

The resurrection of John Lilburne, Quaker

Ariel Hessayon

Goldsmiths, University of London

‘A contentious, disloyal, commonplace man; little distinguished save by his ill nature, his blindness to superior worth, and the dark internal fermentation of his own poor angry limited mind, does not seem to me an apt hero’

Thomas Carlyle to Thomas Wise (Chelsea, 21 February 1848)¹

On Saturday, 29 August 1657 John Lilburne, being ‘very sicke and weake in bed’, passed away while on parole at Eltham, Kent. His heavily pregnant wife Elizabeth, perhaps with their three surviving children, was with him during his final moments in a house he had recently rented so that she might be near her friends when she gave birth.² A Quaker source lamenting that he had died a prisoner, ‘Beareing a Testimony for Truth’, identified Lilburne’s place of death as the ‘Kings house’.³ If so, then this was the royal palace at Eltham then in the possession of Colonel Nathaniel Rich, a Parliamentary army officer who had also purchased the royal parks and keeper’s lodge at Eltham.⁴ Lilburne had once railed against Rich, calling him a ‘juggling paltry, base fellow’, although by this time Rich – who had attended a Quaker meeting in Cheapside – had likewise been imprisoned by Cromwell for associating with Fifth Monarchist opponents of the Protectorate.⁵

¹ Friends House Library, London, Portfolio 40/109, printed in *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, 27 (1930), pp. 25–26, and in The Carlyle Letters online, <<http://carlyleletters.dukeupress.edu/content/vol22/#t-18480221-TC-TWJR-01>>.

² *Mercurius Politicus*, no. 379 (27 August – 3 September 1657), p. 1597, reprinted in *Cromwelliana: A Chronological Detail of Events in which Oliver Cromwell was Engaged; from the Year 1642 to His Death, 1658* (1810), p. 168; Anon., *The Selfe afflicter lively described in the whole course of the life of Mr. John Lilburn* (1657), p. 12; TNA: PRO, SP 18/157A, fol. 129a; *CSPD 1657–58*, p. 148.

³ Kent History and Library Centre, N/FQz/2, p. 13, printed in Norman Penney (ed.), *The First Publishers of Truth’. Being early records (now first printed) of the introduction of Quakerism into the counties of England and Wales* (1907), p. 145.

⁴ TNA: PRO, E 317/Kent/18; TNA: PRO, E 121/2/11: Kent, no. 19; TNA: PRO, C 54/3745 no. 28, mem. 5; Daniel Lysons, *The Environs of London* (4 vols., 1796–1800), pp. 394–403; Ariel Hessayon, ‘Gold Tried in the Fire’: *The Prophet TheaurauJohn Tany and the English Revolution* (2007), p. 202.

⁵ Quoted in Ian J. Gentles, ‘Rich, Nathaniel (d. 1700x02), *ODNB*; FHL, William Caton MSS III 66, fol. 156.

As in life, so in death, the burial of this ‘busie man’ and ‘factious spirit’ was the cause of controversy.⁶ On the morning of Monday, 31 August his body was transported to the Bull and Mouth near Aldersgate. This inn was to be described after the Great Fire as ‘large, and well built’ and since March 1655 it had been used as the Quakers’ principal London meeting place, also serving as the premises for their main publisher Thomas Simmons.⁷ According to a contemporary journalist as the day of Lilburne’s funeral progressed so a ‘medley of people’ gathered at the Bull and Mouth, the majority of them Quakers. There was disagreement, however, as to whether the coffin should be covered with a black hearse-cloth that had been brought either by Lilburne’s widow or some of his old Leveller acquaintances. The Quakers refused, insisting that the less pomp attended the proceedings the more opportunity there would be for piety. So about five o’clock in the afternoon Lilburne’s bare coffin was brought out into the street, at which point an unidentified man attempted to cast a velvet pall over it. But to no avail. The crowd of Quakers would not permit it and hoisted the coffin on their shoulders, carrying it away without further ceremony to Moorfields, and from thence to the new churchyard adjoining Bedlam where Lilburne’s body was interred.⁸ An unsympathetic contemporary biographer considered the funeral route of this ‘illiterate’ latter-day ‘Proteus’ well-chosen since Lilburne had been partially blinded in one eye by a pike in Moorfields; and as ‘his turbulent life came near to madness, so the place of his burial was near to the distracted crew’.⁹ While Quakers eschewed funeral sermons it seems words were spoken as part of the solemn obsequies.¹⁰ The historian John Rushworth later added that there had been 4000 mourners, although there is no way of knowing if this was an accurate estimate.¹¹ Even

⁶ Sir Henry Ellis (ed.), *The obituary of Richard Smyth*, Camden Society (1849), p. 25; John Dauncey, *An exact history of the several changes of government* (1660), p. 200.

⁷ John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/strype/TransformServlet?page=book3_121>, Maureen Bell, ‘Simmonds, Martha (bap. 1624, d. 1665)’, *ODNB*.

⁸ *Mercurius Politicus*, no. 379, pp. 1597–98; *The Publick Intelligencer*, no. 98 (31 August – 7 September 1657), pp. 1874–75; Anon., *Selfe afflicter*, pp. 12–13.

⁹ William Winstanley, *England’s Worthies* (1660), pp. 522–25; John Lilburne, *The resolved mans Resolution* (1647), p. 11; Pauline Gregg, *Free-Born John: A Biography of John Lilburne* (1961; reprinted, 2000), pp. 116, 153.

¹⁰ G.E. Briscoe Eyre, H.R. Plomer and C.R. Rivington (eds.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640 to 1708* (3 vols., 1913–14), vol. 2, p. 151.

¹¹ John Rushworth, *Historical Collections of private passages of state* (8 vols., 1721), vol. 2, p. 468; cf. R[obert] B[urton] [*pseud.* = Nathaniel Crouch], *The history of Oliver Cromwel* (1698), p. 108.

so, the event was reported in several contemporary newsbooks and pamphlets, and such was its significance that the Florentine agent in London included a brief account of this ‘factious person who had a taste of all religions’ but ‘in the end died as a Quaker’ in his weekly report.¹²

While one epitaph lamented the demise, ‘after much wrangling’, of ‘this stout champion’, another advised that John and Lilburne be buried separately lest they argue among themselves in the grave.¹³ Similar quips that if the world were emptied of all but the Leveller leader then ‘John would be against Lilburne, and Lilburne against John’ were variously attributed to the regicide Henry Marten and the royalist judge David Jenkins.¹⁴ His ‘impetuous’ contentious nature aside, even hostile seventeenth and early eighteenth century commentators were agreed that Lilburne had been a victim of Cromwellian tyranny, illegally tossed from one prison to another.¹⁵ Thus the diarist and numismatist John Evelyn reproduced a medal commemorating the acquittal of that ‘Stout and Couragious Assertor’, who had withstood a famous trial ‘under the late Arbitrary Usurper’.¹⁶ Similarly, the author of *The History of King-Killers* (1720) conceded that:

He may well be reck’ned at least half a Martyr for his long Imprisonment, Trials, and other Sufferings for the Fanatick Cause in General; and every Party under that Determination may claim a Share in him, he having been first a *Puritan*, then an *Independent*, next a *Leveller*, and lastly a *Quaker*.¹⁷

¹² Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence, Mediceo del Principato, 4204, fol. 823r-v, Giovanni Salvetti to Giambattista Gondi (London, 21 September 1657). I am very grateful to Stefano Villani for the reference and to Lorenza Gianfrancesco for the translation.

¹³ Anon., *Selfe afflicter*, p. 14.

¹⁴ James Howell, *Paroimographia Proverbs* (1659), p. 7 [fourth century]; James Howell, *A new English grammar* (1662), p. 151; Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, vol. 2, p. 468; Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (2 vols., 1691–92), vol. 2, col. 102; *Biographia Britannica* (6 vols., 1747–66), vol. 5, p. 2961.

¹⁵ Winstanley, *England’s Worthies*, p. 525; Dauncey, *Exact history*, pp. 200–01; James Heath, *A brief chronicle of the late Intestine War in the Three Kingdoms* (1663), pp. 3–4; Slingsby Bethel, *The world’s mistake in Oliver Cromwell* (1668), pp. 11–12; Edward Hyde, *The history of the rebellion and civil wars in England*, ed. W. Dunn Macray (6 vols., Oxford, 1888), vol. 5, pp. 307–08.

¹⁶ John Evelyn, *Numismata* (1697), pp. 170–71.

¹⁷ Anon., *The History of King-Killers* (1720), vol. 2, p. 75.

So what are we to make of the last phase of a religious and political struggle that had begun during the personal rule of Charles I with membership of a separatist congregation and imprisonment for importing seditious books, and which ended during the Protectorate of Oliver with conversion to Quakerism and rejection of temporal weapons?

For contemporaries the immediate question was Lilburne's sincerity. So to allay the regime's concerns his wife Elizabeth personally presented Cromwell with a letter intended to demonstrate that her husband had henceforth divested himself of Machiavellian stratagems and deceitful policies. Another copy of this missive was made for Cromwell's son-in-law and Lilburne's 'sometimes much familiar greatly obliging friend' major-general Charles Fleetwood. Yet at Whitehall, the seat of government, few seem to have believed him. Instead there arose 'many and great jealousies' at the 'strange politick contrivance' of Lilburne having turned Quaker. Indeed, Cromwell apparently feared that Lilburne was planning to foment rebellion. Nor did Lilburne help matters by initially refusing to sign a public declaration that he would not take up arms against the government; something that George Fox had done when in custody. For though Lilburne regarded Fox as a 'precious man' his 'particular actions' were 'no rules' for him to walk by. Moreover, Lilburne felt that if he compromised just to 'avoid further persecution' then he would become nothing but the 'greatest and basest of hypocrites'.¹⁸

Away from Whitehall an Essex-based puritan clergyman and committed opponent of the Quakers suspected that Lilburne was engaged in pretence, insinuating that his was merely an outward profession of faith.¹⁹ Likewise, one Thomas Winterton published thirteen queries intended to demonstrate that Lilburne's supposed conversion was but a 'meer Imagination, and quaking delusion'.²⁰ Besides questions raised by his adversaries all Lilburne's 'old and familiar friends' were 'much troubled' and 'offended' with him.²¹ Some Quakers too had been made uneasy by Lilburne's sudden embrace of their faith and to assure themselves that this was no superficial conviction resolved to accept him as one of their own once he had

¹⁸ John Lilburne, *The Resurrection of John Lilburne, now a prisoner in Dover-Castle* (2nd edn., 1656), p. 9; H. Larry Ingle, *First Among Friends. George Fox & the Creation of Quakerism* (New York, 1994), pp. 121–22.

¹⁹ John Stalham, *The reviler rebuked* (1657), pp. 280–81.

²⁰ Thomas Winterton, *The chasing the young Quaking Harlot Out of the City* (1656), title-page, pp. 17–19.

²¹ Lilburne, *Resurrection*, p. 1.

shown willingness to receive their teachings.²² Consequently at his own ‘earnest desire’ Lilburne issued a public declaration of his genuine ‘owning’ and ‘living in’ the ‘*life and power of those divine and heavenly principles, professed by those spiritualized people called Quakers*’.²³ This was *The Resurrection of John Lilburne, now a prisoner in Dover-Castle*, published initially in mid-May 1656, and then again within about ten days in a second revised and expanded edition.

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For the early eighteenth-century Dutch Quaker historian William Sewel, Lilburne’s conversion merited detailed discussion. Although mistaken as to the place and date of his death, Lilburne’s eventual embrace of the ‘Doctrine of the Truth’ was configured as the culmination of a spiritual journey undertaken by an extraordinarily bold if ‘very stiff and inflexible’ man.²⁴ In the same vein, Quaker minister and biographer Henry Tuke contrasted the turbulent partisanship and ‘irritable disposition’ which marked the greater part of Lilburne’s life with the ‘calmness and meekness of his latter days’ following adoption of Quaker principles.²⁵ So too did another nineteenth-century Quaker biographer, who juxtaposed the ‘turbulent’ ‘undaunted spirit’ of this lover of liberty with the ‘degree of calmness’ Lilburne found on softening his stout heart and humbly submitting to the ‘government of Christ’.²⁶ Yet whereas Quaker scholars regarded Lilburne’s peaceable end as a fitting final chapter in the ‘stormy career’ of a ‘great political agitator’,²⁷ for twentieth-

²² Worcester College, Oxford, MS Clarke 27, fol. 150r, printed in Charles Firth (ed.), *The Clarke Papers*, Camden Society (4 vols., 1891–1901), vol. 3, p. 62.

²³ Lilburne, *Resurrection*, p. 1.

²⁴ William Sewel, *The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers* (1722, 3rd edn., Philadelphia, 1728), pp. 120–23; cf. John Whiting, *A Catalogue of Friends books; written by many of the People, called Quakers, from the beginning or first appearance of the said people* (London, 1708), p. 91.

²⁵ Henry Tuke, *Biographical Notices of members of the Society of Friends* (2 vols., York, 1815), vol. 2, pp. 93, 100, 106; cf. FHL, Temporary MS 745/HR3 [Robson MSS], pp. 48–54, ‘Biography of John Lilburne’, which was largely derived from Tuke’s account.

²⁶ Anon., *Brief memoirs of early Friends. No. 4. John Lilburne* (York, 1847), pp. 1, 4, 5–6, 11 [FHL, vol. 370/46 no. 23].

²⁷ Joseph Smith, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends’ books* (2 vols., 1867), vol. 2, pp. 110, 123; William Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism to 1660* (1912; 2nd edn., revised Cambridge, 1955; reprinted, York, 1981), pp. 186, 366–67, 561, 572.

century North American advocates of democratic government this was an example of the experience of defeat. In the words of Theodore Pease ‘the warrior was displaced by the mystic’, ‘the crusader became a Quaker’ as ‘years of imprisonment’ seem to have broken Lilburne’s vitality. Instead of forcing ‘the world into justice and righteousness’ there was only the consolation of ‘patience and long-suffering’.²⁸ Similarly, for Joseph Frank ‘Lilburne’s physically and mentally tired escape into the refuge of Quaker mysticism’ represented an exchange of ‘outward liberty’ for ‘inner light and inner security’.²⁹ Pauline Gregg employed the same tone, suggesting that her subject had ‘abandoned his efforts to change the outward face of society’ and that ‘the violence of his passion’ may have ‘found its antidote’ in Quaker quietism.³⁰

Conversely, for Marxist heresiarchs as much as orthodox Marxists and Socialists alike, this last episode in Lilburne’s life signified the continuation of native radicalism by other means. Hence for Eduard Bernstein when Lilburne joined the Quakers ‘this step did not constitute a humble submission to the authorities’.³¹ Henry Brailsford said much the same: moving from the Levellers’ political programme to the Society of Friends was a ‘natural development’.³² So too did Christopher Hill; ‘Lilburne’s acceptance of Quakerism in 1655 ... was a very different act for the ex-revolutionary than if he had been convinced after 1660’. In Hill’s view, Lilburne even ‘outdid the Quakers ... by renouncing “carnal weapons of any kind whatsoever”’.³³ And it has to be said that the image of an unbowed Quaker Lilburne is convincing since he still had some weapons available – notably his spirit, pen and mouth. In the remainder of this chapter I will explore the last three and a half years of Lilburne’s life.

²⁸ Theodore Pease, *The Leveller Movement: A Study in the History and Political Theory of the English Great Civil War* (Washington, DC, 1916; reprinted, Gloucester, MA, 1965), pp. 355–56.

²⁹ Joseph Frank, *The Levellers: A History of the Writings of Three Seventeenth-Century Social Democrats (Lilburne, Overton and Walwyn)* (Cambridge, MA, 1955), pp. 241–42.

³⁰ Gregg, *Free-Born John*, pp. 341, 343.

³¹ Eduard Bernstein, *Cromwell and Communism: Socialism and Democracy in the Great English Revolution* (1895), trans. H.J. Stenning (1930; reprinted, Nottingham, 1980), p. 231 n. 2; see also, Mildred Gibb, *John Lilburne the Leveller. A Christian Democrat* (1947), pp. 334–36.

³² H.N. Brailsford, *The Levellers and the English Revolution* (1961; 2nd edn., ed. Christopher Hill, Nottingham, 1983), pp. 15, 637–39.

³³ Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down. Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (1972; Harmondsworth, 1984 edn.), p. 240; Christopher Hill, *The Experience of Defeat: Milton and some contemporaries* (1984), pp. 32, 131, 138.

The standard biography is Gregg's *Free-Born John* which, while still valuable, needs updating. So I have drawn on a far wider range of sources, notably newsbooks and letters. The focus is on Lilburne's contrasting experiences in Jersey and Kent. The dominant themes are habeas corpus, defiance and suffering. To conclude I will offer an assessment of the wider significance of Lilburne's personal trajectory from Leveller to Quaker.

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On Thursday, 23 March 1654 Cromwell and the Council of State issued a warrant to Colonel John Barkstead, lieutenant of the Tower of London, to transfer Lilburne under armed guard to Portsmouth. From there, once wind and weather permitted, he was transported by ship to Jersey where by the beginning of May he was confined at Mont Orgueil (Mount Pride).³⁴ This 'ill-seated' castle nestled 'dangerously amongst wild sunken rocks' and overlooking the harbour of Gorey had capitulated in October 1651 to Parliamentary forces under the command of Colonel James Heane, who afterwards became Jersey's governor.³⁵ Lilburne's quarters, which afforded him the opportunity to walk in nearby paths, were the same lodgings where his former associate William Prynne had previously been kept close prisoner.³⁶ For his part, Barkstead was reimbursed £13-8s.-7d. in expenses,³⁷ a small price for the government to pay since in removing Lilburne to the Channel Islands they sought to place his body in a legal vacuum. Because the Channel Islands used ancient Norman laws and were dominions outside the English realm it was arguable whether the writ of habeas corpus extended there. Accordingly, the government's intention was to prevent Lilburne seeking another trial and thereby cause them further embarrassment.³⁸ Moreover, following the dissolution of the Barebones Parliament in December 1653 all prisoners committed by the Council of State during the life of that Parliament had to be tried in the court of Upper Bench

³⁴ *CSPD 1654*, pp. 16, 33–34, 44, 46, 50, 54, 433, 470; *Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence*, no. 13 (7–14 April 1654), pp. 99, 106; Frances Henderson (ed.), *The Clarke Papers volume 5: further selections from the papers of William Clarke*, Camden Society, fifth series, 27 (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 170, 173; Anon., *Selfe afflicter*, p. 12.

³⁵ Edmund Toulmin Nicolle, *Mont Orgueil Castle. Its History and Description* (Jersey, 1921), pp. 60, 71–72, 78–81.

³⁶ *Certain Passages* (7–14 April 1654), p. 106; *A Perfect Diurnall*, no. 4 (22–29 May 1654), p. 32.

³⁷ *CSPD 1654*, pp. 446, 452.

³⁸ Paul Halliday, *Habeas Corpus. From England to Empire* (Cambridge, MA, 2010), pp. 263–64, 267–68.

on production of an habeas corpus or else released. Which is why in early February 1654 several ‘eminent persons’ were set free – including William Walwyn, who had been imprisoned in the Tower; and Captain John Streater, who had been committed to the Gatehouse for publishing seditious pamphlets.³⁹

Evidently the Protector and his Council knew their man since Lilburne’s friends immediately set about obtaining a writ of habeas corpus in Upper Bench. Shortly after the commencement of Easter term a messenger was despatched with the writ to Jersey. Although Colonel Heane received him politely he nonetheless refused to release Lilburne. So instead the go-between returned with news of Lilburne’s health – apparently ‘well and merry’ – together with an account of his encounter with the governor.⁴⁰ This was published by Lilburne’s supporters as *A Declaration to the Free-born People of England* (1654). Asserting that the law and courts of justice ought to be the keys for opening prison doors, it acclaimed the writ of habeas corpus as ‘the water of life, to revive a free English-man from the Death of Imprisonment’.⁴¹ For good measure sympathetic journalists added that Lilburne comported himself with ‘*abundance of patience and humility*’, insisting that he sought nothing more than ‘*the restoring of every free born man of England, to its ancient Rights and priviledges, and the perfect purging of the Law from all abuses and corruptions*’.⁴²

Lilburne may have been out of sight yet he was still not out of mind. Reportedly he attempted to send a letter to his ‘very much afflicted wife’, but it was intercepted.⁴³

³⁹ *CJ*, vii, 358; William Style, *Narrationes Modernae* (1653), pp. 96, 397; Anon., *Clavis ad aperiendum Carceris Ostia. Or, The High Point of the Writ of Habeas Corpus discussed* (1654); *CSPD 1653–54*, p. 344; *Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence*, no. 3 (27 January – 3 February 1654), p. 18; *Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence*, no. 5 (10–17 February 1654), p. 38; Samuel Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649–1656* (4 vols., 1894–1903; reprinted, Adlestrop, 1988–89), vol. 3, pp. 16–17.

⁴⁰ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 174 (12–19 April 1654), p. 1378; *Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence*, no. 15 (28 April – 5 May 1654), p. 130; *A Perfect Diurnall*, no. 3 (15–22 May 1654), p. 22; *The true and perfect Dutch Diurnall*, no. 15 (15–22 May 1654), p. 340; *Perfect Diurnall* (22–29 May 1654), p. 32.

⁴¹ Anon., *A Declaration To the Free-born People of England* (1654), pp. 6–7. The London bookseller George Thomason dated his copy 23 May 1654.

⁴² *The Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 176 (26 April – 3 May 1654), p. 1396; *The Faithful Scout*, no. 177 (28 April – 5 May 1654), p. 1399; *The Weekly Post*, no. 177 (2–8 May 1654), p. 1339; *The Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 177 (3–10 May 1654), p. 1400.

⁴³ *Weekly Post* (2–8 May 1654), p. 1399; *Moderate Intelligencer* (3–10 May 1654), p. 1400.

Consequently he seems to have been deprived of ‘pen, ink, and paper’.⁴⁴ More startling were the ‘strange and various’ reports circulating that Lilburne had been tried and executed in Jersey. Although most newsbooks dismissed them as groundless, *The Faithful Scout* suspected a ploy – perhaps to gauge the extent of Lilburne’s popularity or else to make the government unpopular.⁴⁵ *The true and perfect Dutch-Diurnall* on the other hand published a purported copy of the last will and testament of Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburne, gentleman of London, aged 39:

I bequeath my soul into the hands of the almighty, in whom I have put my trust, hoping by the merits of Christ Jesus, my only Lord and Saviour, that I shal be saved from hel and damnation. And that I shal be wrapt up unto the third heaven, prepared for all true believers. And for my body, in regard it hath indured a fiery trial, and hath been patient, and long suffering, It is my desire my friend Cornelius may have the burial hereof.⁴⁶

This prompted a witty *Last Will & Testament* which appeared in late May. It counselled that Lilburne’s body should be ‘carefully imbalmed’ and ‘decently wrapped in a double sheet of Lead’ to prevent mutiny and earthquakes. Prynne was bequeathed Lilburne’s brains and skull; the lips went to a sister to communicate ‘holy salutations’ to her fellow female saints; and the eyes to Argus (the many-eyed giant of Greek mythology), so that ‘they may never more squint after the applause of people, nor the pomp, riches and glory of a transitory and fading world’. It concluded with a mock elegy:

*All Faction ends in Death, Ambition, Pride,
Death humbles all; had these with Lilburn died
He had been famous, and dy’d full well,
And scap’d his Anagram, I burn in Hell.*⁴⁷

⁴⁴ O. Ogle, W.H. Bliss, W.D. Macray, and F.J. Routledge (eds.), *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers preserved in the Bodleian Library* (5 vols., Oxford, 1869-1970), vol. 2, p. 351.

⁴⁵ *Several Proceedings of State Affairs*, no. 241 (beginning 4 May 1654), p. 3834; *The Faithful Scout*, no. 178 (5–12 May 1654), p. 1407; *Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence*, no. 16 (5–12 May 1654), p. 138; *The true and perfect Dutch-Diurnall*, no. 15 (15–22 May 1654), p. 340.

⁴⁶ *The true and perfect Dutch-Diurnall*, no. 15 (8–15 May 1654), pp. 117, 118.

⁴⁷ Anon., *The Last Will & Testament of Lieutenant Col. John Lilburn* (1654), pp. 1–8. Thomason dated his copy 27 May 1654. The anagram had featured in an acrostic based on Lilburne’s name preserved in Thomason’s hand; ‘The Anagram of John Lilburne. O I burne in hell’ [Thomason E. 702(9)], dated June 1653.

Mistaking rumour and parody for fact, the Venetian secretary erroneously conveyed news on 29 May that Lilburne, ‘a man of singular ability and opposed to the present government’, had been executed in prison without trial – supposedly because he possessed some manuscripts highly critical of the Protectorate. Cromwell, however, was not yet rid of this ‘open enemy of his supremacy and of the tranquillity of the Commonwealth’.⁴⁸ Indeed, at the beginning of Trinity term another attempt was made to get an habeas corpus in Upper Bench. It could not be granted though since it was determined that English law did not apply in Jersey. Hence there could be no appeal to the courts in Westminster, only to Parliament or the Protector.⁴⁹ For good measure the Council of State instructed Heane that he was not to let Lilburne leave the island without special order.⁵⁰ On learning that he had been denied a second habeas corpus Lilburne reportedly sent a remonstrance to Heane asserting ‘the Rights and priviledges of a free born English-man, and that it is their sole and absolute birth right to claim and enjoy the benefit of the Law’.⁵¹

Following the summoning of the first Protectorate Parliament at the beginning of September 1654, a committee was established to investigate the use and abuse of habeas corpus and certiorari. On 4 November a petition submitted by certain Doctors of Civil Law on behalf of themselves and their profession was read in the House of Commons and then committed to the committee for consideration. Most likely Lilburne’s case was discussed since *The Faithful Scout* hoped for good tidings from Jersey.⁵² On 10 November letters from Jersey were received certifying that Lilburne had disputed with an officer at Mont Orgueil who seems to have belittled his ‘present sufferings’. Recounting the story of some ‘godly Martyrs’ in Prague who on the eve of their execution had been taunted by a ‘great Papist’ (the ‘wretched Papist’ was subsequently poisoned by his own cook), Lilburne drew on Isaiah

⁴⁸ *CSP, Venetian, 1653–54*, p. 217; cf. Ogle, Bliss, Macray, and Routledge (eds.), *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers*, vol. 2, p. 365.

⁴⁹ *Several Proceedings of State Affairs*, no. 244 (25 May – 1 June 1654), no pagination; *A Perfect Diurnall*, no. 5 (29 May – 5 June 1654), p. 33; *The Perfect Diurnall*, no. 234 (29 May – 5 June 1654), p. 3576; *The Weekly Post*, no. 182 (6–14 June 1654), p. 1428; *A Perfect Diurnall*, no. 239 (3–10 July 1654), p. 80; *The Weekly Intelligencer*, no. 24 (4–11 July 1654), p. 317.

⁵⁰ *CSPD 1654*, pp. 195, 208.

⁵¹ *The Weekly Post*, no number (18–25 July 1654), p. 1500.

⁵² *CJ*, vii, 382; *The Faithful Scout*, no. 204 (3–10 November 1654), p. 1637; *The Perfect Diurnall*, no. 257 (6–13 November 1654), p. 3934;

28:22 to warn 'it is not good for any to mock or scorn those which are in tribulation, lest their bands be made strong'.⁵³ Then in mid-December a number of 'well-affected' citizens petitioned Cromwell on Lilburne's behalf, imploring that 'long-suffering' gentleman's restoration to liberty. While one newsbook expected Lilburne's imminent return from banishment on taking an engagement to live peaceably and quietly, others doubted he would submit.⁵⁴ Even so, in early January a message was apparently sent to Lilburne outlining the conditions that would permit his return to London.⁵⁵ Lilburne's response was a letter to his friends asking them to make further entreaties on his behalf so that he might have 'benefit in the Law'.⁵⁶

Little else is known of Lilburne's life on Jersey except that Heane was commanded to propagate the Gospel in the West Indies and weaken the 'power of the Pope and Antichrist'. Heane, however, was killed in action at Hispaniola.⁵⁷ He was replaced by Colonel Robert Gibbon, who was appointed both Jersey's new governor and receiver-general by patent on 14 March 1655.⁵⁸ Like his predecessor, Gibbon requested reimbursement for money spent on feeding and clothing Lilburne. The latter was very necessary since at the beginning of winter Lilburne had only the summer suit he had worn at his trial at the Old Bailey leaving him cruelly 'exposed to the extremity of cold'.⁵⁹ All the same Lilburne was to claim he had been in 'great distress' and was attended to by a 'moral, honest, carefull, and industrious' old nurse

⁵³ *The Weekly Post*, no. 204 (14–21 November 1654), p. 1642.

⁵⁴ *The Weekly Post*, no. 205 (12–19 December 1654), p. 1673; *Mercurius Fumigosus*, no. 29 (13–20 December 1654), p. 226; *The Faithful Scout*, no. 206 (15–22 December 1654), p. 1682.

⁵⁵ *The Weekly Post*, no. 209 (9–16 January 1655), p. 1672; *The Weekly Post*, no. 210 (16–23 January 1655), p. 1667.

⁵⁶ *The Faithful Scout*, no. 216 (23 February – 2 March 1655), p. 1728.

⁵⁷ TNA: PRO, Prob 11/251 fols. 327r–28v; I.S., *A brief and perfect Journal of The late Proceedings and Successe of the English Army in the West-Indies* (1655), p. 15.

⁵⁸ Thomas Birch (ed.), *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe* (7 vols., 1742), vol. 3, p. 231; *CSPD 1655*, p. 161; *CSPD 1655–56*, pp. 6, 13; *CSPD 1656–57*, p. 62; A[braham] B[ecket?], *Articles of Impeachment Exhibited against Col. Robert Gibbons and Cap. Richard Yeardley, Late Governors of the Isle of Jersey* (1659); Charles Le Quesne, *A Constitutional History of Jersey* (1856), pp. 341–50.

⁵⁹ *CSPD 1654*, pp. 372, 456; *CSPD 1655*, pp. 126, 128; *CSPD 1656–57*, p. 62; *Weekly Post* (12–19 December 1654), p. 1673;

called Elizabeth Crome.⁶⁰ Presumably not much had changed since Prynne had been kept close prisoner at this same remote location:

Mount Orgueil Castle is a lofty pile,
Within the Easterne parts of *Jersy Isle*,
Seated upon a *Rocke*, full large & high,
Close by the *Sea-shore*, next to *Normandie*;
Neere to a *Sandy Bay*, where boats doe ride
Within a *Peere*, safe both from Wind and Tide.
Three parts thereof the *flowing Seas* surround,
The fourth (North-west-wards) is firme rockie ground.⁶¹

The only noteworthy incident was in early April 1655 when it was reported that Lilburne had attempted to have a package smuggled into England but that the courier threw it overboard before being apprehended. This was subsequently embellished with news that the packet had been recovered and that a letter inveighing against Cromwell was seized at the same time.⁶² It may be connected with a purported remonstrance by Lilburne concerning the ‘*Law and Liberties of the People of England*’ in which he supposedly declared that he loved Jesus and his country’s liberties more than all his possessions, friends and relatives – even himself.⁶³ But the suggestion that he had finally ‘made his Peace’ and expected home shortly was ill-informed.⁶⁴ Not for Lilburne the course of several Cavaliers who in June resolved to take a new oath giving a ‘further engagement to be true to the present Government’.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Lilburne, *Resurrection*, pp. 6, 8.

⁶¹ William Prynne, *Mount-Orgueil* (1641); William Prynne, *A new discovery of free-state tyranny* (1655), pp. 10–11, 27, 34.

⁶² *Mercurius Politicus*, no. 251 (29 March – 5 April 1655), p. 5244; *The Faithful Scout*, no. 221 (30 March – 6 April 1655), p. 1765; *Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence*, no. 229 (30 March – 6 April 1655), p. 23; *The Weekly Post*, no. 221 (3–10 April 1655), p. 1767; *The Weekly Intelligencer*, no. 120 (3–10 April 1655), p. 23; Firth (ed.), *Clarke Papers*, vol. 3, p. 32; *Mercurius Politicus*, no. 252 (5–12 April 1655), last page; *The Faithful Scout*, no. 222 (6–13 April 1655), p. 1776; *Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence*, no. 222 (6–13 April 1655), p. 23.

⁶³ *The Weekly Post*, no. 124 (24 April – 1 May 1655), pp. 1785, 1792.

⁶⁴ *Mercurius Fumigosus*, no. 52 (23–30 May 1655), p. 412.

⁶⁵ *Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence*, no. 5 (22–30 June 1655), p. 28.

On Wednesday, 4 July 1655 Gibbon wrote to Cromwell from Elizabeth Castle off St Helier (just over five miles from Mont Orgueil). Here he recounted how the previous Saturday accompanied by Lilburne's father-in-law Henry Dewell (of Walton-upon-Thames, Surrey) he had ridden out to visit Lilburne. They had a long conversation with him, but to little purpose. So on the Monday they tried once more. Yet Lilburne remained 'the very same man' as before. Despite the endeavours of his elderly father-in-law he would not acquiesce to the state's authority. Instead, Lilburne insisted that his liberty could only be achieved through recourse to the law. When Dewell pressed him to stop trying to have all things his own way and refrain from reproachful words, Lilburne replied that 'the lawe was his way' – but that he was prepared to submit to arbitration so as to settle his 'difference' with Cromwell. Gibbon, however, suspected that Lilburne would comply only if the outcome vindicated him and indeed felt he had good cause to be freed of Lilburne, for he was 'more trouble' than ten like William Ashburnham (a Royalist prisoner recently transferred to Jersey). Fortunately for Gibbon, Lilburne had proved amenable to a suggestion of which he wholeheartedly approved, namely removal to the Isle of Wight. In Gibbon's view, this was the likeliest way of subduing 'his spirit to be meek and quiet' since it was close enough to the mainland for some of Lilburne's 'soberest and wisest' friends to visit. And they might succeed where others had failed in persuading him to submit.⁶⁶

On Saturday, 7 July 1655 Gibbon wrote to Cromwell again, adding that he forgot to mention that Lilburne had requested that his own father Richard Lilburne (of Thickley Punchardon, county Durham) be allowed to visit. Besides seeking guidance on the matter – Gibbon feared they might plot in secret if allowed to meet unsupervised – he also supplied further interesting details. Lilburne was being kept close prisoner because of his 'ill language' and threatening behaviour. He may even have attempted to persuade the garrison to his cause. This would chime both with a newsbook account and Gibbon's complaint against the 'many disorders' committed by his soldiers as well as the various troubles he had to contend with. Moreover, Gibbon mentioned that he had offered Lilburne the opportunity to venture outside

⁶⁶ Birch (ed.), *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 3, p. 512; *A Perfect Account*, no. 230 (30 May – 6 June 1655), p. 1838; T.C. Wales and C.P. Hartley (eds.), *The Visitation of London begun in 1687* (London, 2004), part 1, pp. 490–91.

for the good of his health and spirit, but that Lilburne had refused if the condition was that he walked accompanied by his keeper like ‘a dogg att his heeles’.⁶⁷

A week later *The Faithful Scout* reported that Cromwell had ordered that the engagement and proposals be sent to Lilburne. Free-born John’s signature would set him at liberty – ‘a thing much desired’ considering the heinousness of ‘burying men alive in gaols’.⁶⁸ Then on Saturday, 31 July 1655 both Lilburne’s wife and father petitioned the Protector. Richard attempted to excuse his son’s ‘violent and unadvised expressions’, claiming that since he knew him better than anyone else he was confident that Lilburne’s ‘distemper’ stemmed ‘only from restraint, hard usage, and afflictions’. Accordingly Richard requested the opportunity to speak with his uncontrollable son so that he might be persuaded to act peaceably and thus secure his liberty. For her part Elizabeth recounted the many ‘greivous afflictions’ she and her husband had suffered over the years, claiming that Lilburne’s ‘sences, health & life’ had become ‘endangered’ by the extremely ‘severe’ conditions of his imprisonment. Elizabeth therefore pleaded for leniency, insisting that her husband was not a violent man and that if granted clemency he would be neither aggressive nor abusive. She concluded by imploring Cromwell to end Lilburne’s isolation and give him the opportunity to speak with his friends, alleging that he was no longer dangerous since his ‘impatient spirit’ was ‘tyred and wearied out wth long & sore afflictions’. In a dramatic gesture she offered her life as surety, avowing that Lilburne at liberty would not disturb the state. These two petitions were read but no formal order issued.⁶⁹

In late August Lilburne was reportedly ‘in health’ but still unlikely to gain his liberty, prompting *Certain Passages* to muse whether death was preferable to spending the rest of one’s days in ‘hard captivity’.⁷⁰ Yet by September something had changed: Cromwell interceded following Elizabeth’s entreaties and endeavours to bring her husband back to England.⁷¹ That month it was reported that Lilburne was to be transferred to Dover Castle, where he would benefit from wholesome air and the comfort of his friends. Moreover,

⁶⁷ Birch (ed.), *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 3, pp. 512, 629; *A Perfect Account*, no. 198 (18–25 October 1654), p. 1584.

⁶⁸ *The Faithful Scout*, no number (6–13 July 1655), p. 1876.

⁶⁹ TNA: PRO, SP 18/99, fol. 235; *CSPD 1655*, pp. 263–64.

⁷⁰ *Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence*, no number (24–31 August 1655), pp. 55–56.

⁷¹ Lilburne, *Resurrection*, p. 4.

Cromwell told Elizabeth that John would be brought over on the next ship leaving Jersey.⁷² Accordingly on 11 October 1655 Captain Lambert Cornelius informed the Council of State while moored at Dover aboard the 10-gun frigate *Cornelian* that he had arrived from Jersey with Lilburne and a cargo of several hogsheads of cider.⁷³ Although there was a common gaol in Dover Castle, not to mention a nasty stinking dungeon under the Bell Tower called the Hole, one tradition located Lilburne's confinement to an 'old dilapidated tower' just outside the King's Gate and Bridge – probably Norfolk's Tower.⁷⁴ Towards the end of October a newsletter suggested that Lilburne had been moved there so that the authorities could keep a close eye on him.⁷⁵ Yet Dover may also have had another carefully considered advantage. As a cinque port there had been disputes as to whether it fell outside the bounds of habeas corpus. During the Stuart monarchy the answer was no, because habeas corpus was a prerogative writ. Even so, there may have been sufficient legal ambiguity to deny Lilburne trial should he pursue that course of action.⁷⁶

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In *The Resurrection* Lilburne recounted that while imprisoned at Jersey he had lengthy discussions about the Quakers with Major William Harding of Weymouth, Dorset. Harding was one of several 'highflowne' army officers who had prevented the apprehension of Edward Sexby at Portland in February 1655 and was also a commissioner for compounding for Jersey. He treated Lilburne with 'kindness and tenderness' and their conversation had continued both aboard ship and at Harding's house in Weymouth, where Lilburne lodged en route to Dover.⁷⁷ Once at Dover Castle, Lilburne sent for a local shoemaker named Luke

⁷² *Mercurius Fumigosus*, no. 68 (5–12 September 1655), p. 532; Worc. Coll., MS Clarke 27, fol. 132r, printed in Firth (ed.), *Clarke Papers*, vol. 3, p. 53.

⁷³ *The Perfect Diurnall*, no. 277 (26 March – 2 April 1655), pp. 4258–4259; *CSPD 1655*, pp. 556, 558.

⁷⁴ Luke Howard, *A Warning from the Lord unto the Rulers of Dover* (1661), p. 1; Kent H & L Centre, N/FQz/2, pp. 23–24; William Batcheller, *A New History of Dover* (Dover, 1828), pp. 37–38, 72, 261; see also, William Darell, *The History of Dover Castle* (1786), pp. 27–28.

⁷⁵ Worc. Coll., MS Clarke 27, fol. 137r, printed in Firth (ed.), *Clarke Papers*, vol. 3, p. 60.

⁷⁶ The cinque ports were, however, exempt 'from writs issuing from courts in Westminster Hall in suits between private parties', see Halliday, *Habeas Corpus*, pp. 82–83, 366 n. 87, 368 n. 103, *Habeas Corpus Act* (27 May 1679), <<http://www.bsswebsite.me.uk/History/BillofRights/habeascorpus.html>>.

⁷⁷ Lilburne, *Resurrection*, pp. 7–8 (although the reference to Harding as 'Mayor' is evidently a misprint); Birch (ed.), *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 3, pp. 194–95; *CSPD 1652–53*, p. 350; *CSPD 1656–57*, p. 62.

Howard to speak with him about religion. According to a Quaker source, Lilburne asked Howard:

‘I pray sir of what Opinion are you?’

L:H. answered, ‘None’.

Which struck him into that Silence for sometime, That he could not speake. And then he said to L:H., ‘What must I say, & how must I speake?’

L:H. answered; ‘Thou mayest speak what is in thy owne Minde, & after thy owne manner’. Who replied againe; ‘You say, you are of noe Opinion.’

L:H. said, ‘I doe say soe; For really I am of no Opinion.’

Uncharacteristically at a loss for words, Lilburne begged Howard to visit him another time, which he did.⁷⁸ The problematic nature of this idealised account aside, Howard was himself a recent Quaker convert and only a few months old in the faith. He was formerly a Baptist who had been dipped by William Kiffin in the River Neckinger one icy February day.⁷⁹ Since Kiffin had a long-standing association with Lilburne,⁸⁰ it is likely that Lilburne knew of Howard prior to his arrival in Dover and that he purposely sought his company so as to learn more about those people ‘*contemptibly and scornfully*’ called Quakers. In a letter dated 4 December 1655 to his wife Elizabeth, Lilburne called Howard his endeared ‘spiritual, & faithful friend’. Furthermore, Howard was an ‘understanding, spiritually knowing, & single hearted’ Aquila to the poor, despised Priscilla that had instructed Lilburne when he was in ‘great straits’ during the Bishops’ time. By implication Lilburne was therefore a latter-day Paul (Acts 18:1–3). Indeed like Paul, Lilburne had ‘fallen down’ with ‘astonishment and amazement’ ‘flat at the feet of Jesus’ and was henceforth ‘willing to be guided and directed by the heavenly wisdom of Jesus’. Yet he was also like the centurion Cornelius, standing ready ‘*to hear and obey all things that the lively voice of God speaking in my soul shal require of me*’ (Acts 10).⁸¹

⁷⁸ Kent H & L Centre, N/FQz/2, p. 13, printed in Penney (ed.), ‘*First Publishers of Truth*’, p. 144.

⁷⁹ FHL, MS Swarthmore III 151; Luke Howard, *Love and truth in plainness manifested* (1704), p. 7–8, 14, 32, 107–08; William Caton, *A Journal of the Life of that Faithful Servant* (1689), pp. 15–16.

⁸⁰ Kiffin had been employed as Lilburne’s servant and wrote the preface to the second edition of Lilburne’s *The Christian Mans Triall* (1641).

⁸¹ Lilburne, *Resurrection*, pp. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7.

Before 10 November 1655 Lilburne possessed a two-volume collection of Quaker writings consisting of almost 1,700 printed pages. Most likely this had been supplied by Howard, with additional Quaker books sent to him by Harding. Within less than a month Lilburne had read ‘extraordinary much of those two volumes’, so much so that this ‘*serious reading*’ had been ‘*most convincingly, instructive*’ for his soul. Three works merited particular mention. Firstly a tract by that ‘strong, or tall man in Christ’ James Nayler, entitled *Something further in answer to John Jacksons book called Strength in weaknesse* (1655). Then two pieces by that ‘precious and divine soul’ William Dewsbury, namely *The Discovery Of the great enmity of the Serpent against the seed of the Woman* (1655) and *The Discovery of Mans Returne To his First Estate* (1654).⁸² Interestingly, Lilburne reckoned Jackson an endeared friend of old acquaintance, a ‘*tall Cedar*’ and ‘a great professor of Religion’. He was also familiar with Jackson’s *Strength in Weakness* (1655), which he had received in the post from Elizabeth and which he considered the ‘strongest and rationalest’ response he had ever read in the controversies with his ‘endeared freinds called Quakers’.⁸³

Yet Lilburne’s Quaker faith probably resulted in marital tension – especially since Elizabeth may have been a Baptist.⁸⁴ Having quarrelled with his wife at their last meeting in Dover Castle on 10 November and then reconciled, he instructed the publisher and bookseller Giles Calvert to send Elizabeth two bound volumes of ‘precious’ Quaker writings with one intended ‘principally for answering *Objections*’. On 21 November John wrote a letter to her,

⁸² Lilburne, *Resurrection*, pp. 2, 3, 5, 7, 8. Thomason dated his copy of Nayler’s *Something further in answer* 29 September 1655; his copy of Dewsbury’s *Discovery Of the great enmity of the Serpent* 20 July 1655; and his copy of Dewsbury’s *The Discovery of Mans Returne* 14 February 1654. Another work that Lilburne may have read was Humphrey Smith’s *The Cruelty of the Magistrates of Evesham* (1655). This was dated by the author 15 October 1655 and may have been one of the ‘printed speeches’ of several Quaker prisoners in Northampton and Evesham gaols referred to in a marginal note.

⁸³ Lilburne, *Resurrection*, pp. 5, 8; FHL, Tract vol. 309/3, MS annotation following J[ohn] J[ackson], *Strength in Weakness* (1655), printed in G.F. Nuttall, ‘“Overcoming the world”: the early Quaker programme’, in Geoffrey Nuttall, *Early Quaker Studies and The Divine Presence* (Weston Rhyn, 2003), p. 39. Jackson’s title may have been suggested by Lilburne’s *Strength out of Weaknesse* (1649).

⁸⁴ Although John and Elizabeth’s son John was baptized at St Martin, Ludgate on 17 October 1650, I have found no evidence that Elizabeth had her youngest child baptised. Moreover, Elizabeth had attended a meeting of John Spilbury’s congregation at Ratcliffe, Stepney on 21 September 1641, see; TNA: PRO, KB 9/823 no. 113; Keith Lindley, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 80–82.

to which Elizabeth responded a week later from Whitehall. She concluded by exhorting her husband:

My Dear, Retain a sober patient spirit within thee, which I am confident thou shalt see shall be of more force to recover thee, then all thy keen mettall hath been; I hope God is doing a work upon thee and me too, as shall make us study ourselves more then we have done.

Elizabeth also related how on parting from John she had endured a dangerous journey along the River Thames. At Whitehall she toiled ceaselessly to secure her husband's liberty, prompting John to request that she desist from needlessly expending her 'earthly strength'. He had now found 'a more clear, plain, and evident knowledge' of both God and himself, wishing only to be reunited with Elizabeth and his 'sweet' and 'dearly beloved' children. Nonetheless, the couple faced financial problems. To save money John discharged his old nurse. At the same he '*contentedly*' subsisted on a diet of bread, cheese and small beer. Yet for all their difficulties, John still loved his wife, avowing Elizabeth to be the 'greatest & dearest' of all his 'earthly delights and joyes'.⁸⁵

On 5 December 1655 Lilburne wrote to his endeared friend William Harding, informing him that he had been spiritually humbled. Henceforth 'the light of God' speaking in his soul would be his 'true teacher and guide'. Moreover, Lilburne was at present 'dead' not only to his first nature's 'reason, wit, wisdom, and desires' but also to his 'old bustling' ways.⁸⁶ Besides Harding, Lilburne corresponded with friends both old and new, notably an 'eminent' Quaker in London. By mid-December his conversion became more widely known. *Publick Intelligencer* reported that since he had 'put on the garb of a Quaker' Lilburne had 'fallen into a more tame humour'. Certain Quakers, however, considered his conversion hasty and determined to accept him once he had shown willingness to take up the cross with them.⁸⁷ Meanwhile Elizabeth continued to plead her husband's case before Cromwell. Fearful of John's fate this 'poor afflicted woman' implored him in a 'vehement manner' to sign an engagement that he would not bear arms against the Protectorate. But stubborn as ever, Lilburne refused. Even so, at some point he renounced 'all outward wars, and carnal sword

⁸⁵ Lilburne, *Resurrection*, pp. 1–2, 4, 5–6, 8.

⁸⁶ Lilburne, *Resurrection*, pp. 7–8.

⁸⁷ *Publick Intelligencer*, no. 11 (10–17 December 1655), p. 276; Worc. Coll., MS Clarke 27, fol. 150r, printed in Firth (ed.), *Clarke Papers*, vol. 3, p. 62.

fightings & fleshly bustlings and contests’, declaring the ‘spiritual Sword’ to be the only weapon wielded by the ‘glorious, conquering, spiritual King’ against the ‘powers of the Prince of Darkness’. For ‘carnal weapons’ of any kind whatsoever had no place in Christ’s spiritual kingdom. Accordingly, from his ‘innocent, and every way causeless captivity’ in Dover Castle, Lilburne affirmed he would no longer use a temporal sword nor join with those that did so. Adding that he had received a ‘new, or inward spiritual name’ (Revelation 2:17), this protestation together with some correspondence was published by Calvert in mid-May 1656 as *The Resurrection of John Lilburne*.⁸⁸

In a second revised and expanded edition of *The Resurrection* Lilburne noted in a letter to his ‘old beloved friend’ Elizabeth Honywood dated 18 May 1656 that his wife and children – John, Elizabeth and Benoni – had recently come to live in Dover. Elizabeth Honywood was the wife of Edward Honywood of Elmsted, Kent and the daughter of Lilburne’s friend and ally Sir John Maynard.⁸⁹ Since one of Elizabeth Honywood’s relations by marriage was a Merchant Taylor originating from Elmsted called Benoni Honywood, it is possible that John and Elizabeth Lilburne had reaffirmed their links with this family through the naming of their youngest son Benoni, who had been born at Stoke Newington, Middlesex on 7 April 1654.⁹⁰ In this letter Lilburne also recounted how the Honywoods had made the roughly fifteen-mile journey from Elmsted to visit him at Dover, adding that his gaoler William Spicer was the brother of their neighbours Martha and Robert Gardner.⁹¹ A further letter indicates that about the same time Lilburne became engaged in a religious controversy with Robert Barrington, Jeremiah Elfreth and other members of a Baptist congregation meeting in Dover. Since Quakers denied the validity of the sacrament of Baptism, Lilburne consequently rejected water baptism as a mere ‘empty, outside, vain, traditionall, humane, invented’ form.

⁸⁸ Lilburne, *Resurrection*, pp. 9–14; Worc. Coll., MS Clarke 28, fol. 30v.

⁸⁹ Lilburne, *Resurrection*, pp. 16–17; TNA: PRO, Prob 11/280 fol. 226r–v; William Berry, *County Genealogies. Pedigrees of the families of the county of Sussex* (1830), p. 37; John Gurney, ‘Maynard, Sir John (1592–1658)’, *ODNB*.

⁹⁰ TNA: PRO, Prob 11/227 fols. 56v–57v; TNA: PRO, Prob 11/358 fols. 45v–47r; William Robinson, *The history and antiquities of the parish of Stoke Newington in the county of Middlesex* (1820), p. 194. It should be noted that the register records the birthday rather than baptism of the child, presumably in accordance with Commonwealth legislation of August 1653 which required the registration of births, marriages and burials. Moreover, given that John and Elizabeth Lilburne had named two of their children Tower and Providence, Benoni (‘son of my sorrow’) may have merely signified their doleful condition.

⁹¹ Lilburne, *Resurrection*, p. 16.

Interestingly, responding to thirty-one ‘confused and ignorant’ queries contained in some ‘blasphemous Scriblings’ sent to him in a letter by Elfreth, Lilburne referred his disputant to an ‘excellent and very much usefull’ book by James Parnell called *The Watcher* (1655).⁹²

Afterwards Lilburne was involved in a disputation at Dover Castle with Francis Duke, who accused him of erroneously maintaining six particular doctrinal positions:

First, You deny the Trinity.

Secondly, You deny the Scriptures to be the word of God.

Thirdly, You deny there is any word of God, but that light which is in man.

Fourthly, You affirm ... that that light in man, is as the light is in God himself, in whom is no darkness at all.

Fifthly, You affirm, the Scriptures are true, as a witness-bearer, or declarer of that light in man, which you call Christ.

Sixthly, You affirm Gods word, the light in man, was long before the Scriptures.

Duke concluded by suggesting that *The Resurrection* should be retitled ‘*The perverting of John Lilburn, in order to his destruction, if God in mercy prevent it not*’.⁹³ Similar charges were made by another antagonist Thomas Winterton, who published thirteen queries intended to demonstrate that Lilburne’s supposed conversion was but a ‘meer Imagination, and quaking delusion’.⁹⁴ On this occasion Lilburne was defended by an ‘able and savoury soul’, Richard Hubberthorne, who affirmed that Lilburne was plainly ‘confident in his Religion’ and that ‘God owned him in opposing many of the unjust powers of the Nation’.⁹⁵

About August 1656 Luke Howard invited Lilburne to a Quaker meeting which was probably held in Howard’s house. If a later account is reliable then it appears that the deputy governor of Dover Castle, Thomas Wilson, granted Lilburne parole so he could attend. Also present

⁹² Lilburne, *Resurrection*, pp. 18–22; see also, Jeremiah Ives, *Innocency above impudency* (1656), p. 31.

⁹³ Francis Duke, *The Fulness and Freeness of Gods Grace in Jesus Christ ... The Third Part* (1656), pp. 94–114; *CSPD 1656–57*, p. 222; Francis Duke, *An Answer To some of the Principal Quakers* (1660), pp. 67–85; see also, George Whitehead, *The True Light expelling the Foggy Mist of the Pit* (1660), p. 9; Samson Bond, *A publick tryal of the Quakers in Barmudas* (Boston, 1682), p. 96; Francis Estlake, *A Bermudas preacher proved a persecutor* (1683), p. 22.

⁹⁴ Thomas Winterton, *The chasing the young Quaking Harlot Out of the City* (1656), title-page, pp. 17–19.

⁹⁵ Lilburne, *Resurrection*, p. 21; Richard Hubberthorne, *The Horn of the He-goat broken* (1656), pp. 10–11.

was George Harrison, a young man whose declaration and prayer Lilburne 'liked well' although 'his Wisdome was aboue it'. On leaving the meeting Harrison ran after Lilburne, reproaching him for being 'too high for Truth'. These words gave Lilburne such a box on the ear that he was stunned. Nor did he ever forget them, 'but liued & died in y^e profession of y^e Truth'.⁹⁶ Certainly by this time Lilburne had developed an extensive network of Quaker contacts. These included three 'deare & precious' friends: Luke Howard, John Higgins and John Stubbs. Higgins was a former Baptist and described as Howard's servant, while Stubbs had been a soldier.⁹⁷ Another 'very faithfull & dearely' beloved friend was Henry Clark of Southwark, who had been present during Lilburne's trial at the Old Bailey in summer 1653 and who, as a keen continuator of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, would list Lilburne among those who had cruelly suffered at the hands of persecuting bishops and clergy.⁹⁸ In addition, about March 1657 Lilburne met twice with Hubberthorne, who informed George Fox that he found Lilburne:

zealus & forward for the truth. He hath a sight & comphⁿhention which is deepe. Hee sees that the truth comprehends all and hath in loue unto it & desire to ataine it.⁹⁹

During spring 1657 Lilburne also encountered John Harwood of Yorkshire, who subsequently embarked for France but was soon imprisoned in the Bastille from where he sent greetings to Lilburne and other friends.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Kent H & L Centre, N/FQz/2, pp. 2, 13, printed in Penney (ed.), *First Publishers of Truth*, pp. 131–33, 143–45; Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the people called Quakers* (2 vols., 1753), vol. 1, p. 288; Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, pp. 366–67. A Quaker meeting house was subsequently established 'at the lower part of St. James's-street, opposite the stone masons' yard', see; Batcheller, *New History of Dover*, p. 260.

⁹⁷ FHL, MS vol. 367, no. 2, John Lilburne to Margaret Fell (Woolwich, 27 May 1657) [Thirbeck MSS], printed in *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, 9 (1912), p. 56; Kent H & L Centre, N/FQz/2, pp. 15–16; Penney (ed.), *First Publishers of Truth*, pp. 30, 33, 163; Besse, *Sufferings of Quakers*, vol. 1, p. 289.

⁹⁸ FHL, MS vol. 367, no. 2, printed in *J.F.H.S.*, 9 (1912), pp. 54, 55; Henry Clark, *A Rod Discover'd* (1659), p. 46.

⁹⁹ FHL, MS Swarthmore IV 14, printed in A.R. Barclay (ed.), *Letters, &c., of early Friends* (1841), p. 55; Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 186.

¹⁰⁰ FHL, MS Swarthmore III 96v; Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, pp. 416–17.

On 27 May 1657 Lilburne wrote to Margaret Fell from his lodging at John Cocks' in Woolwich, Kent. Evidently he had been granted parole and in this letter to his 'dearly beloved' and 'faithful' friend Lilburne named a host of Quakers: John Bolton, Edward Burrough, Henry Clark, William Dewsbury, George Fox, John Higgins, Luke Howard, Stephen Hubbersty, Richard Hubberthorne, Humphrey Norton, Thomas Rawlinson, Gerrard Roberts, John Slee, Amos Stoddart and John Stubbs.¹⁰¹ The purpose of Lilburne's letter was to request Fell's assistance in his dispute with Anthony Pearson. Originating from Lancashire and afterwards acquiring manors in Cumberland, Northumberland and county Durham, Pearson had served as a Justice of the Peace before becoming a Quaker. Besides visiting and corresponding with Margaret Fell, defending George Fox and establishing a monthly meeting in Durham, Pearson also acted as secretary and estate manager for Lilburne's long-time adversary Sir Arthur Hesilrige.¹⁰² Lilburne accused Pearson of behaving in a wilful, wicked, headstrong and plainly treacherous manner. According to Lilburne, some five or six years previously Hesilrige had forcibly seized Lilburne's lands in county Durham and then settled some tenants upon them. Acting on behalf of his 'master' Hesilrige – and without Lilburne's authority or consent – Pearson had subsequently and in a most 'wicked' manner conveyed Lilburne's estate back to Lilburne's wife Elizabeth and their children as though he had a real and unquestionable legal right to do so. Unsurprisingly Lilburne quarrelled with his family for acceding to the arrangement in what was a 'tormenting contest'. Moreover, extensive correspondence (nine letters from Lilburne, five 'wicked, foolish, false, ridiculous, & contradicting' replies from Pearson) had failed to resolve the issue, prompting Lilburne to seek a meeting with Pearson in London. There before an assembly of Quaker Judges he hoped that the truth would be heard and sin reproved.¹⁰³ Although there is no evidence of such an encounter, Lilburne was later reported to have preached in the Quaker manner on Sundays at Woolwich and Eltham.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ FHL, MS vol. 367, no. 2, printed in *J.F.H.S.*, 9 (1912), pp. 53–59.

¹⁰² A.E. Wallis, 'The establishment of a monthly meeting in Durham (1654) and a note on Anthony Pearson (*d.* 1666)', *J.F.H.S.*, 48 (1957), pp. 119–22; A.E. Wallis, 'Anthony Pearson (1626–1666): an early Friend in Bishoprick', *J.F.H.S.*, 51 (1965–67), pp. 77–95; Richard L. Greaves, 'Pearson, Anthony (*bap.* 1627, *d.* 1666)', *ODNB*; Christopher Durston, 'Hesilrige, Sir Arthur, second baronet (1601–1661)', *ODNB*.

¹⁰³ FHL, MS vol. 367, no. 2, printed in *J.F.H.S.*, 9 (1912), pp. 53–59; Gibb, *Lilburne the Leveller*, pp. 342–43; Gregg, *Free-Born John*, pp. 304–11, 313–14, 340, 345.

¹⁰⁴ Anon., *Selfe afflicter*, p. 12.

Nonetheless, on learning that Lilburne had been granted parole by the deputy governor of Dover Castle, Cromwell issued a summons requiring free-born John to return to captivity.¹⁰⁵

Following Lilburne's death and burial the copyright of two works was entered in the Stationers' Company register. One was a biography to be issued by John Stafford at 'The George' near Fleet Bridge entitled *An exact and true narration of the life and death of that famous & most unsatisfied and unbounded person*. The other for Richard Harper at 'The Bible and Harp' in Smithfield was *A funeral exercise or sermon, spoken at ye solemnization of ye obsequies of that precious Saint and dearly beloved brother*.¹⁰⁶ There is no indication that either pamphlet was published, but in 1659 *Lilburns Ghost, With a Whip in one hand, to scourge Tyrants out of Authority* was printed for the Fifth Monarchist bookseller Livewell Chapman.¹⁰⁷ That same tumultuous year another writer called on brave and noble-spirited Englishmen to meet every Thursday or Sunday morning at Lilburne's tomb so that they might 'comfort and encourage' one another in doing the Lord's work and defending the 'Good Old Cause'.¹⁰⁸ Elsewhere in Hampton, New Hampshire a Quaker was fined £10 for possessing two Quaker books, one of which was Lilburne's *Resurrection*.¹⁰⁹

As for Lilburne's widow, she gave birth to a child named Bethia ('daughter of God').¹¹⁰ On 4 November 1657 Elizabeth petitioned Cromwell in the hope that out of 'tender pitty and compassion to her and her poore inosent children' he would repeal an act of Parliament of 30 January 1652 that had placed multiple fines on Lilburne's estate amounting to £7,000, of which £3,000 was assigned to the Commonwealth and £2,000 to Hesilrige. Because of his 'very greate tenderness' towards Elizabeth, Cromwell persuaded Hesilrige to return her the estate he had taken from her. Cromwell also granted Elizabeth a pension without which she might have 'perished'.¹¹¹ On 11 February 1658 Elizabeth was granted letters of

¹⁰⁵ TNA: PRO, SP 18/157A, fol. 129a.

¹⁰⁶ *Registers of Stationers*, vol. 2, pp. 145, 151.

¹⁰⁷ Anon., *Lilburns Ghost* (1659); Maureen Bell, 'Chapman, Livewell (fl.1643–1665)', *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁸ H.N., *An Observation and Comparison Between the Idolatrous Israelites, and Judges of England* (1659), pp. 2, 4, 9.

¹⁰⁹ Francis Howgill, *The Popish Inquisition* (1659), p. 42; George Bishop, *New England judged* (1661), p. 70; Sewel, *History of Quakers*, p. 193.

¹¹⁰ Wales and Hartley (eds.), *Visitation of London*, part 1, pp. 490–91; 1 Chronicles 4:18.

¹¹¹ TNA: PRO, SP 18/157A, fol. 129a; *CSPD 1657–58*, p. 148.

administration to oversee Lilburne's estate.¹¹² Then following the Protector's death she petitioned his son and successor on 21 January 1659. Here she lamented her 'manifold' extreme sufferings and almost continual sorrows the past seventeen years, as well as the unreasonableness of some tenants.¹¹³ And for good reason since a yeoman named William Huntington initiated proceedings against her in Chancery, alleging that Elizabeth had been 'plotting and contriving' to 'vex and trouble' him. The suit concerned a farmstead in Billingham, county Durham that had formerly belonged to Durham cathedral. On the sale of the cathedral's dean and chapter lands John Lilburne had purchased the reversion and inheritance, compelling Huntington to lease the property from Elizabeth for an annual rent of £18-15s.-7d. This long-standing dispute had initially been referred to Hesilrige and Henry Marten for arbitration.¹¹⁴ So it was doubtless with settlement in mind that on 5 February 1659 Hesilrige initiated a motion on behalf of Lilburne's widow in the Commons. Accordingly Elizabeth's petition was read before the House and referred to a committee. After brief debate it was agreed to annul the act and discharge the fines on Lilburne's estate. This was resolved on 15 August 1659. In addition, Elizabeth's weekly allowance of £2 payable from the public exchequer was continued, temporarily supplemented with £100 paid by the Council of State. In exchange Elizabeth was required to deliver all papers in her custody relating to the matters for which the fines had been imposed. These were to be burnt.¹¹⁵

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Clearly Lilburne's health must have suffered from imprisonment in the Fleet, Oxford Castle, Newgate, the Tower of London, Mont Orgueil and Dover Castle, since he died prematurely. On the other hand, given conflicting reports about his physical condition it is possible that

¹¹² TNA: PRO, Prob 6/34 fol. 51r.

¹¹³ TNA: PRO, SP 18/200 fol. 107; *CSPD 1658–59*, pp. 260–61.

¹¹⁴ William Huntington, *A True Narrative Concerning Sir Arthur Haslerigs Possessing of Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburnes estate in the County of Durham* (1653); TNA: PRO, C 7/467/106; TNA: PRO, C 7/176/5; see also, Gregg, *Free-Born John*, pp. 306–08, 313–14.

¹¹⁵ John Rutt (ed.), *Diary of Thomas Burton* (4 vols., 1828), vol. 3, pp. 68, 503–09; *CJ*, vii, 608, 682, 751, 760, 776, 879; *The Publick Intelligencer*, no. 166 (28 February – 7 March 1659), p. 263; *CSPD 1658–59*, p. 371; *CSPD 1659–60*, pp. 346, 593, 594; *CJ*, viii, 31; Gibb, *Lilburne the Leveller*, pp. 346–47; Gregg, *Free-Born John*, pp. 347–48.

Elizabeth slightly overstated the extent of her husband's plight so as to secure him better treatment. But whatever the state of his body, Lilburne's spirit was evidently unbroken. Not for him a retreat into passivity during the last three and a half years of his life. On the contrary, Lilburne's activities reportedly ranged from preaching and disputing points of law and religious doctrine to quarrelling and reconciling with his long-suffering wife; not to mention writing. While the importance of publishing and petitioning for Lilburne and his supporters has rightly been emphasised, more attention should be drawn to Lilburne's epistles – especially as a mode of communication during his various incarcerations. Indeed, his network of correspondents stretched from Dorset to Durham and the list of people he wrote to and/or received letters from is long: Elizabeth Lilburne, Major William Harding, Giles Calvert, Elizabeth Honywood, Robert Barrington, Jeremiah Elfreth, Mr. Spire, Margaret Fell, Anthony Pearson, Roger Harper (probably of Harraton, county Durham), Martin Richmond (of county Durham), and several unidentified friends, possibly including Lieutenant Edward Tucker. Among the Quakers these may have included his 'deare freind' George Fox and that 'savoury soul' Richard Hubberthorne.¹¹⁶

As to the wider significance of Lilburne's personal trajectory from Leveller to Quaker, there has been brief but lively debate regarding the issue. Thus Henry Brailsford thought it a 'natural development' that 'many of the Levellers found a spiritual refuge in the Society of Friends', while Christopher Hill assumed that 'many former Levellers became Quakers'.¹¹⁷ These appear to be overstatements, however, and Barry Reay was doubtless closer to the mark when he found 'no evidence of any substantial continuity' between Levellers and Quakers.¹¹⁸ For although Lilburne did not tread a solitary path, documented Leveller adherents turned Quaker are few and far between. The most likely was Christopher Cheesman, who had served as a Cornet in Captain William Bray's troop and whose pamphlet *The Lamb Contending with the Lion* (1649) had been commended by Lilburne.¹¹⁹ Another

¹¹⁶ Lilburne, *Resurrection*; FHL, Tract vol. 309/3, MS annotation; FHL, MS vol. 367, no. 2; James Hedworth, *The oppressed man's out-cry* (1651), p. 10; Gervase Benson, *The Cry of the Oppressed* (1656), p. 27.

¹¹⁷ Brailsford, *Levellers and English Revolution*, pp. 637–40; Hill, *World Turned Upside Down*, pp. 240–41; Hill, *Experience of Defeat*, p. 131.

¹¹⁸ Barry Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution* (Hounslow, 1985), pp. 19–20.

¹¹⁹ James Nayler, *The Foxes Craft Discouered* (1649), p. 7; John Lilburne, *The Legal Fundamental Liberties Of the People of England* (1649), p. 31; see also, J. Peacey, 'The parliamentary context of political radicalism in the

possibility was Edward Billing, who had served as Cornet in Scotland before penning *A Word of Reproof, and Advice to my late Fellow-Souldiers and Officers* (1659).¹²⁰ Then there was Captain George Bishop of Bristol, who had served as secretary to the Council of State's committee for examinations and may be the Putney debater Captain Bishop.¹²¹ A further possibility is George Fox 'the younger' in 'truth', who wrote several pieces in 1659 addressed to the Parliament and army.¹²² Yet his namesake condemned 'Levelling' as an earthly practise: those 'who goe under a colour of Levelling we deny'. Elsewhere Fox pronounced the 'word of the Lord' unto those called Levellers:

you had a flash in your minde, a simplicitie, and your minds run into the earth and smothered it, and so got up into presumption, and you would [have] had unity and fellowship there, before life was raised up in you, so that withers, and much of it is withered as it is manifest and with the light, that is condemned, in which light is the unity of both those conditions.¹²³

Just as Fox denounced the Ranters in manuscript, print and person, so was he keen to disassociate Quakers from Levellers. And for good reason since hostile observers regarded Quakers as the scummy residue of Levellers, Diggers, Seekers, Ranters, atheists and whatnot.¹²⁴ Hence John Ward, vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon, concluded that 'severall

English Revolution', in Laurent Currelly and Nigel Smith (eds.), *Radical voices, radical ways. Articulating and disseminating radicalism in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain* (Manchester, 2016), pp. 151, 161–62.

¹²⁰ J.L. Nickalls, 'The Problem of Edward Byllynge. II. His writings and their evidence of his influence on the first constitution of West Jersey', in Howard Brinton (ed.), *Children of Light. In Honor of Rufus M. Jones* (New York, 1938), pp. 111–31.

¹²¹ A.S.P. Woodhouse (ed.), *Puritanism and Liberty. Being the army debates (1647–49) from the Clarke Manuscripts* (1938; 3rd edition, 1992), pp. 81, 107; Richard Falconer, *A true and perfect narrative of the several proceedings in the case concerning the Lord Craven* (1653), p. 1; Ralph Farmer, *Sathan Inthron'd in his Chair of Pestilence* (1656), pp. 15, 37–38; cf. Nuttall, "'Overcoming the world'", pp. 36–37 n. 41; G.E. Aylmer, *The State's Servants. The Civil Service of the English Republic 1649–1660* (1973), pp. 272–74; Maryann S. Feola, 'Bishop, George (d. 1668)', *ODNB*; K. Peters, 'The Quakers and the Politics of the Army in the Crisis of 1659', *Past & Present*, 231 (2016), pp. 111–16.

¹²² Richard L. Greaves, 'Fox, George, the younger (d. 1661)', *ODNB*.

¹²³ George Fox, *A declaration against all profession and professors* (1653), p. 4; George Fox, *A Word from the Lord* (1654), p. 13; cf. FHL, Tapper MSS, Box C 4/2, fol. 29; Ralph Farmer, *The great mysteries of godlinesse and ungodlinesse* (1659), p. 59.

¹²⁴ FHL, MS Swarthmore I 36; Francis Harris, *Some Queries Proposed* (1655), p. 23; Rutt (ed.), *Burton's diary*, vol. 1, p. 50; Claudius Gilbert, *The Libertine School'd* (1657), p. 19.

levellers settled into Quakers'.¹²⁵ More specifically, Quakers were accused of promoting community of goods and being 'downright Levellers' who 'affirmed that there ought to be no distinction of Estates, but an universall parity'.¹²⁶ 'Magistrate, People, Husband, Wife, Parents, Children, Master, Servant'; all were supposedly alike for the Quakers.¹²⁷ Accordingly an MP denounced Quakers as a 'growing evil' espousing a 'plausible way; all levellers against magistracy and propriety'.¹²⁸ In the same vein, writing from Perth to General George Monck in April 1657 a senior army officer explained that he had discharged one of his subordinates because he had become a Quaker. This 'sottish stupid generation' were 'blasphemous herritickes' who would corrupt the rank-and-file with their 'levelling principle' since they neither valued the scriptures, ministry, magistracy, nor anything else.¹²⁹ Little wonder that when examined on the charge of blasphemy in January 1653 James Nayler was asked: '*Wast thou not at Burford among the Levellers?*'¹³⁰

Though Lilburne rejected the pejorative term Leveller,¹³¹ it is noteworthy that to my knowledge no one explicitly linked him with the Levellers during the last three and half years of his life. Even within a few years of his death there are only a handful of references.¹³² When Cromwell recalled in a speech to Parliament on 4 September 1654 that the 'magistracy of the nation' had been 'almost trampled under foot, under despite and contempt, by men of Levelling principles' he was invoking the ghost of a defeated movement; an alarming alternative to his Protectorate.¹³³ Yet it is also a reminder that Lilburne was still feared. Not as the former leader of a fragmented faction so much as a charismatic, uncompromising

¹²⁵ Charles Severn (ed.), *Diary of the Rev. John Ward* (1839), p. 141; cf. Thomas Comber, *Christianity No Enthusiasm* (1678), p. 5.

¹²⁶ Francis Higginson, *A brief relation of the Irreligion of the Northern Quakers* (1653), p. 10.

¹²⁷ Thomas Collier, *A Looking-Glass for the Quakers* (1656), p. 12.

¹²⁸ Rutt (ed.), *Burton's diary*, vol. 1, p. 169.

¹²⁹ Birch (ed.), *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 6, pp. 167–68.

¹³⁰ James Nayler, George Fox and John Lawson, *Saul's Errand to Damascus* (1653), p. 30.

¹³¹ John Lilburne, *A manifestation from Lieutenant Col. John Lilburne ... and others, commonly (though unjustly) styled Levellers* (1649).

¹³² Anon., *Selfe afflicter*, p. 13; S. Carrington, *The history of the life and death of His Most Serene Highness, Oliver, late Lord Protector* (1659), pp. 22–23; James Heath, *A brief chronicle of the late Intestine War* (1663), pp. 3–4.

¹³³ S.C. Lomas (ed.), *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell with elucidations by Thomas Carlyle* (3 vols., 1904), vol. 2, pp. 342–43.

figure with an extensive network of supporters who would never bend the knee to Cromwell. Puritan, Leveller, Quaker, backwards and forwards, the same free-born John.