, my *Mittimus* being read, the Judge asked the Recorder if he could prove against me any matter of fact; he said, A deal, but not anything which could prove any such a thing against me as matter of fact. The Judge spake a great deal to shew him wherein I was wronged, and then did release me, and set me free: So when I was cleared, before I went from the Bar I spoke to the Recorder in the hearing of the Judges and the whole Court, these words, viz. I would have the Recorder before you all (if he can) to disprove any one thing I have written; but before them all (as is said) he was silent, and could not: So to the whole Court it plainly appeared I was wrongfully imprisoned.

Righteousness exalteth a nation

But sin is a reproach to any people

} ANTHONY HUTCHINS.

A Relation of the sufferings of friends in Cheshire, because that for conscience-sake they could not pay tythes and other things ; and where anything hath been returned back, is mentioned, as I have had knowledge.

Great Budworth Parrish, Ephraim Elcock priest.

Thomas Buckley for tythes of the value of 12s. had a Horse taken from him for the use of the said Priest, worth 4l. as the men of the World judged.

George Veakin for the value of 4d. ob. which he claimed for Smoke-penny, and Easter Reckoning, had one brass pot taken from him worth 8s.

And likewise the said Geo. Veakin for the value of 6d. which they demanded for two years payment to their Priest, according as they in their wills had sessed him, took from him Work-Tools (being a Wheel-Wright by Trade) worth 7s.

Runkorn Parish, William Finmore Priest.

Henry Burtonwood for tythe of the value of 5s. had taken from him one Cow worth 2l. 13s. 4d. for the use of the said Priest abovesaid.

And at another time Henry Burtonwood for tythe-Corn of the value of 2l. 1s. 1d. had taken from him two Cows and one Heifer stirk, which were sold for about 7l. for the use of Priest Finmore abovesaid.

John Burtonwood for tythe-Wool and Lamb of the value of 8s. 3d. had taken from him two young Beasts, which they sold for 1l. 5s.

Thomas Boulton, for tythe-Corn of the value of 13s. had taken from him Corn worth five pound, for the use of Henry Brooks.

Sisly Cleaton had taken from her one Warming-Pan worth 6s. for tythe-flax, and she had none, being sued at Law, and cast by a false Oath for the use of Coll. Brook.

Widow Royle for tythe-Corn of the value 1l. 3s. had taken from her one Cow worth 3l. 10s. for the use of Coll. Hen. Brooks. And likewise taken from her one Load of Beans, nothing being demanded; and likewise she had one Bed Hilling taken for tythe too, for Coll. Brook.

Frodsam Parish.

Widow Millner for tythe-Corn of the value of 2l. 10s. had taken from her one Mare and one Cow, worth 7l. 10s. & likewise for tythe-Oats of the value of 11s. had taken from her one Colt worth 2l. besides she lay in prison 7. Weeks for the same thing, for the use of Earl Rivers.

James Brown for tythe-Corn of the value of 1l. 10s. had goods taken from him worth 5l. 13s. 4d. by valuation, for the use of Earl Rivers.

William Sarret for tythe-Corn of the value of 1l. 6s. 8d. had goods taken from him worth 5l. 10s. besides the said William Sarret was imprisoned for the same thing seven Weeks.

James Brown for tythe of the value of 13s. 4d. according unto their own valuation, had taken from him one yoke of Oxen worth 7l.

Wilinslow Parish, Iohn Brereton Priest.

Thomas Ianney for tythe-Corn of the value of 7s. 6d. had taken from him one Mare, out of which they took trebble damage, and returned the remainder back for the Priest abovesaid.

Thomas Janney for tythe-Corn of the value of 16s. 6d. had taken from him for the said Priest, two young Cows better worth then 6l.

Thomas Ianney again for tythe-Corn of the value of 1l. 8s. valued by the abovesaid Priests servants, had taken from him by Justice Writs one young Horse worth 4l. which makes up his three years suffering; and now for this year 1657, the priest hath gotten an order for trebble damage from two Justices, by whose Writs all hath been done abovesaid against Tho. Ianney.

Thomas Pots for tythe-Corn valued by the abovesaid priests servants to 1l. 6s. 8d. had taken from him by Justice Writs two Heifers, which they sold for 3l. 10s.

John Worthington for tythe-Corn of the value of 3l. 6s. had taken from him by Justice Writs, one Mare, and one young Horse, which were thought to be worth 12l. for the use of the said priest.

Richard Burgges for tythe-Corn of the value of 19s. by the priests servants, had taken from him by Justice-Writs, two Kine worth 5l.

Richard Burgges for tythe-Corn valued by the priests servants to 16s. had taken from him one young Heifer worth 2l. 6s. 8d.

Lawrence Pearson for tythe of the value of 8s. had taken from him one Horse worth 3l.

Anne Ianney of Handford, for tythe of the value of 13s. had taken from her one cow and one heifer, which were thought to be worth 6l. taken by one Robert Finy a constable, who denyed to shew any order from any in Authority to do the same. Most of this cruelty hath been done by Writs from two Justices, viz. Thomas Standley, and Thomas Brereton, being servants to this priests lusts.

Mobberley parish, Robert Barlow priest.

Thomas Heald for tythe-corn of the value of 14s. 6d. valued by the priests man, had taken from him one heifer, which was thought to be worth 1l. 13s. 4d.

Hugh Strettle for tythe-Corn of the value of 11s. 6d. had taken from him by two Justice Writs, two Sacks of Oats worth 1l. 8s. and the Constable of the Town being troubled at it, asked the priest how he took so much, seeing he professed not to take trebble damage of any: The Priest answered, That it cost him so much in Justices Dinners, and their men, and for Warrants, and for a Judgment; So this Scripture is fulfilled, The Heads judge for reward, and the Priests teach for hire, and the Prophets thereof divine for money, yet will lean upon the Lord. And so this is the measure the people of God receive of both Magistrates, Priests, and their people, until the Lord arise and plead the cause of the innocent against him that is too mighty for him.

Clarks wages, and repair of steeplehouses.

Thomas Buckley had taken from him a Brass pot worth 10s. because he could not pay 7s. 2d. to the repair of a Steeple-house.

Thomas Buckley had taken from him a 11. measures of Oats worth 1l. 2s. 8d. because he could not for conscience sake pay the Clarks, and to the repairing of the Steeplehouse, being their demand, was 17s. at Peever.

Henry Burtonwood had taken from him goods worth 5s. because he could not pay 2s. to the repair of the Steeple-house at Runkorn.

Henry Burttonwood likewise at another time had goods taken from him, being four Pewter-dishes, because he could not pay 2s. 6d. to the reparaire of the abovesaid Steeple-house.

Ellin Boulton had taken from her four Pewter-dishes, and a Pewter Bowle, and one Pot, and one Candlestick, worth the sum of 1l. 3s. because she could not pay 3s. for the repair of the Steeplehouse at Runkorn.

Widow Royle had taken from her one brass Pan, and one Pot, and a dripping-Pan, worth 2l. 10s. because she could not pay to repair the Steeplehouse at Runkorn.

James Brown had taken from him one double Flaggon, and a Plow-Chain worth 6s. because he could not pay 2s. for the repair of the Steeplehouse at Frodsham.

Thomas Hill had taken from him one Pot worth 16s. because he could not pay 2s. for the repair of a Steeplehouse at Frodsham; And likewise at another time taken from him one Pot worth 6s. because he could not pay 1s. for the repair of the Steeplehouse abovesaid.

William Sarret had taken from him one Pot worth 12s. because he could not pay 2s. 6d. for the repair of the Steeplehouse at Frodsham.

John Burtonwood had taken from him one Skellet worth 5s. because he could not pay 2s. for the repair of a Steeple-house.

Thomas Ianney had taken from him one pewter Dish which cost 5s. because he could not pay 6d. to the repair of an Idols Temple at Wilinslow.

Thomas Janney because he could not pay to the repair of a Bell, and repair of a Steeple-house, had taken from him four Joynt-Stools worth 6s. 8d.

Thomas Pots had taken from him one brass Pot and a Skimmer worth 10s. although he was free to pay all they demanded of him but 2d.

Thomas another time had taken from him one Coat, which they sold for 1l. because he could not pay 6s. 9d. to the repair of the Steeplehouse at Willinslow.

John Worthington had taken from him by Justice Writs, one brass pan, and two pewter dishes worth 1l. because he could not pay 7s. to the repair of the Steeplehouse at Willinslow.

John Worthington had taken from him one pair of Cart Wheels bound with iron, because he could not pay 12s. to the repair of a Steeplehouse at Willinslow.

Richard Burges had taken from him one brass pan worth 17s. because he could not pay 3s. for the repair of a Steeple-house at Wilinslow.

At another time Richard Burges had taken from him a Gun which cost 10s. because he could not pay 6s. to repair the Steeplehouse abovesaid.

Robert Millner had taken from him three pewter dishes worth 7s. because he could not pay 2s. to the repair of the Steeplehouse abovesaid.

At another time from Robert Millner one Gun worth 9s. because he could not pay 2s. for the repair of the Steeplehouse.

Robert Pearson and his Son taken from them two pewter dishes worth 3s. 4d. because they could not pay 2s. 6d. for the use abovesaid.

James Harrison had his Coat taken from him because he could not pay 2s. 8d. which upon their account was due for another man to pay for the repair of the Steeplehouse at Wilinslow.

Robert Pearson and his Son had taken from them one brass pan worth 12s: because they could not pay 3s. 4d. to the use abovesaid.

John Falkener because he could not pay to the repair of the Steeplehouse at Wilinslow, had goods taken from him worth 5s. 2d: for 1s: 4d:

Thomas Lieuzley had taken from him one pot worth 16s: because he could not pay 6s: to the repair of the Steeple-house at Runkorn.

Concerning Swearing:

Thomas Leuzley because he could not swear, had a Cow taken from him worth 2l: 10s: besides, suffered six Weeks and five dayes imprisonment for the same thing:

And likewise seven of these friends above-mentioned, to wit, John Worthington, Thomas Janney, Thomas Pots, Richard Burges, Robert Millner, James Harrison, Edward Alcock, suffered the spoyling of their Goods

to the value of a 11l: 10s: 8d: for but passing to a Meeting so far as their own Warrant expressed, but two full miles distant from their habitations: And this was done by an Order from two Justices, Edward Hide, Thomas Standley, and it hath been often laid before the Justices at several Sessions, but still they pervert justice:

Tho: Burrowes in the parish of Budworth, for tythe of the value of 11: 3s: had taken from him one Heifer worth 3l. 10s:

So by their fruits you may know them, (as Christ said) and their folly (yea rather their abounding wickedness) begins now to be made manifest unto all men, and the testimony of truth will shortly be fulfilled upon them, which hath been declared upon them; As a troop of robbers wait for a man, so a company of Priests murther in the way by consent, Hos. 6: 9: And they spoile mens goods, and punish mens persons, as men that are without mercy, which have never learned of the Father, to be merciful as he is merciful, but are more cruel than the Heathens, or any that went before them, so that as the Lord hath said, They will become a shame; and a perpetual reproach unto all generations shortly.

THE END.