

SACKCLOTH AND ASHES: ROBERT BARCLAY'S 'SIGN'

One morning in 1672, Robert Barclay, writer and intellectual, woke with the strong conviction that the Lord was commanding him to walk through the streets of Aberdeen, wearing sackcloth and daubed with ashes, in order to call the people of Aberdeen to repentance. He was reluctant to do so but after prayer and discussion with other Friends, believed that this was truly the Lord's command - indeed 'the pillars of my Tabernacle were shaken, and ... my bones trembled, untill I freely gave up unto the Lords will'.

Accounts of wearing sackcloth and ashes, going naked or carrying out other prophetic signs frequently describe the unwillingness with which the writer carried out the command. Such reluctance, in fact, became a measure of the authenticity of the call, proof that the Friend was acting at God's command and not from his or her own will.

As Richard Baumann has described, 'among the major communicative tasks undertaken by the Quakers out in the world [were] identification and moral condemnation of the current sinful actions or conditions of others and prophetic warning of the consequences to follow if they did not repent, reform their ways, and come into the Quaker fold'.¹ While these warnings could be conveyed through preaching or print, they could also be communicated through 'signs', the 'public performance of shocking, dramatic actions, intended to convey, through nonverbal means, an expression of moral reproof and/or prophecy'.² Believing themselves to be filled with the same spirit that filled the Old Testament prophets, Quakers in some cases believed that, as Rosemary Moore has argued, 'this conduct ... was not merely an illustration, but was intended to act like the signs of Old Testament prophets, and bring about the thing illustrated, the fall of the godless society and the coming of God's kingdom'.³ The body of the Friend became the instrument by which God could communicate and fulfil his truth.

In England, this enactment of signs took place primarily during the first half of the 1650s, with a second wave taking place between 1658-1662,⁴ but it dropped off sharply after that and virtually died out by the end of the 1660s, although Braithwaite does list a few examples taking place as late as the eighteenth century.⁵ Such actions began to elicit official disapproval and an epistle from London Yearly Meeting in 1672 advised Friends to:

avoid all imagined, unseasonable and untimely prophesyings; which tend not only to stir up persecution, but also to the begetting airy and uncertain expectations, and to the amusing and affrighting simple people from receiving the Truth: for this practice, God's wisdom neither leads to, nor justifies.⁶

There is evidence, however, that the acting out of signs continued in Aberdeen until at least the latter half of the 1670s, with Andrew Jaffray walking naked through the market place in 1677.

In the Old Testament, the wearing of sackcloth and ashes was connected with repentance. Kenneth Carroll has usefully pointed out the additional link with Revelations 11:3: 'And I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and three-score days, clothed in sackcloth.'⁷ In sixteenth and seventeenth century Scottish Presbyterian churches, transgressors were frequently required to do public penance by appearing in church wearing sackcloth (a 'sackgoun') and either standing at the church door during the service or sitting on a repentance or 'cutty' stool. Barclay could therefore assume that the significance of his appearance in sackcloth would be clearly understood by his audience.

Having performed his sign, Barclay felt the need to publish a pamphlet, explaining his action and again calling on the people of Aberdeen to repent. A four page tract, entitled *A Seasonable warning, and serious Exhortation to, and Expostulation with the Inhabitants of Aberdene: concerning this present Dispensation and day of Gods loving Visitation towards them* was published, dated 1672. The first two pages of the publication describe the carrying out of the sign and exhort the people to

search and examine every one his own soul, how far this warning and voice of the Lord is applicable unto them, and how great need they have to be truely humbled in their Spirits.

The third and fourth page are devoted to a set of responses to queries sent, seemingly anonymously, by one 'who styles himself a sober Inquirer'. In these answers, Barclay argues:

- (a) That his message has not come from any Light or Illumination in him as a man, but from the immediate testimony of the Spirit of God in his heart;
- (b) That a manifestation of that Spirit is given to every man;

- (c) That God's Spirit speaks within, and that hearing an audible external voice is unnecessary;
- (d) That a message delivered from the testimony of the Spirit of God in the heart reaches to the manifestation of the same Spirit, in the hearts of those to whom it is delivered, if they wilfully do not resist and shut it out;
- (e) That those who despise the Light and manifestation of God in themselves, and who mock at the message, are worthy of condemnation, just as the Scribes and Pharisees who jeered at Christ were;
- (f) That those Friends who accompanied Barclay in his action did so because the Spirit within them led them to do so;
- (g) That only the immediate testimony of the Spirit of God can reveal false pretenders and delusions.

As Luella M. Wright has demonstrated, the printing of Friends' books and pamphlets was 'a hazardous undertaking, often entailing fines and imprisonment as well as the confiscation of both press and printed matter'.⁸ In Scotland, the absence of a Stationers' Company meant that the burgh magistrates had considerable licensing and censoring authority. During the 1670s, an anti-Quaker campaign on the part of the Aberdeen city council led to frequent seizures of printing materials, sheets and books.⁹ Printing and publishing therefore carried considerable risks and many Quaker publications appeared without the usual name of the printer and bookseller. It has been suggested that some Quaker tracts may have been printed by sympathetic apprentices or journeymen at night, using their masters' equipment without permission. Certainly many Quaker publications show evidence of rapid or inexperienced printing, and Barclay's pamphlet fits that pattern. The printing is rough and uneven and there are a number of typographical errors- upside down 'n's, for example, which appear as 'u's (and vice versa), and misspellings which appear to be straightforward mistakes - matter spelled mattrr, for example, and untill spelled with three 'I's. There is no printer's or bookseller's name.

In the annotated document that follows, the following editorial principles have been adopted. Long *f* has been silently changed to *s*. Punctuation, spelling, italicisation and capitalisation are as the original, but obvious printers' errors such as those described above have been silently corrected.

Barclay's use of the Bible on this occasion needs some explanation. Like other seventeenth-century Friends, Barclay was steeped in the language and

images of the Bible. There are few direct Biblical quotations in this pamphlet, but frequent echoes and allusions. These have been identified insofar as was possible. Italics are used by Barclay for emphasis, not to indicate quotations.

At several points, Barclay uses phrases which are close to, but not identical with, similar phrases in the *King James Bible*. Given his educational background, it seems highly possible that Barclay was using Hebrew and Greek texts, and translating as he went along.

Original page numbers are indicated in square brackets.

Betty Hagglund

[1] *A Seasonable warning, and serious Exhortation to, and Expostulation with the Inhabitants of Aberdene: concerning this present Dispensation and day of Gods loving Visitation towards them.*

Great, unutterably great, O ye Inhabitants, is the Love of God which flowes in my heart towards you, and in bowels of unspeakable compassion,¹⁰ am I opened, am I enlarged unto you, in the sight and sense of your conditions, which the Lord hath discovered and revealed unto Me. O that your eyes were opened, that ye might see, and behold, this Day of the Lord, and that your ears were unstopped to hear his voice,¹¹ that cryeth aloud, and calleth One and All of you to Repentance; and that your hearts were softened, & enclined¹² to discern and perceive this blessed hour of His present Visitation, which is come unto you. He hath lifted up a Standard in the midst of you, and among your Brethren;¹³ He hath called already a Remnant,¹⁴ and inrolled¹⁵ them under His Banner, and he is calling All to come, he hath not left one without a witness: Blessed are they that receive Him, and hear him in this day of his appearance. He hath sent forth, and is daily sending forth his Servants and Messengers, to invite you to come and partake with Him of the Supper, of the Feast which he hath prepared; and among many others, whom at sundrie times he hath caused to sound forth His Testimony: I also have in the Name and Power and Authority of God proclaimed his everlasting Gospel among you, and preached, and held forth the glade tydings of this glorious dispensation, which is Christ manifesting and revealing himself in and by his Light and Spirit in the hearts of all men, *to lead them out of all unrighteousness and filthiness, both of Flesh and Spirit;¹⁶ unto all righteousness, truth, holyness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.¹⁷*

But because many of you have despysed¹⁸ this Day, and as ye have made mirry¹⁹ over Gods witness in your hearts, not liking there to entertaine Him in his meek, lowly, yet lovely appearance; so have ye despysed, mocked and rejected, that which testifieth to this witness without²⁰ you. Therefore was I commanded of the Lord God, to pass through your streets covered with Sack-cloath and Ashes, calling you to repentance, that ye might yet more be awakned, & alarumed²¹ to take notice of the Lords Voice unto you, and not to despse these things which belong to your peace, while your day lasteth, least hereafter they be hid from your eyes. And the command of the Lord concerning this thing, came unto me that very morning, as I awakened, and the burden thereof was very great; Yea, seemed almost insupportible unto me, (for such a thing untill that very moment, had never entered me before, not in the most remote consideration) And some whom I called to declare to them this thing, can bear witness, how great was the agonie of my Spirit, how I besought the Lord with tears, that this Cup might pass away from me:²² Yea how the pillars of my Tabernacle were shaken, and how exceedingly my bones trembled, untill I freely gave up unto the Lords will. And this was the end and tendency of my testimony, to call you to Repentance, by this signal and singular step, which I as to my own will and inclination, was as unwilling to be [2] found in, as the worst and wickedest of you, can be averse from receiving, or laying it to heart. Let all and every one of you in whom there is yet alive the least regard to God, or his fear, consider and weigh this matter in the presence of God, and by the Spirit of Jesus Christ in your hearts, which makes all things manifest, search and examine every one his own Soul, how far this warning and voice of the Lord is applicable unto them, and how great need they have to be truely humbled in their Spirits? Returning to the Lord in their inward parts, with such true and unfeigned Repentance as answers to the outward cloathing of *Sack cloath*, and being covered with *Ashes*. And in the Fear and Name of the Lord, I charge all upon this occasion, to bewarr²³ of a slight,²⁴ froathie,²⁵ jearing, mocking spirit, for though such may be permitted to insult for a season, *yet God will turn their laughter into howling, and will laugh when their calamity cometh;*²⁶ and such are seen to be in one spirit with those who *spat in the face of the LORD JESUS, and buffeting him, bid him prophesie who smote him.*²⁷ Therefore consider. O Ye Inhabitants, and be serious, standing in fear; Where are ye who are called Christians? Among whom it is become a wonder, *A stone of stumbling,*²⁸ *or matter of mockrie, or a ground of reproach, for one in the Name of the LORD, to invite you to*

Repentance in Sackcloath and Ashes: Would not the Heathen condemne you in this thing? And will not *Niniveh*²⁹ stand up in judgement against you? How is it that ye that are called Christians, can willingly give room to every idle Mountebank,³⁰ and can suffer your minds to be drawn out to behold these sinful divertisements, which indeed divert the mind from the serious sense of Gods fear? The people can be gathered there, and neither the Magistrats complaine of tumult, nor yet Preachers nor Professors cry out against it as delusion, or madness. O my Friends consider, can there be any more strongly deluded, then³¹ for people daily to acknowledge and confess they are sinners, and sinning, in words;³² and to startle at that which did so lively represent unto them, what they owne to be their condition. Were it in good earnest, or were it from a true sense of your sins, that ye so frequently seem to acknowledge them, ye would not dispuse, nor overlook that which calleth you to repentance for it. How is it that you can so confidently array your selves in all manner of gaudy, and superflous Apparel, and exceed in lustful poudering³³ and perfumes, and yet are ashamed and amazed at *Sackcloath and Ashes*; which according to your own acknowledgement, is so sutable to your states? Is not this to glory in your shame, and to be ashamed of that which ought to be, and would be your greatest glory, to wit, true and unfeinged Repentance. I shal add that which upon this occasion I declared unto you; I was for a Sign from the Lord unto you, *I desire ye may not be among those that wonder and perish,*³⁴ *but rather repent and be saved.* And this is my *Testimony* unto you, whither you will hear or forbear, I have peace with my God in what I have done, and am satisfied that his requirings I have answered in this thing. I have not sought yours but you, I have not coveted your gold or silver, or any thing else; nor do I retaine, or entertaine, the least hated, grude,³⁵ or evil-will towards any within or without your gates, but continue in pure and unfeinged love towards all and every one of you, even those who do most dispise or reject me, and my *Testimony*, being ready to bless those that curse, and to do good to those that dispitefully use me,³⁶ and to be spent in the will of the Lord for your sakes, that your souls may be saved, and God over all may be glorified; for which I travel,³⁷ and cry before the Throne of Grace, as becometh.

A Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ,
ROBERT BARCLAY.

This came before Me to signifie unto you by writing,
*at Urie the 12. of the first Moneth.*³⁸ 1672.

[3] After this Paper was committed to the Press, some Queries concerning this matter were sent (to a Friend in Aberdene) by One who in the inscription styles himself a sober Inquirer,³⁹ which maske he quickly pulled off, either for want of wit, or from too much malice against the truth, by spreading these queries, at the same time among several hands, which no truely, sober Inquirer would have done, untill he had first received, or been refused satisfaction from him, to whom he particularly directed them. In order therefore to dispell such cloudie Mists, as the Enemie seeks to raise for darkning the day of Gods appearance, through his Children: These Answeres are judged fit to be here anexed.

The Premisses, and Queries following upon them, being all one on the matter, the first being positions in general, and the other the particular application of them here to, they need not different answers, both of them are herein comprehended and implyed, as any that will be at the pains to look after the Queries, and compare them, may observe.

To the first is therefore answered.

R.B.⁴⁰ Denyes his Message to have proceeded from any Light or Illumination in him as a man, but from the immediate Testimonie of the Spirit of God, in his heart a manifestation of which Spirit is given to every man to profit withal, according to the plaine testimonie of the Scriptures, I. *Cor.* 12. 7. I. *Iohn* 2. 20. 27 *Heb* 8 10. 11. 12.⁴¹ The which Spirit, and Anointing teaches all the Saints under the *New Covenant*,⁴² whereunto an audible voice is not required for this is said to be within them, and not without them, nor can it be proven that God spoke alwayes to the Prophets by an audible voice, or that such a thing is requisite to every true Revelation, receaved from the *Spirit*, els none could be truly certaine that the Scriptures came from the Spirit of God, untill they received an audible voice by the outward ear, confirming them of it, nor could any have the assurance of Salvation without the same, both which the generalitie of *Protestants* hold needful to Believers, and *Cal. Inst. lib.* I. *cap.* 7 *sect.* 4. *cap.* 8. *Sect* I. *lib.* 3. *cap.* I, *sect.* 4. *cap.* 3. *Sect.* 39.⁴³ that by the inward, secret testimonie of the Spirit, without an audible voice. Nor was *Iohn Hus* [4] his prophesie of *Luther*,⁴⁴ or *George Wisharts*⁴⁵ of the Cardinals death alleadged to have proceeded from an outward audible voice, and yet proved both true, as likewise several others of latter years, which might be mentioned.

2. A Message thus delivered from the Testimonie of the Spirit of God in the heart, reaches to the manifestation of the same Spirit, in the

hearts of those to whom it is delivered, if they wilfully do not resist and shut it out. Thus the Ninivirs⁴⁶ were reached at the call of *Jonah*, and those who heard *Peter*, were pricked in their hearts;⁴⁷ yet neither the one or the other had such an immediate call as *Jonah* and *Peter* had, but the testimonie of the Spirit through these two, touched, reached, and raised that of God in their hearts, and made it applicable unto them. Yet those that dispise this Light, and manifestation of God in themselves, may come to jeer, and mock at a message proceeding from it, through another, even as the Scribes and Pharisees did at Christ; and therefore were worthie of condemnation, and judged by the Heathen, such as *Tyre* and *Sidon*,⁴⁸ and *Ninivie*, even as it is with those of the same spirit at this day, who while they cry up the writtings of the Prophets, & other Scripturs, (as did the Pharisees) are dispysing Prophesying, or the teaching, or leadings of the Spirit, which the Apostle declared to be the nature of the New Covenant dispensation; and therefore no wonder if according to the Scripture *Pro. 28. 18.* where there *is* no Vision the people perish.⁴⁹

3. The Assisters to this Action, having had the thing declaired unto them, retiering to the inward Testimonie of the same Spirit in themselves, did feell union therewith, and such as went along, did not onlie find a true liberty (which might have sufficed) but some of them a necessitie to concurr with it. And as for the carrying of the Hat and Cloak,⁵⁰ it was altogether extrinsick, being neither essential nor circumstantial to the thing, nor so looked upon by these who did it: Yet the carping thereat shewes in the proposer, a critical mind, very void of seriousness, which the Lord, as of purpose to starve, hath permitted him to build that part of the Querie in relation to A.H.⁵¹ wise upon a false report, the thing being a manifest untruth.

And in answeare to the second proposition of the premisses, its the alone immediate testimonie of the Spirit of God, that can truly discover all false pretenders and delusions, which if any can, let them deny, without overturning the Basis of all Christian Religion, and rendering the faith of the Saints in all ages uncertaine.

R.B.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ Richard Baumann, *Let your words be few: symbolism of speaking and silence among seventeenth-century Quakers* (London, 1998), p 84.

² Baumann, p 84.

³ Rosemary Moore, *The Light in their Consciences: Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666* (University Park, Pa., 2000), p 126.

⁴ Kenneth L. Carroll, 'Early Quakers and "Going Naked as a Sign"', *Quaker History*, 67 (1978), pp 84-85.

- ⁵ William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (Cambridge, 1961), pp 602-603.
- ⁶ *Letters, &c., of Early Friends; Illustrative of the History of the Society* (London, 1841), p 332.
- ⁷ Kenneth L. Carroll, 'Sackcloth and Ashes and other Signs and Wonders', *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 53 (1975), p 314.
- ⁸ Luella M. Wright, *The Literary Life of the Early Friends* (New York, 1966), p 93.
- ⁹ Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade, 1500-1720* (East Linton, 2000), pp 19-24.
- ¹⁰ The bowels were considered as the seat of tender and sympathetic emotions, and phrases such as 'bowels of compassion', 'bowels of mercy', etc. were common. See, for example, I John 3: 17 'But whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?'
- ¹¹ Isaiah 35: 5 'Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped.'
- ¹² inclined
- ¹³ Not a direct quotation but see Isaiah 59: 19; Isaiah 62:10; Jeremiah 50:2.
- ¹⁴ Joel 2: 32 '... in mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be deliverance, as the LORD hath said, and in the remnant whom the LORD shall call.' Early Friends often spoke of themselves as a faithful remnant, a term deriving from several Old Testament texts, including Jeremiah 23: 3 and Micah 2: 12. See Rosemary Moore, *The Light in their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain* (University Park, Pa., 2000), pp 215-216.
- ¹⁵ enrolled
- ¹⁶ 2 Corinthians 7: 1 'Having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.'
- ¹⁷ Galatians 5: 22-23 'But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance: against such there is no law.'
- ¹⁸ despised
- ¹⁹ merry *Concise Scots Dictionary* (Edinburgh, 1999). Further references will be to CSD.
- ²⁰ outside. The meaning is therefore: Just as you have made merry over God's witness in your hearts, so have you mocked the testimony of that witness from outside yourselves.
- ²¹ alarmed, often with an underlying implication of warning
- ²² Jesus prayed in the Garden of Gethsemane, 'Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done (Luke 22:42; similarly Mark 14: 36, Matthew 26: 39).
- ²³ beware (CSD).
- ²⁴ slight, slicht - of loose moral character (CSD).
- ²⁵ froathie, frothie, furthie - forward in disposition, bold (CSD).

- 26 Proverbs 1: 26 'I also will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh'.
- 27 Mark 14: 65 'And some began to spit on him, and to cover his face, and to buffet him, and to say unto him, Prophecy: and the servants did strike him with the palms of their hands'.
- 28 I Peter 2:8 'And a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence, even to them which stumble at the word, being disobedient'. See also Isaiah 8: 14.
- 29 Jonah was sent by God to prophesy in Nineveh and in response to his preaching, the people turned from their evil ways, put on sackcloth, repented and turned to God.
- 30 An itinerant quack who from an elevated platform appealed to his audience by means of stories, tricks, juggling and the like.
- 31 'Then' and 'than' are frequently used interchangeably in seventeenth-century texts.
- 32 'We confesse, and acknowledge, here before Thy Divine Majestie, That wee are miserable Sinners; conceived, and borne, in sinne, and iniquitie.' From 'A Confession of our Sinnes, commonly used before the Sermon', *The CL Psalmes of the princelie prophet David in English metre ... With manie godly prayers ...* (Aberdeen, 1629), unpaginated.
- 33 powderings (CSD).
- 34 Acts 13: 41. 'Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish: for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you.'
- 35 grudge.
- 36 Matthew 5:44 'But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you.'
- 37 The words 'travel' and 'travail' are often used interchangeably at this time.
- 38 Month.
- 39 I have not been able to trace this sheet of enquiries.
- 40 Robert Barclay.
- 41 I. Cor. 12. 7 'But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal.' I. John 2. 20.27 'But ye have an unction from the Holy One, and know all things. But the anointing which you have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him.' Heb 8 10. 11. 12 'For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord; I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts: and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people: And they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest. For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more.'

- ⁴² See Hebrews, chapters 8; 9; 10.
- ⁴³ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, tr. by Ford Lewis Battles (London, 1961). The titles of the four sections cited by Barclay are as follows: Bk 1, ch. 7, sect. 4: 'The witness of the Holy Spirit: this is stronger than all proof'. Bk 1, ch. 8, sect. 1: 'Scripture is superior to all human wisdom'. Bk 3, ch. 1, sect. 4: 'Faith as the work of the Spirit'. Bk 3, ch. 3, sect. 39. This is a typographical error - this chapter does not have a section 39. Barclay probably meant Bk 3, ch. 2, sect. 39: 'The Christian rejoices in the indwelling of the spirit'.
- ⁴⁴ 15th century Czech priest and martyr. Many of his writings prefigured those of Martin Luther and when Luther published his 95 Theses in 1517, cartoons and graffiti began to appear implying that Luther was Huss's spiritual heir. An apocryphal story arose claiming that before Huss's death in 1415, he had said to his executioners: 'You are now going to burn a goose (his name meant goose in Bohemian) but in a century you will have a swan whom you can neither roast nor boil.' This story was claimed by later writers to be a prophecy of the coming of Martin Luther. See David S. Schaff, *John Huss - his life, teachings and death - after Five Hundred Years* (London, 1915), p 258.
- ⁴⁵ 16th century Scottish Calvinist martyr. 'In the reprint of Foxe's "Actes and Monumentes," which appeared in 1570, on the margin opposite to Wishart's allusion to the bishops, are these words: "M. George Wishart prophesieth of the death of the cardinall, which followed after. Proceeding on this unwarrantable deduction, George Buchanan, in his "History of Scotland," asserts that, at the stake, Wishart did actually predict the cardinal's death.' Charles Roger, *Life of George Wishart* (Edinburgh, 1876), online, www.wishart.org/lifeofgeorgewishart.html (September 2005)
- ⁴⁶ Inhabitants of Nineveh
- ⁴⁷ Acts 2: 37 'Now when they heard this, they were pricked in their heart, and said unto Peter and to the rest of the apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do?'
- ⁴⁸ Matthew 11: 21-22 'Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works, which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. But I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgment, than for you'.
- ⁴⁹ This is a typographical error - the quotation is from Proverbs 29; 18.
- ⁵⁰ Friends who wished to support a Friend who was carrying out a sign would accompany them and sometimes carry their clothes as they walked through the streets. See Kenneth L. Carroll's account of Friends carrying William Simpson's clothes as he walked naked in Oxford in 1654. Kenneth L. Carroll, 'Early Quakers and "Going Naked as a Sign"', *Quaker History*, 67 (1978), p 78. Presumably friends of Barclay did the same on this occasion.
- ⁵¹ The person referred to as 'A.H.' has not been identified.